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THE NEW

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HISTORY,

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For the YEAR 1799.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES II.—Part III.

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PREFACE.

IT is a trite remark, that the real causes and motives of political events are never known till a considerable period after they have happened; but it is a remark, of the truth of which, since the invention of printing, and since the sources of public information have been so wonderfully augmented, we might be permitted to entertain a doubt: nor is it easy to conceive, that, at a time when every transaction of importance is committed to writing, and by some medium or other (it might be imagined) would find its way to the press, a political secret should be kept even for a month.

Notwithstanding this, whoever has formed his opinions of political affairs from the information contained in newspapers, and other periodical publications, will find, when he comes to peruse this volume, that he reads a history which is, in all its most essential parts, entirely new. He has heard of the names of statesmen and generals, the

names of the places where they have been engaged, but he is altogether ignorant of the intrigues, the factions, the projects, and the motives which have produced the events of the year 1799.

We shall not anticipate the prominent parts of the following narrative; we shall not destroy the reader's entertainment by a premature developement;—he will meet with matter which is not only new, but extraordinary,—and, from the sources from which we have derived our information, we can only say, that we cannot entertain a doubt of its authenticity.

Though from principle we are enemies to war on every pretence, yet, as far as accuracy is concerned, we are desirous of obtaining the suffrage of military men. We cannot but flatter ourselves that the detail of the late important campaign is more complete than any thing that has ever appeared upon the subject, and that it is indeed such that not only the politician may read it for entertainment, but that the soldier may study it for instruction.

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HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of KING CHARLES II.

PART III.

FOR the general character of the age of Charles, we must refer to the introduction to our first part. It was an age in which genius burst forth without encouragement, and philosophy revived without patronage. It was the age of profligacy, atheism, and bad taste. The historian had little to record but faction and injustice; and the poet, if he painted from nature, had nothing to celebrate but scenes which were adapted only to the pencil of a Petronius. The really eminent in this period were a few individuals, who rose superior to the corrupt morals, and illiberal sentiments of the times.

Of the illustrious Clarendon mention has already been made, in treating of the political character of the times; but he is now better known by his merits as an historian than as a statesman, though his integrity and wisdom were equally eminent in both. He had attended the king in his exile, who appointed him lord chancellor of England, and first minister of state, with the universal

approbation of his people. Whilst Charles was directed by him, his conduct was distinguished by lenity and moderation; he declined being the judge of his own or of his father's wrongs; the army that had so long governed the nation was disbanded; all the ceremonies of the church of England were restored; and, whilst he uniformly preserved an air of neutrality which removed prejudices, his whole behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity.

But the virtue of Clarendon was of too stubborn a nature for the age in which he lived: had he been content to have enslaved millions, he might have been more a monarch than his king; but he not only considered it his duty to be the guardian of the laws of his country, but the censor of the vice and immorality of the court.

It is not extraordinary that such a man should have been obnoxious to the courtiers: his manners alone impressed them with awe; his life was a reproach to them; and he preferred being a victim himself, rather than abet, under whatever sanction, the infamous pleasures of his royal master.

No circumstance is supposed to have contributed more to his downfal than his having prevented Charles from repudiating his queen to marry Mrs. Stuart, for whom the king had conceived a passion equally violent, and more constant than the generality of his attachments were.—Clarendon was the means of a private marriage taking place between that lady and the duke of Richmond.

This honourable conduct Charles never could forgive; but he waited for some better pretence to remove him; and an opportunity was not long wanting. Charles had declared war against the Dutch, with a view of recruiting the supply for his amusements, as the money appointed for that purpose was to go through his hands. The war terminated

nated so far unsuccessfully, that this end was defeated, and a treaty concluded at Breda, which was then considered as inglorious, though the colony of New-York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, and continued a most valuable acquisition till the present time.

But this was the signal of Clarendon's overthrow. He had advised the peace, and it was called disgraceful to the nation. The king readily gave him up to the resentment of the parliament; a charge was opened against him, consisting of vulgar rumours, not one of which could be proved; indeed the prosecution ended greatly to his honour, but his enemies advanced considerably in their designs, by throwing upon him the consequences of their own misconduct. These calumnies rendered him less popular amongst the people, and in the end achieved his ruin.

He was removed from his post of chancellor 1667, and impeached by the house of commons of high treason: finding the popular torrent united to the violence of power running against him, he withdrew to France. The legislature passed a bill of incapacity and banishment, whilst he continued to reside there, employing his leisure in reducing his History of the Civil War into form, for which he had before collected the materials.

He died at Rouen, in the year 1673.

Such was the unworthy fate of the earl of Clarendon, a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister:—but his reward is with the Most High!

Clarendon, as a writer, possessed all that knowledge of his subject, all that strength of head and integrity of heart, which are essential to a good historian: he has been accused of partiality, but this proceeded from an amiable, perhaps an invincible cause—the fervour of loyalty.

His style is prolix, clogged with parenthesis; but it has been pronounced by a great master in criticism * "to be the effusion of a mind crowded with ideas, and desirous of imparting them; and therefore always accumulating words, and involving one clause and sentence in another."

There is in his negligence a rude and inartificial majesty, which, without the nicety of laboured elegance, swells the mind by its plenitude and diffusion. His narrative is not, perhaps, sufficiently rapid, being stopped too frequently by particularities; which, though they might strike the author, who was present at the transactions, will not equally detain the attention of posterity: but his ignorance, or carelessness, of the art of writing are amply compensated by his knowledge of nature and of policy, by the wisdom of his maxims, the justness of his reasonings, and the variety, distinctness, and strength of his characters.

Bulstrode Whitlocke, the memorialist, deserves a distinguished place amongst the writers of English history. He had a great share in those transactions of which he has given us an account, and, as an impartial narrator, is perhaps superior to Clarendon; he was a man of a clear and cool head, and though zealous in the cause which he espoused, was rarely misled by his affections, and never known to be transported to bigotry. The editor of his memorials of the English affairs observes "that he sometimes writes up to the dignity of an historian, and elsewhere is content to set down occurrences diary-wise, never intending this for a book till print, but merely for his own memory and use; yet such was his relation to the public, so eminent his station, and so much was he on the stage during all the time of the action, that the particulars of his diary go very far towards a complete history of his times. He not only served the state in several stations and places of trust of the highest importance, acquitting himself with great reputation, but likewise conversed with books, and acquired large treasures of knowledge and contemplations. Like

* Dr. Johnson.

Like Portius Cæsar, described by Nepos, he was, "Reipublicæ peritus, et jurisconsultus, et magnus imperator, et cupidissimus literarum: nor was the felicity of his pen less considerable than his knowledge of affairs, or less serviceable to the cause which he espoused."

Clarendon has left this testimony of his merit: "Whitelock was a man of eminent parts and great learning out of his profession, and singular reputation in it: if he swerved from his allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men; he never led but followed, and was rather carried away with the torrent than swam with the stream." Whitelock wrote memorials of the English affairs from the supposed expedition of Brute to this isle, to the end of James the I. published with an account of his life and writings, by William Pen. He died in 1675.

The character of Edmund Ludlow is seen in the fullest light by contrasting him with his antagonist, Cromwell; since, if we except their valour, in which they were equal, there could not exist two more different men.

Ludlow was sincerely and steadily a republican; Cromwell not attached to any kind of government, and least of all perhaps to that. Ludlow spoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than what he professed himself to be. Cromwell valued himself on acting a part, or rather several parts *well*; and when he performed that of a commonwealth's man, he performed so admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a hypocrite, he thought he had now thrown off the mask. Ludlow was entirely devoted to the parliament, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders, especially after it was reduced to the rump. Cromwell never undertook any business for them but with a view to his own interest.

The Memoirs of Ludlow were published after his death, at Vevay, in the canton of Berne, Switzerland; and for plainness

martyr, Lord Russell, justice was rendered, though too tardily, to his merit and to his integrity and spirit, few writings of the kind can be compared with them. It remains a stain to this nation on the character of the whig parliament in the reign of William, that when Ludlow, depressed with years and with persecution, wished to revisit his native land, at a period when he expected to see the cause of liberty triumphant, and the constitution restored (as in fact it was), the parliament, led rather by faction than influenced by patriotism and justice, refused him an asylum. Sir Edward Seymour, the man who had obtained possession of Ludlow's estate, had the unparalleled effrontery to move the resolution in the commons against reversing his outlawry.

Algernon Sidney is rather to be regarded as a politician than as an historian; though it is not even certain that his Treatise of Government was ever meant for the public eye. He was one of those speculative politicians who amuse themselves with theories, which the depravity of human nature will never admit of being reduced to practice. Early disgusted with the abuses of regal power, he was as zealous a republican on principle as others were from animosity and faction. As Sidney had taken a distinguished part on the republican side, he did not accept of the general act of indemnity after the restoration, but received a particular pardon from the perfidious Charles. After this he was implicated in the Rye-house plot, the very existence of which seems, upon good authority, to be now denied. In November 1683, he was tried and condemned by a pack'd jury and an infamous judge; only one witness appeared against him, but his papers On Government were deemed equivalent to another: in these he had asserted, *that power is delegated from the people to the prince, and that he is accountable to them for the abuse of it.* This was not only considered as treason, but blasphemy against the vicegerents of the great governor of the world. He was executed to the disgrace of the nation, on the 7th of December 1683.

To the memory of Sidney, as well as of his fellow martyr,

martyr, Lord Russell, justice was rendered, though too late, at that most brilliant period of English history, the first year of William and Mary, when the attainder was reversed by the parliament, with scarcely a dissentient voice. Hume, with his usual accuracy and impartiality, has laboured to prove the reality of the Rye-house plot; but whoever relies upon Hume as an historian will find himself as much misled in his politics as in his religion. He writes with that regard to truth which may be expected from an atheist, and with that accuracy which is to be looked for in an author whose only God was gain.

With his usual veracity, Mr. Hume has represented Sidney as a deist, at least, if not an atheist, because he did not attend the public worship of any sect of Christians. Why did not this correct historian affix the same stigma upon Milton? The fact is, the religious tenets of Sidney had some affinity with those of the quietists, or the quakers. He considered religion as a divine philosophy, which existed only in the mind and spirit, and had no connection with external observances—a pure and simple communication between God and our own souls. Thus he was more of a visionary and enthusiast than an infidel. In his private character, he was a man of extraordinary courage and of almost invincible obstinacy. The strange calumny of modern times, therefore, which represents him as the pensioner and tool of France, meets a full confutation in the consideration of the greatest blemish in his character. From his undeserved fate, his writings have had more popularity than they perhaps deserve. It has been said, that they may be esteemed an ample compensation for Cicero's six books "De Republica," which are lost. Of the truth of this estimate it is not easy to form an opinion, as the comparison is not within our reach. From the best treatise on government, all that can be learned are a few maxims, which, on particular occasions, the statesman or legislator may reduce to practice; but a perfect theory on this subject we expect

as little to see as a perfect government itself. So much will depend upon national character, upon times and circumstances, that it may be doubted whether any form can be prescribed to suit every nation on every occasion; and after all, the preservation of liberty will depend more upon the spirit, the morals, the character of a people, than on the form of its government. Rome was enslaved while the republican form was strictly observed; while Britain, under a monarchy, has enjoyed as much liberty as human nature, perhaps, is capable of enjoying. While we say this, it is but justice to add, that Sidney was a man of great reading and of strong sense; and perhaps no man ever thought more intensely upon the science of government, or possessed better opportunities for collecting information on the subject.

Shaftesbury, though a politician, is rather to be regarded as an orator and a statesman than as an author, as scarcely any thing of his is extant but his speeches in parliament. He was a momber of the long parliament, and had great influence with the presbyterians: he had been a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the restoration. His passions were violent, his principles flexible, his talents universal; and, whilst he changed his party as suited his interest or ambition, he never was accused of betraying his friends. When we consider him sitting in the highest tribunal in the kingdom, explaining the laws, detecting frauds, exerting all the powers of his eloquence on the side of justice, we admire the able lawyer, the irresistible orator, the upright judge; but when he enters into the iniquitous measures of the *cabal*, prostitutes his eloquence to enslave his country, and becomes the factious leader, the popular incendiary, we regard him with a mixture of equal detestation and regret. After a life of extraordinary vicissitudes, he died in Holland, in a kind of voluntare exile, in 1682. It is remarkable, that he was (as well as Maynard, we think, and chief justice Hales) a member

ber of that committee for revising the laws, under the protectorship of Cromwell, whom Mr. Hume, with his accustomed accuracy, brands as a collection of ignorant blockheads, who were for setting aside the whole body of English law, and substituting the Jewish law in its stead.

Hobbes we have considered as a metaphysician, but he was also a political writer. He unquestionably possessed much learning, more thinking, and not a little knowledge of the world. His style is incomparably better than that of any other writer in the reign of Charles II. and, for its strength and purity, was scarcely equalled in the succeeding. He was for striking out new paths in science, in government, and in religion; but as his ethics have a strong tendency to corrupt the morals, so have his politics to destroy the liberty of every human creature. He is represented as a sceptic in religion, and a dogmatist in philosophy; but, in fact, he was a dogmatist in both. The principles of his Leviathan are as little founded in moral or evangelical truth as his plan for squaring the circle in mathematical demonstration.

In translation he has done as much justice to Thucydides as injury to Homer; but he considered himself born for greater things than treading in the footsteps of his predecessors. His book on human Nature is esteemed the best of his works. He died in 1675.

BRITISH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1799.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1799.

CHAPTER I.

State of Politics at the latter End of the Year 1798. The Meeting of Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Address.—Debate on the Address in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons. House of Commons occupied on a new Measure of Finance. Mr. Tierney's Motion in Favour of Peace negatived. Bill for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Debates on that Measure in the House of Commons—In the House of Lords.

AMIDST the various calamities in which the present desperate and disastrous contest has involved the European world, it has been happy for this country that our losses and misfortunes have been chiefly of a pecuniary nature. While immense tracts of territory are laid waste; while provinces are desolated, and the path of the destroyer marked only by slaughter and by blood, our insular situation has fortunately protected us from witnessing these distressful scenes: the part which we have taken in the contest has been chiefly in that which has been emphatically termed our own element,—and there we have been, as might be expected, almost uniformly successful. From this circumstance even the pecuniary embarrassments, which the war has created, have been less felt than might have been apprehended. Our naval superiority has given us a monopoly of almost the whole commerce of the universe; and while our expenditure has been increasing in an enormous and alarming degree, our means have had almost a proportionate augmentation.

Leaving for the present a disquisition, the importance of which we do not mean to deny, that which would ascertain the probable permanence of those means,—let it suffice at present to remark, that to this state of things we are in no small degree indebted for that internal tranquillity, and that union of sentiment, which have been latterly so conspicuous. To this may be added, that horror of revolution, which the conduct of the French, in the different stages of theirs, has so justly inspired. Thus, even men who may not totally approve of the conduct of administration, are become still more firmly riveted to

the British Constitution, which can alone secure to them the blessings they at present enjoy; and we believe it is a sentiment nearly universal, even among those who most warmly disapprove of the present administration, that if they cannot be constitutionally removed, it is better (whatever may be their talents or their conduct) that they should be continued in office. Example has taught them, that it is unsafe to depart on any occasion from the maxims which the wisdom of their ancestors have established; and that it is wiser, in the words of the poet, "to bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of."

The result, indeed, of every innovation on an established government, is evidently (from the example before us) uncertain, while the evils attending the change are certain and manifest. But if that established constitution has been found by experience to be a good one in a general view, to hazard its existence in the hope of practically amending it would be insanity in the extreme. This has ever been our sentiment; and from the first opening of the French revolution we have affirmed, that the situation of France and England admitted of no comparison whatever.* France was led by a chain of circumstances, unlike every thing that has existed in this country, to a change of government:—In England there was no cause or motive to induce such an event. France had no constitution, and her government was universally acknowledged to be vicious in the extreme:—England has made the peaceful experiment of her constitution for more than a century, and found the prosperity, freedom, and happiness of the people, the glorious result. When the people of France, therefore, effected a change in their government, even while that change promised to achieve something for the amelioration of the state of society, the example was contemplated in England with curiosity indeed, but with little of the ardour of imitation. A few theorists, fond of novelty and speculation, were desirous of recommending the conduct of the French as an object of emulation; but their harangues were heard with a frigid scepticism by the mass of the people; while some who thought more deeply on the subject foresaw, that to form a perfect constitution was not an easy task,—and that if it were, a system of morality without religion, and of politics without a government, were not the means of effecting it. The calamities which our neighbours have experienced decided the dispute; the abettors of French principles in this country were soon reduced to a very small compass indeed, and, within the circle of our knowledge at this hour, we can safely say we know of none.

One cause of disunion still existed, and that was the war—Of this some have disapproved, who equally censured the republican politics of France, and much more their irreligious sentiments. Could it have been avoided, all men are agreed that it was highly desirable that Britain should have remained at peace. The friends of administration have affirmed that war was an evil not to be avoided, while others have believed that the repeated concessions of France ought to have been attended to, and that the precipitate rashness of ministers brought on a calamity which all unite to deplore. The abrupt and unjustifiable termination of the negotiation at Lisle, made a forcible argument in extenuation at least of the conduct

* See the Preface to our Volume for 1791.

conduct of ministers, and those who believed them sincere in those offers of pacification could no longer hesitate in throwing the blame upon the opposite party, since he who offers to negotiate, disavows (till his object and his terms are fully explained) every hostile intention.

Thus every cause contributed to produce that unity of sentiment, that general spread of loyalty, which marked the period of which we are now to treat, the latter end of the year 1798 and the beginning of 1799.

On the opening of the parliamentary session on the 20th of November, the benches formerly occupied by the minority appeared still deserted; but as little could be effected either by their counsel or their opposition, the absence of these able statesmen was the less to be regretted. The speech from the throne was for the most part a recapitulation of the events which had occurred during the recess. His majesty commenced with observing "That the success which had attended our arms during the course of the present year had been productive of the happiest consequences, and promoted the prosperity of the country. Our naval triumphs had received fresh splendor from the memorable action in which lord Nelson had attacked a superior enemy, and turned an extravagant enterprise to the confusion of its authors; the blow thus given to the power and influence of France had afforded an opening which might lead to the general deliverance of Europe.

"The magnanimity of the emperor of Russia, and the vigour of the Ottoman Porte, had shown that these powers were impressed with a just sense of the present crisis, and their example would be an encouragement to other states to adopt that spirited line of conduct which was alone consistent with security and honour.

"Our preparations at home, and the zeal of all ranks of people, had deterred the enemy from attempting to invade our coasts.

"In Ireland the rebellion had been repressed: the views of ill-minded people, who had planned the subversion of our constitution, had been fully detected and exposed; those whom this had misled must now be awakened to their duty; and the miseries which those traitorous designs had produced impressed the necessity of expelling every attack on the established government of their country.

"Under the pressure of protracted war, it was a great satisfaction to observe, that the produce of the public revenue had been fully adequate to the increase of our permanent expenditure: the national credit had been improved, and commerce had flourished in a degree unknown.

"Our situation unhappily rendered the continuance of heavy expences indispensable to the public safety: but the state of our resources, and the public spirit, would furnish the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to the people, and with as little addition as possible to the burthens of the state. The aid given to public credit by the plan for the redemption of the land-tax had been attended with the most beneficial effects. We had surmounted great difficulties; our perseverance (in a just cause) had been rewarded with success; and our situation in a period of danger, compared with that of other countries, proved that the security of the British nation depended (under Providence) on its own constancy and vigour."

Earl Darnley moved the address in the accustomed manner, rejoic-

ing in the prosperity of the country, expatiating on the victory of the Nile, and echoing back encomiums on the emperor of Russia and the Ottoman Porte. The address concluded with assuring his majesty of the zeal and loyalty of his parliament, and the cheerfulness with which that house would support the crown and constitution.

Lord Craven seconded the motion: nothing, he said, could afford more pleasure than the description of the present state of the country. After being deserted by the allies, whose cause we had come forward to espouse, it was gratifying to see the noble stand we had made, and the success we had obtained over the common enemy of mankind. By our single exertions the navy of the French republic was annihilated; her boasted army of England had lost its title; not only our coasts at home, but our most valuable possessions abroad, were secured. Through the vigilance of our marine, but one of all the squadrons the French had sent out to assist the rebellion of Ireland had reached the place of its destination; and even that had been unable to withstand our well-directed force. There was only one branch of commerce which we did not before almost exclusively possess, namely, that of the Levant; and of that trade France would be now totally deprived, and we should reap all those advantages which had heretofore maintained her navy. The situation of Buonaparté was also in our favour; cut off from all means of retreat, and beset on every side with obstacles. These successes had given spirit and alacrity to several of the foreign powers, who had unequivocally determined to join against the common enemy. Russia and the Ottoman Porte had declared themselves; and Austria, though unwilling, would find it her interest to unite in the exertions which our example had recommended to all Europe, and without which it would be vain to look either for security or peace.

The marquis of Lansdown expressed the greatest pleasure in paying his tribute of gratitude and applause to those commanders who had performed their duty so gloriously, and achieved as much as men could achieve for the honour of their country; but he said there remained a duty also for us to perform at home, a duty which rested upon the king's ministers and their lordships—it was, to draw from those victories the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make a right application of those memorable events which had been extolled with so much rapture. The greatest conquests were but fleeting objects, unless well used; and however fascinating with their splendor, would pass away without solid cause of joy, unless made the means of attaining the most desirable good, so often recommended by himself in that house—*a safe and honourable peace*. The real patriot would think his service best repaid by knowing it had tended to procure the cessation of arms, and the return of tranquillity. He had no doubt but that lord Nelson would highly prefer this satisfaction to any personal compliment which could be paid him; and the marquis acknowledged his regret in observing that the victory of the Nile, which might have led to peace, was employed as a reason for new exertions, and a continuance of the war: and in what manner? by again combining with the European powers, by every one of whom we had already been abandoned. Not only that great man lord Nelson, but every distinguished officer in the service, would feel disappointment

ment if their triumphs produced none of those advantages to Great-Britain, which, with wise management, they were calculated to confer. He wished to be rightly understood—He was satisfied it was of the utmost consequence to check the progress of the French revolution. It was not necessary, nor was it sound policy, to load with opprobrium even the enemy: but to speak of the conduct of the French without using the language of the most unequivocal reprobation, was impossible; their course of havock and devastation, their detestable tyranny and baseness, must excite a steady resolution to check their career, and save the world from the calamity to which they would doom it in every bosom which cherished liberty as the supreme good. But how its progress was to be checked, what were the means most likely to be efficacious, was the object of most serious importance, and to which he particularly called the attention of their lordships. Had we not the experience of five years to prove to us, that we had undertaken the task in a manner not calculated to obtain the end? What probability appeared that we should be more prosperous in future than we hitherto had been. His majesty's speech afforded but little hopes of it: instead of a great and well organised plan, going directly to the object in which the powers of Europe had concurred—instead of improving the victory of the Nile to this purpose, and restoring tranquillity to Europe, the continuance of war was announced! It never could be denied, but that if a sense of general danger had brought our allies to a league upon honest principles, in which, instead of disgracing themselves by looking to this country for subsidies, they would resume the dignity which became them;—if their union had not been distracted by mercenary views, by plans of rapine and aggrandisement, by the intervention of despicable intrigue, and distrustful jealousies, it never could be denied but that, at every period of the revolution, the powers of Europe would have been able to have ended their career and mischief.

We now were told of the vigour manifested by Russia and the Porte, a monstrous alliance between Turks and Russians! We all knew that their mutual distrusts exceeded those of other nations: it was hereditary; it was implanted in their nature, and strengthened by their education. The family upon the throne of the Russians had uniformly cherished the notion that Constantinople was to be a part of their inheritance. It was with this view they named the second son of the present emperor, Constantine II. And was it from a coalition of this sort that we were to derive hopes of vigorous operations against France? If Russia were in earnest, why did we not hear of the other northern powers coming forward and joining in the league? As to the Grand Seignior, what was the Ottoman Porte? Turkey was the most helpless of all the countries upon earth; incapable not only of external operations, but of domestic defence, and in a state of universal insubordination. Defeated in more than thirty attacks upon one rebellious pacha—unable to resist the rebellion of a subject—was it from such a country that we were to expect a vigorous co-operation? upon such a league that we could place our confidence? Experience ought to teach us caution; and impress upon our minds the conviction of the hollow principle upon

which combinations of this kind were formed. When a court was so little actuated by motives of honour and justice, as to forfeit its obligations, could we afterwards rely on its fidelity? If we should advance to a man in necessity a sum of money to enable him to carry on a just claim to estates which were withheld from him, and by such succour he had succeeded in his lawsuit, should we not say that his first duty was to repay those persons who had saved him from ruin? What was true of an individual was true of a court. We had assisted the great powers of the continent: one of them had contracted large engagements with us, and was enabled by our succour to make valuable acquisitions. It did not appear, by his majesty's speech, that this great power had come forward to discharge its obligations: it had not given any assurance that it would discharge them. The loan was raised under the guarantee of the British government; and, if a new combination should be made with courts that had hitherto looked to their own distinct and individual interests only, and deserted the common cause the instant they had obtained some miserable acquisition to themselves, we could have no prospect of advantage from a league with such nations.

Nay, if the jealousies of these powers should be stifled for a moment, something more was necessary to the combined movement of Europe against France: the powers of the Baltic should join the confederacy. But no exertion from this quarter was to be seen, and we were told that the war must be prolonged upon the ground of disjointed combination, a combination neither general nor disinterested. Were they less sensible of their danger than we? Were they less liable to feel the atrocity of the French system?—It could not be said that they were. The protection which we derived from our marine, from our insular situation, and from public opinion, made us more secure than any other kingdom on the continent: and when it was evident that we were employed only for their own ends; that, however solemn their engagements, they deserted us without a struggle of conscience, and made their peace with our enemies whenever they had made an acquisition; could we again entangle ourselves with such confederates? The marquis said, that he anticipated the reply to all this. How could we make peace? It was impossible to negotiate with the directory. Whether our ministers were sincere in their attempts he would not pretend to say; but if they were, their measures were ill imagined, and worse conducted. If they were not, this country was involved in disgrace, and laid open to the reproaches of all Europe. It was an open, an unequivocal mode of conduct which he had always recommended; and it particularly behoved their lordships to testify that they would support the government which would act upon this upright principle. It would be giving dignity to England to make this declaration at a moment of conquest. He did not mean that this country should humiliate itself, nor was he acquainted with the present dispositions of the French directory; but it could not be attended with bad consequences to make the avowal of a liberal system, and the moment of victory would ascertain our sincerity.

After such declaration, our course (should they refuse it) was safe and clear. But it would be wise to lay aside all idle plans of conquest and acquisition which we could not maintain;

maintain; as Corsica and St. Domingo, which we had captured, and found it expedient to give up. It would be wise to refuse our assent to all continental intrigues, in which it was likely that the French would out-manœuvre us, as they hitherto had done, and gained as much by intrigue as by arms. To all such intrigues this country should be a stranger; for all combinations which had duplicity for their origin were as much against the interests of Great Britain as of humanity. A spirit of disinterestedness, a system of moderation, was the policy, as it ought to be the pride of our country. At home the crown had gained every thing; it could not, and it ought not, to look for any further accession of power. The present was a favourable moment for securing the unanimity which now prevailed. The attachment of the people was stronger and more valuable than a hundred treaties. By retrenching expences, by introducing order and œconomy into every department of the state, party would soon be no more, and we might reap the advantages of our present situation. A union with Ireland had been rumoured; to which he should certainly give his support, if founded on a principle which he could approve. Two bodies brought together, and acting as one, might certainly effect more than separately could be effected.

Every thing beneficial might be expected from such a junction, if it were built upon public opinion; but if it were to be a government of influence, corruption, and all its consequences, would ensue,—consequences which Ireland had already felt but too severely.

We were now arrived at that point in our history, when we must resume the good sense of our ancestors, and govern by patriotic principles, not by bribery or patronage. Instead of looking to great families, we must look to the people; and instead of the grasp and range of influence, trust to the œconomy with which every branch of our administration was conducted.

So much for our home affairs; and as to our external position, there remained but one good and practicable course; to pursue an honourable system as the only means of attaining a permanent peace.

Lord Romney rose to remark, that it was essential the people should think the ministers sincere in their late negotiation: whether it was ill imagined, however, he did not pretend to say, but he would contend that it was well conducted, and, he hoped, had had the effect of convincing the people both of its sincerity and the abilities of administration.

Of Turkey, and our alliance with it, he formed better expectations than the noble marquis had expressed. The Turks had seen their errors with respect to France; and it would have been well if they had opposed them long ago with vigour. They were now determined to do this, encouraged by the fidelity of this country towards all with whom they entered into engagements. The Emperor Paul was remarkable for his moderation and his virtues; there was reason then to believe he would be honourable in his conduct where he had pledged his faith. It had been said, that Denmark and Sweden were preparing arms, and, with the other powers, combining in one common cause. If Europe had undertaken this before, there was no doubt but the great nation would have given way. It was not yet too late, and our prospects brightened. In our finances

finances there was nothing to alarm us; the funds were higher than they had been for a considerable time. We possessed great advantages at this moment, and the greatest was the unanimity of the people. But we ought to abandon the further pursuit of conquest, as we could not retain them when acquired; of which the striking instances were Corsica and St. Domingo. It was true we had resigned these; but St. Lucia, Martinique, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spice Islands, were yet in our possession, and there was no appearance of any intention to give them up; but he did not pretend to judge of the policy of surrendering some places, and retaining others. His majesty's ministers could best decide which were tenable, as they had the best means of forming right estimates.

Lord Holland differed from the marquis of Lansdown, who, he said, had so well described the impracticability of any junction between Prussia and Austria; although he recommended another combination upon more honest principles. So far was he himself from recommending any further continental connections, that he thought our influence hitherto operating upon the German courts had been the cause of all the mischief which had taken place, and of the mortifying situation in which the continental states in alliance with the French republic found themselves at this moment. Promises had been from time to time held forth, and uniformly broken. He meant not to depreciate from the victories we had gained: they were additions to the national credit and honour; but if the only advantage we were to gain by them was to be a revival of the horrors of war, England had little cause to rejoice. The speech from the throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before, but we had only seen, in consequence of these confederacies, devastation extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. The former confederacy of princes was the chief cause of the calamities produced by the French revolution. Experience might teach us that it was impossible to derive any advantage to this country from them. We might recollect that we never had an alliance with any of them, who had not deserted us. Austria, the most considerable, was only a drain upon us, and a temptation for the conquest of the enemy.

The late glorious victory ought to induce us to show a disposition for peace. It would not be humiliation, but magnanimity; nor would the people of this country fancy it was a degradation, if his majesty's ministers, in their name, would evince a pacific spirit. The people of England had no wishes inconsistent with the glory of their country, and he heartily regretted that they had not their due weight and power in the government. Of the diminution of expence, he saw but little probability; having observed, that in the years when we had the strongest assurances of retrenchment, our expenditure had increased the more.

He felt, he said, the difficulty of succeeding in the hour of victory in any attempt to moderate desire. It was an unwelcome task even to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but he so far coincided with his noble friend (the marquis of Lansdown) as to think that the greatest victories were useless,

useless, unless employed to obtain this only legitimate end of war.

Lord Mulgrave was surprised, that any Englishman should think that this was a moment for proposing peace, especially to such an enemy as we had to contend with: reference to the fate of former attempts had little to do with the present. Was the relative situation of the two countries the same now as at the beginning of the war, either in point of glory, in point of finance, or in point of the popularity of the two governments? When the contest first began, the parties started as great rivals upon equal terms; at present, however, every thing which could constitute advantage was in our favour: in such a position of things, would it be wise to trust that moderation which the noble lord had so highly extolled? Ought we to rest our security upon the pacific disposition of the present rulers of France? Was it sound policy, at a moment when a prospect had arisen of securing the independence of Europe, to throw away our advantages, and seek, by crouching at the feet of France, a precarious, hollow, and fallacious peace, without endeavouring to turn the glory we had earned into an universal benefit to the world.

It was his opinion, that ministers, instead of omitting any favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an honourable conclusion, had carried their desire for peace too far: the enemy had mistaken it for inability to maintain the conquest, and their insolence and ambition had increased: their obstinacy indeed had deluded them, and led the way for this country to obtain the most splendid successes. However individuals might lament the losses they had sustained, however the burthens of the state might be increased, every patriot must rejoice in the triumphs we had celebrated. In that proud eminence which we now occupied, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honourable termination: it was not by extenuating our successes, it was not by magnifying our petty losses, that a stable peace could be promoted: Britain stood high amongst the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and confide in her efforts for security. It had been said, that jealousies and rivalships subsisted between several of the powers that were confederated against France. Austria and Prussia had entertained them, and separated; but they had reason sorely to repent their conduct; the events which succeeded plainly proved, that there was no safety but in union. No evil could compare with that of giving way to France; and, in fact, had we not seen these little dissensions laid aside? Russia and the Ottoman Porte (an example beyond all former speculations, because the occasion was beyond all former precedents) were now cordially co-operating in the same cause. When we considered the different situations of this country and of France, there was every thing to animate us. On the one side was glory, the respect and love of subjects, and the sinews of war; on the other, hatred, insubordination, and the exhausted resources of rapine and violence. The moderation so highly extolled, after they had pillaged a great part of Europe, had carried them as far as Egypt in search of new sources of plunder; in a moment like this, therefore, it would be the highest of pusillanimity to abandon other powers, to whom

whom experience had taught the wisdom of fidelity; and to pursue selfish measures, when so bright a prospect was before us of an honourable termination of the contest.

Lord Holland rose to explain; he said he never had affirmed that the French had been always moderate in their conduct; moderation had never been the character of any government in France, republican or monarchical. But there had been periods in which conciliation on the part of this country would have led to peace. It was certainly an unwelcome task to remind their lordships that these opportunities had been lost. The sums of money sent abroad from England had continued the war on the continent without advantage, and this war had consolidated the power of France. We had proved too fatally how inadequate a former coalition had been to crush the revolution, and he saw no reason to imagine that the present would be more successful.

Lord Grenville expressed much satisfaction in avowing a different opinion: the powers of the continent were now willing to embrace a line of conduct more suited to their interests; and was this a moment for England to shew that she was guided by little selfish politics? Instead of bringing Europe to its fate and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of Great-Britain to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It was the duty of ministers to promulgate this glorious purpose, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and not, by reviving them, to prevent that co-operation which was so necessary to the general safety, and connected with the true interests of the country.

The marquis of Lansdown strongly reprobated the idea of placing ourselves at the head of Europe it was (he said) a vain, foolish, idle boast, which could only terminate in confusion and disaster. The collections which had recently been published in the correspondence of our statesmen since the revolution (Bolingbroke, Townsend, Sir R. Walpole, and others) demonstrated how much our wisest politicians disapproved of continental connexions, the system of subsidies, and the atempt to take the lead in Europe. The duke of Marlborough, who possessed conciliatory talents in as eminent a degree as any man ever did, said, "that it was some little merit to have made eight nations act as one man." Great as the abilities of the duke of Marlborough were, he would venture to say, that had his grace been now alive, it would be above his powers to form such a confederacy, or make four nations act as one man, or even in concert! Now that the experiments were to be made at the expence of so many millions of lives, he would be apt to say, "You have made one trial, and failed, and we do not wish for the sake of humanity that it should be made again;" for himself, he had for several years opposed the attempt to take the lead in continental connexions, and he now opposed the renewal of them.

Lord Sydney affirmed, that he could not discover in the writings of our best statesmen any of that marked disapprobation of foreign alliances in situations of emergency. Arguments of lord Bolingbroke indeed might be produced; but he did not think his authority, or the principles on which the infamous treaty of Utrecht was concluded, would have great weight. He complimented lord Grenville and Mul-

grave

grave upon their speeches, declaring that he had never heard more eloquence in the course of a long parliamentary life.

The marquis of Lansdown persisted that the statesmen whom he had named (and they were the best) were of decided opinion that this country should never take the lead in continental politics, (as he had said before) nor attempt to cut and carve up Europe.

Lord Grenville rose to declare, that the precise question was whether the French should have this honour, and cut and carve it up instead of us? not, that this country should exercise a power and practice so unwarrantable.

In the house of commons on the same day, his majesty's speech having been read, lord G Levison Gower rose to move the address He said, that the ministers had made two attempts at a negotiation for peace; that the dawn of rational liberty having began to break upon the horizon of France, and a spirit of moderation having effected an extraordinary change in the minds of the French people, our government had supposed that theirs was also inclined to pacification, and would observe the conditions; but we had been much mistaken The directory, flushed with success and dazzled by their victories, imagined that the pressure of our difficulties and dangers had compelled us to this measure; and there were some Englishmen, (he was sorry to observe) who cherished the same idea. That we had many and great difficulties to contend with, no impartial observer would deny; but, though our credit had experienced some decline: although apprehensions had been entertained of our funding system, and a national bankruptcy was said to stare us in the face; yet the vigour of the British nation had been called forth; a spirit of resistance to the insolence of the enemy had been excited; a consciousness of our own strength had been so forcibly impressed on our minds, that no services had been refused—no contribution withheld—no sacrifice declined. The country had striking instances before its eyes of what it had to expect from the presumption of the enemy, and was convinced that all its safety depended upon its exertion. It was to this conviction we owed our voluntary contributions and our warlike defences: from being a people of peaceful pursuits, and little familiarised with the use of arms, we had suddenly become a nation of well disciplined military men. The enemy had observed our ardour; they had desisted from the vain threat and impotent design of invading the British shores; they had shrunk from their madly-meditated scheme of despoiling us of our wealth, and destroying the sources from whence it sprung. Whatever might have been their plan of plunder and of massacre, (a plan which would be found as wicked in intention as it was terrible in aspect), that plan our vigilance had watched, and our prudence confounded.

In their attempts on Ireland they had not proved more successful; in vain had they supplied the disaffected with arms, and effected a partial landing. The few who had disembarked had been compelled by our noble commanders to surrender. At the same period, another force had been prepared from Holland, destined to corroborate in the same design; but their fate was known, and their attempts frustrated by the activity of our squadron. Our security, derived from these

these efficient efforts, and from the inability of the French to accomplish their object of invasion, permitted us to contemplate with just exultation the glorious scenes which opened on Great-Britain: amongst which stood so conspicuous the brilliant victory lately recorded. The impression which it had made on the continent promised the most auspicious result; and, however we might regret that our gallant admiral did not fall in with the enemy's fleet, to complete its annihilation, on maturer reflection it was a fortunate circumstance. Had the hostile fleet been destroyed, we could not have known its destination, or been convinced of the perfidious machinations of the French directory. The world would have been ignorant of the craft with which it endeavoured to inveigle the powers with whom the French nation was united in treaties, and whom it professed to respect, whilst it purposed to violate. The very moment it was repeating these professions, had it not attacked the Ottoman Porte in its most vulnerable point, supposing that this power was either too dull to apprehend its designs, or too feeble to resist them? Were we desirous to discover other advantages of this unparalleled triumph? we had only to observe its influence on the negotiation at Rastadt, where might be traced the first symptoms of spirited resistance to the ambitious encroachments of the enemy. At Naples, its effects were not less conspicuous; and wherever the joyful tidings had resounded, men and measures had assumed a new tone and complexion;—such were the precious fruits which the wisdom of a people might reap from victories won by valour. And was this the moment to arrest them in their career—to dispirit their hopes, to damp their zeal, and suspend their exertions? Some indeed had argued that these very circumstances of prosperity should direct our attention to peace, and enable us to effect its attainment. To secure an honourable peace, he was as sincerely disposed as any who could hold this language; nor was he disinclined to seek it from any aversion to any form of government; but the spirit which actuated the directory promised no stability—no faith. He adverted, he said, in a peculiar manner, to their behaviour towards Switzerland, and towards the infant republics which they had created and pretended to patronise. Whilst the conferences were holding at Rastadt, and a negotiation had actually began between them and the emperor, they seized upon an important post in Germany. Indeed their conduct had been the same to almost every state; and was it a moment to relax our endeavours, when the emperor of Russia was eager to second our operations? Would we cruelly damp the hopes of the Belgic insurgents, whose principal dependance was our assistance, and who so anxiously expected deliverance from our compassion? What, in a word, would be the result, but to repress the indignation which burned in every nation against Gallic insolence and Gallic oppression? England was now seated on a proud pre-eminence, and, by persevering in a firm resistance to our inveterate enemy, might bring to a safe conclusion the most arduous contest in which any nation had ever been involved.

Sir H. P. S. Mildmay seconded the motion: and, after expatiating on the sacrifices which we had already made to the interests of humanity, he said we were entitled to such

such terms in pacification as accorded with the brilliancy of our victories—the dignity of our situation—and the influence which we held over the other cabinets of Europe.

Sir John Sinclair dwelt much upon the battle of the Nile. The peculiar crisis, and the difficulties which he had to surmount, had raised lord Nelson to the first rank amongst the naval heroes of the time. Yet much as he exulted in this glorious exploit, he thought it was impossible not to see that, by the misconduct of the ministers, his lordship's laurels had been almost blasted; his companions had been in danger of being left to repine the failure of their enterprising schemes, whilst the force of France was permitted to return in triumph to her posts; for in consequence of the force under his command being sent in detachments to the Mediterranean, the gallant admiral had been for weeks occupied in ineffectual searches, wasting his time after the fleet of the enemy. Had the ministers appointed a sufficient number of cruisers on the station, their track might have been easily discovered, their fleet defeated, and their troops brought into our ports. So much inattention had been shown to this part of the service, that, not having small cruisers, admiral Nelson had been obliged to send the Leander, a 50 gun ship, with the dispatches to Europe after the action. Undoubtedly there had been a splendid victory obtained, but why was it not more complete? [*A cry of bear!* *bear!*] I ask, (continued sir John Sinclair) why was not Buonaparté brought a prisoner to the metropolis? why was not the force of France successfully pursued in its progress to Alexandria? why, with such immense fleets, with the ablest, the best, the most noble officers that ever waved a banner, was not the enemy repulsed in the beginning of their expedition?—because ministers had not performed their duty. He next touched upon our disasters in the West Indies, at St. Domingo. He said we had suffered much, to which there was no allusion in the speech from the throne. Our expedition thither had been either rashly undertaken, timidly prosecuted, or treacherously abandoned. It was necessary to inquire into the circumstances and nature of this project; to ascertain what number of troops had been employed; what numbers perished; the sums of money expended, and how accounted for. That house would be wanting in its duty, if it passed in silence over affairs thus important; but which had been passed over in the speech without a comment. Perhaps the ministers would say, that the forces of this country had not been defeated, and that St. Domingo had merely been evacuated: but why, if it was possible to obtain did they issue orders to abandon it? Surely this argued great defect of judgment, on the affirmation of integrity. In the East-Indies also we had experienced heavy losses; and, owing to that fatality which had long attended our navy, those possessions had of late been deserted. To the same cause might be attributed the capture of two very valuable East-India ships, by the cruisers of the enemy. Another topic of importance, which demanded the utmost attention, had passed unnoticed in the speech from the throne — the finance. We had heard much in every other place of raising the expenditure within the year: probably the minister waited

to

to collect the sense of the nation from the effect it might have on the projects of the new committee of finance sitting at the mansion-house. It would be well to treat that house with a little more respect, and not revive in the persons of a few merchants there the characters of the Scotch lords of the articles, who previously were accustomed to digest every law which was proposed to the parliament of that country. He sincerely hoped their privileges would be asserted, and all innovations resisted; and he seized, he said, this opportunity of protesting against such projects, because, of all the measures, the plan of finance, reported to have been discussed there, was the most impolitic and unequitable; and if it extended to the new speculations of the enemy, it was not possible to know what mischievous effects it might produce on the permanent revenue of the country. The hon. baronet (sir J. S. Mildmay) had alluded in his speech to the progress of the assessed taxes, and expressing pleasure that the last had fallen short of the minister's expectations; as also, that the land-tax was likely to meet with few supporters amongst the proprietors of land; as every thing taken from the owners by that project would be taken from the improvement of their estates, and whatever blighted agricultural industry would impoverish the country. Sir John Sinclair said, that he wished the minister to unfold his plans, that the house might form some notion of the burthens they had yet to bear, and the retrenchments they must yet adopt. It was likewise, he thought, the duty of the right hon. gentleman to apologise for certain expressions with which he had ended his parliamentary career last sessions. [As this sentence had obviously some reference to the affair between Mr Pitt and Mr. Tierney, there was a general cry, "*To order!*"] The speaker then pronounced it an infallible rule of the house, that no speech should be subject of animadversion excepting on the day of its delivery, or at the next sitting, and consequently this language was disorderly. Sir John pleaded his ignorance in having transgressed, and declared that he cheerfully submitted to such high authority; concluding with a hope that our victories might restore peace, and not be wasted on the projects of a finance minister.

Sir Francis Burdett opened his speech with regretting that all our conquests were only signals of new expeditions and accumulated burthens, instead of the long-wished-for blessing—peace. He had apprehended that the victory of admiral Nelson would produce an union of states, which before were adverse to each other, and enable us to preserve the balance of Europe. With joy he would consent to this union as a means of attaining tranquillity; but, on the contrary, if it was used as an instigation for continuing the war, our most noble exploits could only be regarded as forerunners of calamity. In the speech from the throne there appeared a studied ambiguity of expression; and it was impossible to trace the future measures of administration, the line of policy which would be pursued, or the sacrifices which the country would be required to make towards plans of ambition or of security. Not a word was dropt of our allies, of the zealous emperor of Germany, or the faithful king of Prussia; but we had panegyrics on the magnanimity of Russia, and the decision of the Ottoman Porte. Before we could consent to the plans

plans of the minister for extending our commerce, and increasing our prosperity, it was necessary to know what were the real objects of the contest. It was not difficult to swell periods with these terms; but a member of that house would but ill discharge his duty to his constituents by implicitly confiding to any minister the preservation of the one, and the means of adding to the other. But there was one point which particularly demanded attention: the promise of accomplishing the deliverance of all Europe. To him these words were unintelligible. Were we again to empty our coffers to restore Belgium to the emperor, or Italy to its pristine state? Would new coalitions succeed against France in the plenitude of power, when, in her distracted situation, in the infancy of her glory, without allies, her antient territory ill secured, and herself alone, she had fought her battles with success against all Europe? If the emperor, the kings of Prussia, Spain, and Portugal; if the disciplined troops of England, and its resources, could not subdue her; was there any reason for us to expect conquest from new alliances rising out of the ruins of the old? His next subject of animadversion was what he considered to be an attack upon the laws and liberties of our country. The men, he said, who held the situation of conservators of the public safety, who had the command of the vessel of the state, had criminally deserted their legal posts, and had thrown overboard the ballast constitution — disabling the national bark for ever. This abridgement of the privileges of Englishmen was the work of the ministers; but could not have been achieved, if every man had faithfully discharged his duty and his obligations to his country. They could not have divided the kingdom against itself, usurped the jurisprudence, and dared to have erected a bastile in Britain.

Having complained of these grievances, he believed, he said, that the language of every real patriot would be, "that if unanimity was desirable, let us be restored to our good old laws for rules of action; let a fair representation of the people in their parliament be made; let us see the prisons destroyed, and our constitution re-established: for, without these, to call upon the country for unconditional support, was adding mockery and insult to injury and injustice."

The question was carried with only one dissenting voice.

The first weeks of the session were principally occupied by a new system of finance, introduced by the minister, and which in a future chapter it will be our object to detail. The next measure of importance introduced by his majesty's ministers, was the continuance of the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act; but, previous to this business, a motion was introduced by Mr. Tierney relative to peace, which it is necessary to notice. It was on the 11th of December that Mr. Tierney submitted his motion to the house of commons; and it was in substance, "that the ministers should advise his majesty against entering into any engagements which could impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a disposition appeared in the French republic to treat on terms consistent with the interests of Great Britain."

He was well aware, he said, that this motion was an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which unquestionably possessed the power of making war or peace: but it belonged to the house to grant

supplies; and, as one of its members, he had as good a right to say that the supplies granted to the crown should be granted exclusively to England, as to vote against them: a right which no one would attempt to deny.

But it might be objected, that this motion tended to damp the rising spirit of Europe. If that spirit was likely to animate all Europe against the common enemy, he should be the last man in the country to wish it discouraged; but there was no spirit arising from a good principle in any quarter; and on its principle alone must depend the value and the duration of any spirit. What had been the conduct of the powers of the continent? Had a systematic course of opposition to the ambitious projects of France ever been pursued by any of them? Prussia had been at peace for three years. The minister of the republic was treated there with all the respect which nations observe towards those with whom they wish to continue a good understanding. The emperor also had no dispute with the French at present. Russia made professions in our favour; but this was all. The Ottoman Porte had expressed some resentment against what Mr. Tierney said he considered a sudden act of injustice: not that he meant to say the French had not been guilty of the most scandalous injustice in many respects before; but the opposition of the Porte to the republic would discontinue the instant they could obtain for themselves what they wanted: they would have no share in the general deliverance of Europe. A general spirit to resist the French was not to be seen; nor a general confederacy to be expected. The great confederacy against France was when the unfortunate monarch was under trial, and at the time of his death. The combined powers were then in the greatest force. France had no settled government; all that she possessed was employed to resist invasion. Her troops were undisciplined; and she had nothing to depend upon but the energy of the people. It was then that a confederacy was most formidable. But what had been its effect? Total discomfiture of the confederates! Whether it was produced by the skill of the French, or their own jealousy and indecision, the consequence was the same. And was the skill of the one less, and the union of the other greater, than before? Were the generals weaker now, and the allies more attached to each other? Was it to be believed that Austria would place more confidence in Prussia (supposing a new combination was formed) than she did formerly? Could England have more confidence in either of them, after having been deserted by both? Ought we to vote for larger supplies than any that had yet been voted, for the purpose of adjusting this or that point which might belong to the left or right side of the Rhine? Were these points essential to the welfare of Great Britain? Could we derive any hope from the prompt action of the Ottoman Porte? Would any man say, that any of these combinations could be of real service to England?

To all this it had been answered, that those nations now understood their own interest better than before. What proof was there of it? The combined powers predicted all the evils which had happened in consequence of the anarchy of France; nor did they fail to ascribe them to French principles. Here Mr. Tierney said it was necessary to

to explain what he himself meant by French principles, as they were misunderstood, and differently understood by different persons. Some called any wish for parliamentary reform the result of such principles. With these he could not agree; but as to those which produced and were supporting the present tyranny of France, no one would sooner reprobate and rejoice in their extinction than himself. Could any thing now be done to inflame the nations more than had been done by the republic before? What could inspire monarchy with greater hatred against French principles than the conduct towards their monarch? Could the nobility of any country resent any thing more than the abolition of their order, and the destruction of their titles? What could inspire the church with more zeal than the overthrowing all church establishments? These were the men who once united against France; and it was from these that the deliverance of Europe was again expected. Was it reasonable to expect, after having obtained Mantua, Luxembourg, and other places, that France would be more easily driven within her ancient limits? or could this great object be accomplished without a greater evil happening to our own country? in short, without such consequences to our finances as could not be calculated without dismay? But where was the line of demarcation to be drawn? Were we only to attempt to reduce France within her former boundaries, the other powers would not assist us here. They would not aid us in restoring to each other what had been lost. If the confederacy were to be formed, it would be dissolved long before this object could be accomplished: not that there was any thing in this motion to prevent its accomplishment; but, instead of extending the confederacy, it would be wiser to leave them to apply to us, and not hold out a determination to bring about the deliverance of Europe, which was indeed impracticable.

His majesty's declaration after the breaking up of the conference at Lisle, in a speech which did honour to his councils, expressly affirmed, that whilst any such determination prevailed, his earnest wish to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. He renewed before all Europe the most solemn assurance, that in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when Providence had blessed his arms with success, he was ready to conclude peace on the same terms which he had before proposed. The rejection of such an offer demonstrated the implacable animosity and insatiate ambition of the enemy, to whom alone must be attributed the consequences of this direful war.

Mr. Tierney observed, that this noble declaration was made after the brilliant victory of lord Duncan, and clearly manifested that even exultation and triumph did not stand in the way of his majesty's pacific dispositions to Europe. But, alas! we now were told that the last splendid achievement of lord Nelson had changed them!

The last objection which he should anticipate was, that this motion might intimate to France that we could not any further co-operate with our allies. But we did co-operate by our naval exertions; had co-operated effectually by our naval victories; and it was his ardent desire that we should continue to co-operate by the force of our fleet; but not by sending troops or sub-

sidies to the continent. In the name of the comfort, the quiet, and the safety of the country, he protested against it! We were carrying on a war, the expense of which, by estimate, was 30 millions a year, which was two millions and a half every month. We had added in six years 150 millions sterling to our debt, by which we had created the necessity of adding 8 millions to our annual burdens: a sum equal to the whole of our expenditure when his present majesty came to the throne. Were he to affirm that the real addition to our debt at the end of the year would be 160 millions, he should not exceed the point. It was firmly his opinion, that the chancellor of the exchequer knew that our affairs could not be wound up for a peace establishment without the greatest difficulty, and therefore was willing to prolong the war. But, to what a state were we reduced when the tenth of every man's income was demanded under one head, independent of all other imposts, to support the establishment, and that this subjected every man to the inconvenience of having his accounts examined? We were also called with too much reason an armed nation; for, though he felt the pride which an Englishman ought to feel at the attachment of his countrymen to their country, evinced by their qualifying themselves to defend it, this measure must increase the influence of the crown, which was a great evil in its nature, besides the bringing under military discipline so many men who were more useful in the civil offices of life. The law had silenced every man in the country, (excepting in that house) by the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and when all these circumstances were added together, was it probable that the constitution of England, or the purses of the people, could support this system of destruction much longer?

As to the other parts of the empire, Ireland for instance, he would say but little; but he understood that, notwithstanding all the efforts to repress rebellion there, further exertions were yet wanted. He merely hinted at this; he would not argue the point, for reasons which the house might guess. If we looked at our establishments in the East, we should see very large expenses; and in the West-Indies the first thing which presented itself was the evacuation of St. Domingo. He meant not to reproach the gallant officer who conducted it—he was sensible of the great value of his military services; but this evacuation was an alarming thing. Here was a power to be raised which cost ten millions of British money, and ten thousand British subjects! From this frightful expenditure of blood and money, what had been the result? Fifty thousand blacks had started up in arms! and thus, within a few hours sail of our West-India colonies, there was a force of no less than 50,000 black men disciplined to arms, and inflamed with enthusiastic notions of liberty. Then let us consider the situation of the enemy: they had now, if not the first, certainly the most successful general in Europe: he was now at the head of a large army in Egypt, where he had remained many months without having received one check. Should he come back again to France, and turn his mind against this country, Mr. Tierney said, he hoped we should be able to meet him; but it would be a very serious thing: and surely, with all these prospects, we had enough to do,

do, without embarking in any intermediate scheme for the deliverance of Europe!—He concluded with wishing that the energy of this country might be directed to the interest of Great Britain, and not be wasted in visionary projects of ideal conquests. To himself it would always be a consolation to reflect that he had lifted up his voice, unsupported and feeble as it was, in the cause of patriotism and truth.

Mr. Canning arose, and in a speech of considerable length re-stated most of those objections which Mr. Tierney had anticipated, but not in his opinion removed. On the first, Mr. Canning said, he was not inclined to lay the greatest stress (constitutional form); the nature of this motion, though extraordinary, was not unprecedented; much less did he mean to deny the right of the house of commons to offer its advice to his majesty on the subject of negotiation or of war. It had several times interfered in both; though a fatality had always seemed to attend these interferences, as almost in every instance from the revolution to our own time, they had been either nugatory or mischievous. But, whatever might be the force of precedents, these alone would not be sufficient to justify the motion, unless it could be proved that some necessity existed which called for such an interference of the house of commons. And this could only arise from some opening for peace now presenting itself, of which ministers did not show themselves disposed to take advantage, or from their having evinced a disposition hostile to it at former periods.

That any such opening now existed, the hon. gentleman had not urged; his motion therefore must be attributed to a false impression on his mind of the conduct of ministers in former negotiations: he seemed to retain a confused recollection of what had passed at Lisle; he remembered that an embarrassment had been thrown in the way by a question about *allies*, but utterly forgot that the allies, who had created this embarrassment, were the allies of France, and not of Great Britain; and under this mistake he was applying to this country a cure for the misconduct of the enemy. Yet, Mr. Canning said, he was prevented from admitting even this foundation for the proceeding, by the approbation expressed of the manifesto published at Lisle, which Mr. Tierney had acknowledged exhibited undoubted proofs of the pacific disposition of the ministers. Yet what had been that gentleman's conduct under this avowed belief? Convinced (as he himself expressed) that his majesty had done all in his power to obtain peace—that he had exceeded all that could have been expected of him in forbearance and moderation—that he had displayed, even after the victory of lord Duncan, the most decided dispositions for tranquillity—convinced that the abrupt conclusion of the negotiation had been the act of the enemy—that his majesty had no choice, and must of necessity carry on a war which the ambition of France would not allow him to terminate—in this conviction Mr. Tierney *had voted against the supply!* He meant not to impeach this conduct; doubtless he had his reasons for it; but he submitted it to the judgment of the house, whether (if no solid advantages were derivable from supporting this extraordinary motion) it was worth while to adopt an unnecessary and mischievous measure

to evince our wish for peace merely to secure *a vote against the supply for carrying on the war!* The interests of Great Britain were to be considered with relation to the different circumstances of the enemy, and of Europe. What might be a secure peace for England with France when reduced in power, and Europe at liberty, would be highly unsafe against France in her present state of aggrandisement, with great part of Europe at her feet, and the resources of other nations at her disposal. It would also be more difficult for us, single and unassisted, to extort from France such terms as would be consistent with our interests, than to obtain the same, if backed by a powerful confederacy in Europe.

A declaration conveyed to France by this motion, that we were determined at all events to treat singly, would inflame her pride, and increase her demands—to affirm publicly that we would make no common cause with other nations, would necessarily place those nations at her mercy, or on her side. The effect must therefore be to deprive us of the probable advantages of the peace to be obtained, and our power of obtaining it: it prescribed a more arduous task with less efficacious means.

At the same time this motion did not hasten the conclusion of any peace; for it left not ministers at liberty to conclude any which *they* did not think consistent with the security of the country; and if they thought (as laudably they might) that no peace would be such which did not provide for the safety of Europe, what assurance did this motion afford against a hopeless prolongation of the war?

If the honourable gentleman had fairly stated the idea of his own mind, instead of using so much circumlocution about the "consistency with security and interests of Great Britain," he would have recommended a *separate* peace.

It is told us, that we should not succeed in effecting a "general deliverance;" nor did he pretend to affirm that we should: but that this was the object which we ought to have in view he always would contend, even if we had reference only to our own safety. This deliverance he willingly acknowledged could not be effected by *our* exertions alone; and unless other powers were disposed to co-operate sincerely, we had no chance of attaining our wishes. But he would ask, if there were no such dispositions evident, what was the necessity of the motion? Why should parliament interfere to prevent his majesty's ministers from taking advantage of intentions which did not exist, and co-operation which never would be offered? But if, on the other hand, these powers were ready to take a part in a common salvation, and only waited for our encouragement to begin, was it the dictate of our duty and our interest to save France from her merited destruction, and, by such a proceeding as was here recommended, extinguish the resentments which her aggressions had enkindled throughout Europe? If, however, this co-operation should be offered, we ought to receive it with suspicion and distrust, and, judging from the manner in which we had been duped before, conclude henceforth that no fidelity was to be expected.

Surely this was illiberal and unjust! What, because Austria and Prussia had been unfaithful to our alliance, and inconsistently with their own interests had made peace at different times, were Russia and the

the Porte to be considered as powers on whom no reliance could be placed, and from whose exertions no advantage could be gained? Are the errors of the guilty to furnish ground of presumption against the innocent? The words in his *majesty's* speech, mentioning "the vigour and decision of the Ottoman *Porte*," seem to have conveyed something obviously absurd and ridiculous—he could not imagine for what reason. Why should not the Grand Seignior take as correct a view of his interests, as any other power whose customs might be more conformable to our own? The declaration of the motives which had actuated the Porte was as able and masterly a composition, as sound in principles of policy and justice, as any state paper ever published by any cabinet.

But this Turk was a Mahometan, and therefore an ally unfit for a Christian. For his own part, he thought an alliance with a Mahometan might be as good as a peace with an atheist; the sanction of its engagements be as sacred, and its stipulations as likely to be fulfilled. Yet this was not all: the Turk was slow to anger, hard to be driven into action. If such were his character, what must have been the provocations that had roused him!

But the Turks and Russians were natural enemies:—what did this prove, but that the aggressions of France had been so multiplied, so various, and so extraordinary, as to unite against her those powers the most opposite in nature and interest—to make the necessity of resistance, and the duty of self-preservation, supersede every narrower consideration, every motive of contracted policy?

For our old allies, however, it is taken for granted, that no apology can be made, no good reason be alleged why *they* should be more worthy our confidence, or true to their own interests: yet, had we not known individuals in our own country whose ideas respecting France had totally been changed? Had not the invasion of Swisserland, the swindling transaction with America, and the negotiation at Lisle, wrought a surprising change in the public mind in England? And why should we limit the benefits of experience to our own countrymen only? Might not the statesmen of Austria or Prussia have caught some light from the proceedings on the continent? Were they not to be believed, if they made this declaration; and whatever engagements had formerly subsisted between them and the directory, when they detected the fraud which had been practised on their judgments, and the atrocity of their allies, they withdrew their friendship and their allegiance?

Mr. Canning dwelt long upon the credit which was due to this penitent retraction; it would be the interest of England, he said, to profit by any future offers of co-operation from such quarters: they had suffered, and in the school of affliction had learnt wisdom.

But, however willing they might be to seize a favourable opportunity for shaking off their yoke to France, were we even able to rally them on our side in the onset, their assistance was worth nothing. Exhausted and dispirited as they were, they had neither the heart nor strength to fight the battle of independence—and too true it was that they had been cruelly reduced and broken down—yet

Spoliatis arma supersunt.

The arms which they had remain-

ing were arms most terrible to tyrants—their wrongs, their desperation, and the desire of revenge! Let France appeal to the bad passions of our allies—let her cajole their fears, or inflame their appetite for aggrandizement—the foundations of our tacit alliance with the allies of France were already laid in their just resentment, in their proud indignation, in every virtuous and every honourable feeling!

When did such a contest terminate in giving permanent preponderance to evil? Another and a graver doubt was started: Whether, with half the world in arms at our side, the objects which we strove to obtain would be in any politic sense British objects? There was a time when any doubt, whether the situation of the powers of the continent relatively to us, or to each other, and the balance of Europe, were objects of British concern, would have been ridiculed and reviled. But all this was now changed, it seemed: therefore, without stating any affirmative opinion of his own, he would only inquire of the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house, *what were actually such?*

Mr. Tierney had alluded to the expedition to Egypt, as having threatened our possessions in the East. Was then the deliverance of Egypt from a French army a British object? Was not the co-operation of the Turk desirable to enable us to effect this purpose? If, by the joint assistance of Russia and the Porte, we could sweep the Levant and the Mediterranean of the remains of this piratical armament; if the coasts of Italy were thus rendered unassailable by the enemy, and the southern parts of France thus laid open to our attack, and the ports and commerce secured to us; were these British objects? Were the Netherlands? There was a time when the dependence of these upon France was considered as so prejudicial to this country, that there was no case in which they would not have been thought a sufficient cause for engaging in a war. He did not pretend to say it was so; but such had been the opinion of their importance by able politicians. If, by the aid of Prussia, we could rescue Holland from her present state of servitude and degradation, raise her once more among the independent powers of Europe a rich, flourishing, and a happy country, connected with us by old habits, common interest, and the reciprocation of commercial advantages; would any person deny that this was a British object, or be proud hereafter to have thrown an insuperable impediment in the way of its accomplishment?

If, then, any one of these might possibly be attained by our foreign alliances, much more if we could suppose it would open a passage to all, was it not surprising that a member of the British parliament should entertain so perverse an ambition as to be able to say hereafter, "All this might have been accomplished, but by my single motion to prevent it?"

Yet he was far from undertaking that, if the motion did not pass, our ardent wishes would be accomplished. The debate was not, whether such exertions would lead to such results, but, whether we should throw away the only chance we had for their being made? The hon. gentleman had not affirmed that Europe could not be saved; he only desired that we might give no encouragement, have no share in saving it! It was not necessary to argue whether the success was probable,

bable, but whether it was so improbable as not to deserve the experiment

Was this motion intended as a motion for peace? If so, why had he not the candour to say so? Was it delicacy or national honour which stood in the way of direct negotiation? For himself, he had no such delicacy, and did not approve it. Mr. Tierney would not speak *to* France, but *at* her; he had not proposed that we should boldly say to the directory, "Will you make peace?" but say, loud enough to be overheard by it, "I wish these French gentlemen would make an overture to us."

Was this a mode of preserving the dignity of our country? or, was it not doing that sneakingly, which, if it was fit to be done at all, must, to have effect, be done openly, unequivocally, and directly?

But the ministers had lost all their pacific dispositions, and were become inveterately and incurably warlike: the spirit of moderation in the last manifesto was evaporated; and however they had borne the tidings of lord Duncan's victory, that of lord Nelson had intoxicated them to madness. That the confidence of the country was high, that the government partook of the spirit of the people, he was happy to acknowledge; but that this spirit had started suddenly out of the late victory he would not allow: confirmed it was, indeed, by a triumph which must have created enthusiasm if it had not been there. Let the days and months of anxiety be recollected which we passed before the intelligence of this memorable event arrived. We asked not that Nelson might conquer Buonaparté, but that Buonaparté might not deceive and escape him; not that we might gain the battle, but find the enemy; for the rest we had nothing to fear.

"Concurrant pariter cum ratibus
"rates,
"Spectent numina ponti, et
"Palmam qui meruit ferat!"

In our present situation, then, fortified by confidence, prosperity, and the success with which it had pleased Heaven to bless our arms, what was the advantage we ought to make of our strength? "Hoard it up for your own life," said the hon. gentleman. "Could an Englishman forget that the nations of the continent stood by whilst we were engaged in a struggle wherein our very existence was at stake? They neither offered assistance, nor manifested any interest in our preservation." Undoubtedly this had been their conduct, and undoubtedly revenge was in our power. We might tell those who had abandoned us, that it was now our turn to breathe, whilst they were contending; that, as they had left us contentedly to our fate, we would consign them unpityingly to theirs. We might thus act in strict retaliation; but a British house of commons would feel that it had a nobler vengeance in its power—even to say to the nations of Europe, "You deserted us at our utmost need; but the first use we make of our prosperity is to invite you to partake of it! We disdained to call you to share our danger, but we are now by our own exertions secure; come and take shelter under our security."

This would be real triumph; this would be powerful recrimination, and a conduct which would immortalise the country!

Mr. Canning ended with remarking,

marking, that the motion was founded on no principle of policy or of necessity; since, if it were intended for a censure on ministers, it was unjust: if for a control, nugatory. Its tendency was to impair the power of prosecuting the war with vigour, and to diminish the chance of negotiating peace with dignity; it contradicted the policy of our ancestors, and degraded us in the eyes of the world; it must carry dismay throughout Europe, and, above all, administer hope, power, and consolation to France.

Mr. Jekyll said, that he expected a motion proposed in so plain a manner would at least have been attended with one advantage, would have procured us the satisfaction of hearing what was the precise object of the war. But the gentleman who spoke last had left us as much in the dark in this respect as ever. From some parts of his argument, we might imagine we were to avenge the atrocities of the French; from others, that we were to fight for the deliverance of Europe. But, after all, the point was left totally undetermined. Our attention was particularly directed to the victory of the Nile, and the enthusiasm it inspired, and the spirit it created. But what was the real source of this enthusiasm and this spirit? He would tell them: the joy which it occasioned was combined with *the hope of peace* between this country and France. Now we were informed, that not peace, but war, was the great result; and called upon to rejoice, not in its pacific effects, but its tendency to increase warlike exertions.

But if the moment of triumph was not the moment to negotiate, in what state of our affairs could we turn our thoughts to this object with propriety? This country again was to be embarked upon the ocean of continental politics; we were again to enter the lists, without knowing the purposes for which we are engaged, or the extent to which we might be involved.

"It belongs to British generosity to attempt the deliverance of Europe, to revenge the wrongs of other nations, and punish the perfidy of France!" And yet these allies of France are hollow, and ready to desert her. This, if it proved any thing, proved too much: Spain was dissatisfied, and Holland weary of her oppressor. But what had been our fortune with our allies? Had we misused, plundered, or insulted them? They had left us, as France had been left. Those treated with generosity by us, were as little to be relied on as those who had been the victims of the injustice of the directory. Experience had distinctly taught us what we were to expect in future: Prussia, after receiving one million two hundred thousand pounds for several years, deserted us; the Emperor, after many loans and advances, had abandoned the common cause; so had the king of Sardinia, after having accepted two hundred thousand pounds. Would any wise statesman place dependence again on the fidelity of such allies?

Of the Ottoman Porte he did not wish to say any thing offensive; but surely the Turks were the most inert, ignorant, and sluggish people now existing. Had they not been baffled and defeated by one of their own rebel pachas? Could they be expected to make an efficient attack upon the power of France? They might, indeed, make an appearance with a flourishing manifesto, drawn up in the spirit of more learned cabinets,

binets, and be mighty liberal with their presents of pelices and aigrettes; but what part could they perform in the deliverance of Europe?

That these plans, so big with event, would probably be accompanied with a subsidy, had met with no reply. Could so important a consideration have escaped the sagacity of Mr. Canning? During the former coalition, when we were called to sanction subsidies to Prussia and Austria, we were told that it was impossible for these powers to go on without pecuniary aid from this country. What, then, were we to expect should they be roused into action? Was it likely that they would be stimulated by any motive so strong as the wealth of England? He hoped we should hear that night, whether we were again to be called upon to produce it. Continental connection had been hitherto the forerunner of foreign subsidy; and there was too much reason to fear it would again be so. It was a serious concern, and we ought to remember the remonstrances and statements of the bank directors, when the bank stopped payment. They then demonstrated to the minister the ruinous consequences of such remittances. If loans were to be granted, our specie must be sent abroad again, and this was no trifling evil. We had already experienced the danger it occasioned. The clamours which the stoppage of the bank produced had subsided; but, if a similar event should occur, it was not easy to say what mischief would follow. Things which formerly would have surprised us indeed, in the present time were scarcely regarded but as a nine days wonder. We had seen new schemes of finance, we had seen the land-tax sold, we now saw the tenth of every man's property about to be put in requisition. Spies, under the name of surveyors, were to be employed in collecting the revenue. Men were obliged to discover their circumstances, or be taxed by an arbitrary assessment. No one could feel more sensibly than himself the splendour of lord Nelson's victory; but whilst this blush of triumph sat upon the face of the country, there was a disease upon its vitals, which excited real alarm—the state of our finances!

To avoid continental connections, had been recommended by the most eminent of our writers; because they always tended to impoverish our own country: and when we were told in the present case, that those powers on whom the tyranny of France had fallen were so exhausted that they had not resources left to enable them to cast off her yoke, what an unlimited demand for pecuniary aid must be made up by England!

Sir James Murray Pulteney said, that after the able speech of Mr. Canning he should not detain the house with many remarks; but there was one point which seemed to have escaped him. He alluded to our successes the last year, during which period we could not be said to be quite destitute of allies. The situation of the continent obliged France to make great preparations both on the Rhine and in Italy, which might be considered in some measure as equal to a campaign. This circumstance operated greatly in favour of this country. If France had seen all the continent at her feet, and expended the sums she had spent in military preparations by land upon her marine, it would have been more difficult and dangerous to have detached so large a division of our navy to the Mediterranean, by which lord Nelson's victory was obtained.

obtained. With respect to the deliverance of Europe, he understood it not as a philanthropist merely, but as it was connected with our safety, and to be considered as a British case.

Mr. Dickinson, jun. differed from any who might think that the motion was an encroachment on the king's prerogative; and considered the house of commons as a place where they could converse with his majesty and his ministers.

The motion would be attended with many mischievous consequences; and none of the least was, that to those abroad who were not acquainted with the nature of our constitution, it might appear a proof of a different interest between the king and the parliament, and that his majesty was not free to regulate all matters of peace and war; a supposition perfectly unfounded. It would likewise damp the spirit of Europe, and remove the apprehensions of the enemy being assailed by a new coalition. The situation of France was widely different also: their trade and commerce were destroyed, their navy annihilated, their resources nearly exhausted; they had no longer the estates of the nobles and the clergy, no longer the confiscated property of those they had murdered! In every point of view, the chance of checking their power was now more favourable than ever; and on these grounds he disapproved the motion—which was negatived without a division.

The discussion of the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act shortly succeeded this debate. The bill for continuing the suspension was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 20th of December; and on the following day, on the second reading, Mr. Tierney observed, that if no reason was assigned for this procedure, he should with-hold his assent.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that the grounds on which the suspension had been last voted were fresh in the recollection of the house; and as none of them had been removed or altered, he judged it unnecessary to assign any new reason for the measure If, however, the house demanded it, the ministers were amply prepared for that purpose.

Mr. Courtenay opened his speech with enumerating the benefits of the habeas corpus act. Every person was convinced of its utility, every writer had pronounced its panegyric: it was a statute on which the personal liberty of every Englishman depended, an act which had made every individual in this country paramount in security to that of any other subject in the world. It had been well described by Ferguson in his Treatise on Civil Society, who observed, "That it forced the executive power to release each prisoner, unless it brought him forward to a trial within due session, and opened the doors of a prison to every man who was not lawfully confined for some specified crime: but it required the strength of the political, of the turbulent and refractory spirit of the people to support it."

That spirit was now no more, or the minister would never have brought forward a measure to deprive them thus of their security for freedom.

There were at this moment above 70 persons confined in consequence of the suspension of this act. Had there not been time to bring most of them to a trial? Their trial and conviction would be the best reason for continuing to entrust such power to the executive government. Two

terms

terms had passed since most of them had been apprehended. Had there been any insurrections in this country since? So far otherwise, that we could not refer to any period in our history since the revolution in which there had been less disaffection than at the present.

The people confined under the authority of this suspension had been treated with unprecedented rigour and inhumanity. Desirous of obtaining some information upon the subject, he had procured an order to see one of the prisons in which persons were confined on the reports of spies and informers. Though he found some of the hardships said to have been endured were exaggerated; the worst of criminals had never been so treated in this country as in the present instance. The prisoners were locked up in cells, without fire, without candle; they had only a truckle bed; and the only means afforded for the admission of light let in also the cold and rain: they had no society whatever: in this situation they remained the whole of their time, excepting for an hour each day. He mentioned these particulars as much with a view to inform the ministers as the house; for he did not believe they were acquainted with them, or, if they had been, that they would have permitted these severities.

Mr. Courtenay said, he had talked with many of the prisoners, and amongst the rest with col. Despard, a gentleman who had been for several years employed in the service of this country. He had been long confined in a cell, without fire, candle, or companion; and though he was now removed to a better place in the prison, even his wife was never permitted to see or speak to him but through an iron grate for a few minutes.

His next visit was to the cells where other persons were confined under the authority of this act: all the places were damp and dismal, nor was it possible to exclude the wet without excluding the light and fresh air. He appealed to the house, whether such rigour ought ever to be practised. He had inquired of lawyers whether they had ever heard of it, and they had said No, not even in the case of any felon: yet so these men were treated in this prison, which (for what reason he knew not) had been called the Bastile. This appellation was so generally known, that, on taking a hackney coach, and inquiring if the coachman knew where it was, he said, Yes, very well, and took him to the prison in Cold-bath Fields. This showed the feelings of the public as to the place. But he could not help observing, that when the Bastile stood under the regular government of France, prisoners were better treated than in *this*.

The direction of this prison was under the chief management of a clergyman of the church of England, a minister of the gospel of Christ! a loyal subject, and a good friend to government; for he had pronounced a high panegyric on the sedition bills! Perhaps the rigour of this divine arose from his principles of piety, and of benevolence to the prisoners; perhaps he thought that the more they were punished in this world, the better chance they had in the next!

Mr. Courteney solemnly affirmed, that the account he had given of this place, and the treatment of the prisoners, was true: nor had he stated all which he discovered in the course of his visit. He found there a man confined for selling a book, entitled, "The Duties of Citizenship;" his name was Smith: he was used like a felon; and whether

ther this was right, whether it was consonant to the spirit of the law of England, he wished the house to determine. Was it the intention of the ministers that persons should be detained under the authority of such an act, in a situation injurious to their health, and destructive to their lives—with crimes unproved, and accusers unknown?

There was another instance of the severity of this prison: a prostitute was confined in it, and she was afflicted with an illness incident to her mode of life: she was kept in one of the damp cells he had described. There was also a boy of about nine years of age, for offending his master, who was subjected to the same rigour. The house ought not to rest on these accounts from him, or from any individual, but appoint a committee, and order an inspection into them.

Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that the question was, whether this bill should now be read a second time or not? The honourable gentleman who had just spoken had stated a number of facts; whether faithfully or not, they certainly had no earthly connexion with this bill. They related merely to the bad conduct of a gaol, and might as well be said to aim at gaols in general throughout the kingdom, but had nothing to do with the power which the legislature had given to the executive government of this country, and the continuance of which was the object of the bill. The management of gaols was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates; and if the honourable gentleman was induced by humanity to pity the condition of all prisoners, or from sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditious, his course was, to have gone to some magistrate with his complaint. If he imagined, indeed, that the case was so desperate that no remedy could be effectual but a general motion upon the subject in that house, there was nothing to prevent him from bringing it forward. If he had any thing to urge against government on account of the separate confinement of any prisoners, or on any other account, let the accusation be made public, and then some of the ministers might answer it; but it surely was not reason enough to throw out the bill, because some of the people had been ill treated. As to the facetious anecdote of the coachman, who might have learnt from the gentlemen whom he carried to call this prison a Bastile, he doubted not but a shilling would satisfy any coachman that any prison ought to be called so, if the gentleman who gave it him was pleased to give it that name; but none of these reasons seemed to him strong enough to weigh with the house to withhold the power which the executive government had received from the wise legislature.

To prove that this measure ought not now to be continued, it should be proved that no treasonable spirit had ever existed. Was this the fact at Maidstone? It was not, however, on the guilt of one or two individuals that the act was founded, but on a combination of persons at home acting in concert for the destruction of the state, whose views extended also to a league with our enemies abroad. This indeed was now become a forlorn hope, the eyes of the English being opened at last; but some of evil intentions yet remained, and on the conviction of it he supported the motion.

Mr. Tierney said, he was under the necessity of delivering his sentiments, as he was about to withstand a measure which he had assented

sented to the last year—the further suspension of this act. But our situation was different then: the house had received an intimation from his majesty that there was a preparation for the invasion of this country, and that many were ready to aid and abet the design; in addition, there was a *bill of* indictment for high treason found by a grand jury against certain persons: whether either of these things would have been sufficient for the suspension of the habeas corpus act he need not argue, it was enough that both united were sufficient. But now there was no apprehension of invasion, no danger from seditious spirits; and without the same grounds he could not vote in the same manner. With regard to the gaols, he considered their abuses as reasons also for his change of conduct. If men were treated as felons when nothing was against them but suspicion; when a gentleman *suspected* of treason was to be punished in the same manner as a person *convicted* of crimes; it was a part of justice to oppose the continuance of this measure, nor could he vote in conscience the further suspension of the liberties of Englishmen.

The attorney-general, in an elaborate speech of considerable length, exonerated the court of king's bench from the charge of severity respecting libels. He had examined, he said, its records, and traced the history of its proceedings, to enable him the better to judge how far accusations of this kind were just; and the result of his inquiries authorised him to affirm, that never since the law had taken cognizance of libels were the sentences of the courts less rigorous. If gentlemen would only take the trouble to compare them now with any period since the revolution, it would be clearly seen that the judges of our time, without neglecting their duty, had much softened the character of punishments in general, and that the punishment of libels in particular was not sufficiently severe. Formerly the practice had been for the attorney-general of the crown to direct the punishment when persons were brought up for judgment; but he had acted upon a sentiment of a distinguished and infinitely able lawyer, lord Thurlow, who first disused the immemorial practice of directing it: and if the tempered and mild judgments of the court did not wholly arise out of this circumstance, certainly much kindness and lenity succeeded it. Let them look at the state trials of 1794, and they would find, that public meetings were held for the purpose of propagating sedition; that not merely the ministers of the crown, but every institution, religious, political, and moral, was libelled, with every individual in whatever conspicuous situation he might be placed. There were corresponding societies and corresponding clubs, instituted and affiliated, not for the purpose of making the members responsible for their conduct, or to procure a constitutional reform of any abuses, but for the purpose of destroying that house, of erecting a convention on its ruins, of overthrowing the government, and in its stead to introduce the wild and graceless system of a neighbouring country.

Did not the leaders of disaffection justify every libel, and encourage every outrage, on the character and conduct of parliament? But to speak more immediately to the subject in question. What was the case of Mr. Smith, of whom, in strains of lamentation, so much had been said? It was this: Mr. Smith

Smith was secretary of the corresponding society. Certainly it was not illegal to have been so, but it was no high proof of loyalty. He had published libel upon libel; and if he had been prosecuted for each, no single life could have longevity enough to pass through the series of the years of imprisonment to which the law in its wisdom might have consigned him. Had the honourable gentleman, who pleaded so strenuously his cause, ever perused the pamphlet entitled *The Duties of Citizenship?* It inculcated anarchy and treason: every thing sacred, honourable, and good, in the nature and character of institutions and men, was there blasphemously and wickedly libelled and traduced; religion and its ministers were held up to ridicule; the law and its officers were misrepresented and vilified; his Britannic majesty was mentioned with contempt; and that constitution under which so many blessings were enjoyed was made the theme of unfounded and unprovoked invective. It was the duty of every person to read this book before he censured in the British house of commons, and condemned, the proceedings of the court of king's bench! It was a delicate subject to discuss the verdicts of juries and sentences of judges; but to comment without discriminating; to comment in perfect ignorance, betrayed not less of temerity than want of candour, and, in such a crisis of affairs, was not only unkind but inflammatory. Towards Mr. Smith he assured the house that nothing harsh or severe in his confinement had proceeded from government, nor he believed had ever been experienced. When Mr. Smith had made some complaints, lord Kenyon directed an inquiry into the truth of the case; and the result was, that the governor of the prison and the physician testified that it was a proper place for confinement, and that every possible attention was paid to the health of the prisoners. He could not dismiss the subject without some observations on its being called a Bastile: it was reserved for the beneficent and moderate age of philosophy and the rights of man to call those places Bastiles, which were instituted for offenders against the law. This kind of scandal claimed close kindred with the revolutionists of France; for our prisons were first called Bastiles by the orators of Copenhagen-house and Pancras' fields, who used it not only in their public harangues, but in confidential letters, so that we could trace it most distinctly to the hot-bed of anarchy; and now it was only used by persons willing to propagate French principles, and destroy the English government. But to return to the treatment of prisoners: If it could be proved that since the suspension of the habeas-corpus act a few persons had met with some rigour; nay, if there existed many instances of the kind, much as he should lament it, it would not be sufficient to withhold the act. He knew not who were the visitors of places where suspected persons were confined; but surely they might have inquired of the sheriffs concerning the truth or falsehood of the representations of prisoners. Had this conduct been pursued, imposition would have been detected, and the accusation would not have been brought forward in that house. He mentioned the state trials at Maidstone, and reminded Mr. Tierney that his vote for the suspension of the habeas corpus in the last session was given because the grand jury had found

found a bill of indictment for high treason. The parties were tried, one was found guilty, the rest were acquitted; but, after the attempts in Ireland, it was evident that all of them were implicated in a design to invite France to invade England. The evidence, it was said, was collected from spies; but it must be remembered, that this description of persons was always more calumniated as they spoke more truth. Ministers could not be justified to let the government take its chance against internal traitors, by not using means of safety on the evidence of such men. He concluded with observing, that, whilst any hope were entertained by the United Irishmen of severing that country from this, their correspondence with the disaffected here could only be through the agency of individuals; but it would be from society to society, if there were any United Englishmen who had the same views as the United Irishmen.

To thwart these views, to frustrate the designs of all who sought to overturn the civil, religious, and moral government of the world, was the great object of the power which the wisdom of the legislature had lately entrusted to the executive government; to continue that power for a limited time, under the most urgent necessity, was the object of the bill now before the house, and therefore had his most hearty consent.

Mr. Burdon said, that he himself had visited the Cold-Bath Fields' prisons, and had seen nothing to justify the complaints of the ill-treatment of the prisoners; it was necessary that a jailor should be trusted with that authority which was essential to the safe custody of the prisoners, and the police of the prison. The residence of state prisoners there, was by no means an agreeable circumstance, being a thing for which the place was not designed. With respect to regulations every thing seemed to be conducted in the best manner, of which such an establishment was capable. The state prisoners had an allowance of 13*s.* and 4*d.* a week, and much neatness, regularity, and propriety, appeared throughout the place.

Sir Francis Burdett was convinced, that great severity, in some instances, had been used. What must be the situation of a cell seven feet square after a person had been confined in it some hours, or when persons were confined for many weeks without being permitted to go out, but for a few minutes to wash themselves? In these cells there was no wood or paper to keep the persons confined from the contact of the wall; and in wet weather, or after a frost, it was evident, that a brick wall must be so damp as to be extremely insalutary where no fire was allowed. But these matters, he agreed, were not strictly in point before the house, only it was the interest of government that men who were taken up under the suspension of the habeas-corpus should not be treated more rigorously than the circumstances required. It was the duty of that house to take care, that the extraordinary powers which it granted should not be abused, and it possessed the power to grant such an inquest as was necessary to put an end to oppression, if there was proof that it had been exercised. The proceedings of government, and the judgment of courts of law, had been defended by the attorney-general in cases of libel: certainly that matter was not connected with the present subject, nor had it any reference to persons taken up under the suspension of

the habeas-corpus act. A case of great hardship he would mention, which was well authenticated; a number of persons were brought up to town from Manchester; they were loaded with irons; in this situation they travelled, and, when they arrived, were lodged in the correction house in Cold-Bath Fields. From the effects of travelling in such a state, their legs were much swelled, and when lodged in the prison the Bow-street officers ordered the irons to be knocked off, which was then a very painful operation: after this they were thrown into places quite unprepared for their reception, and the next day taken before the privy-council.

Several of these men were manufacturers; they had no opportunity of giving direction about their affairs, nor of obtaining redress, as they were not permitted to be seen by any person.

At this moment indeed he understood, that their situation was improved, and that they had all the accommodation of which it would admit. As to the bill before the house, no grounds had been stated for it, much less was there any cause for the precipitation with which it was hurried on; it was more important than any measure of finance could be, inasmuch as men's persons were of more consequence than their property; and unless strong proofs could be produced of the conspiracies with which we were told our country was threatened, we ought well to guard this bulwark of our liberties.

The solicitor-general observed, that one good effect had followed the discussion, namely, that it was now admitted there was no reason to complain of the manner in which the prisoners were treated.

The purpose of suspending the habeas-corpus act was to enable the executive government to secure such persons as were suspected of conspiracy where the proof was difficult to be obtained. England in former times had derived the greatest advantage from this suspension: it was used in the reign of king William when many were hostile to the existing establishment, and it confirmed the authority and safety of the new government. It was also used in the rebellion of 1745; many persons then ill affected to the family on the throne were taken up, and when all danger was over were set at liberty, and to this salutary measure the country owed its security: the benefits resulting from it were the more conspicuous when contrasted with the situation of affairs, at a period when it was not employed. The rebellion of 1745 threatened to be of more importance than the former, though the present family were at that time more firmly established, because the plans of the leaders were not defeated, nor could they be so without a measure of this kind, which afforded the most powerful arguments in its favour at so critical a juncture as the present. It was to the suspension of this act we owed the late discoveries in Ireland, and consequently the safety of the state; for he need not acquaint the house that endeavours had been used in that kingdom to institute societies of United Britons. Governments within governments had been organised with all the appendages of executive directories, councils, and committees. Though such designs were known to have existed, it would have been difficult to charge them to any individual, because individual guilt was so wrapt up in the general mass. Catholic emancipation

tion had been the pretext for deep designs of treason; it had been the veil employed to conceal the plot for dismiting the two countries. Reform had been the term, and destruction the meaning. And when these precautions, in recent as well as early periods of our history, had enabled us to avert the danger which impended, it was the duty of the house to accord such powers as alone could be efficient for our preservation.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that a great deal of misrepresentation had arisen upon the subject of the prisoners. The charge of ill-treatment, which had been made, was certainly of a very serious nature: it was no light thing to say, that the executive government could be so malignant as to exercise any rigour towards them further than was necessary for safe custody, and to prevent them from tainting the minds of those with whom they had communication. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by the excellent Howard, and were superintended by several persons who had an active share with this benevolent character in inquiries upon the subject. Different boards existed to receive information of the state of the prison; one of these boards met once a week, and the minutes of their proceedings would throw much light upon the question. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the account given of the health and situation of the prisoners. Their food consisted of as good legs of mutton and pieces of beef as he had ever seen at his own table. The utmost cleanliness prevailed throughout the place. Of two hundred and forty (the number which the prison contained) the sick were only three, and the deaths for the whole year only two; though if the state of many of the persons when they came in were considered, the place resembled an hospital rather than a prison. The minutes to which he alluded would show what had been the conduct of some of the prisoners, and the necessity of watching them with care. It was stated by the chaplain, that two of the persons confined (Burkes and Smith) had behaved so ill at church, had so openly expressed their contempt of the worship, that he proposed in future their attendance should be dispensed with. Mr. Smith's authority had been quoted for the hardships he suffered; but, in a letter to his wife, he stated that he was in a better situation than he could have imagined, and particularly disapproved of those who styled the prison a Bastile. This instance should not only teach gentlemen to beware of taking up their opinions lightly, but it ought to teach the public to distrust representations given upon such partial testimony. To prove afterwards that it was false, did not correct the evil. He trusted that, for his own part, he was not the last to feel what was due to individual suffering; but there were also duties owed to the community, and he well remembered the words of lord Hale, who, when asked how he felt when he pronounced sentence of death on a criminal, replied, "that he felt for the country as well as the prisoner." Mr. Wilberforce recommended this example to the gentlemen on the other side the house, who seemed tremblingly alive to the situation of people taken up on suspicion of the greatest crimes, but disregarded the fate of the nation. Those who believed it to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the ex-

ecutive government of means to provide for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who exposed themselves to suspicion must often incur the disadvantages of guilt. It was a false compassion which commiserated the hardships of one man, and was callous to the miseries of many.

Mr. M. A. Taylor confessed that ministers had exercised the power entrusted to them with lenity; but asserted there was no sufficient ground stated for the bill. With respect to public prosecutions, he neither impeached the severity of the attorney-general nor the courts of law. He had read the book written by Smith, and he thought it of the most diabolical tendency. He was convinced the state-prisoners had not been treated in the severe manner represented; and he did not doubt but that if the honourable baronet saw that he had been deceived, he would readily acknowledge it.

Mr. Ellison wished they might be always treated in a constitutional, not a capricious manner; and that all magistrates throughout the kingdom would give in a report of their treatment, that it might appear they had experienced such as might be expected from the humane hearts of Englishmen, and not be left to the mercy of an obdurate gaoler.

The chancellor of the exchequer remarked, with much exultation, the change of opinion which had taken place in the minds of some gentlemen on the other side the house, who now confessed those precautions had been necessary which they formerly asserted would lead to disasters abroad and destruction at home; but who, at the same time that they joined in congratulations upon their success, opposed their continuance.

The state of the country was universally acknowledged to be ameliorated. Was not this a proof, that those who reprobated the measures which had produced this happy alteration were much mistaken? The calamities which had desolated other nations were unknown in ours: the powers which parliament had entrusted to the executive government were used with moderation, and were beneficial in their effects. To avert still the dangers with which we had been threatened was the object of the further suspension of the habeas-corpus act. Little could those be read in the volume of human nature, who did not discover in jacobinism every thing which was corruptive and degrading; every thing which tended to disgust and annoy mankind. The progress of this wretched system had been checked by our wise and salutary precautions, but would not fail to return if we discontinued them. Evil had been propagated with obstinacy, and should our perseverance in a good cause cease? Was it a time to slumber when there existed men who were hourly planning our destruction—men who never waked, or slept, or walked abroad, without a dagger thirsting for our blood? Ought we to cast aside that shield which enabled us to defy its point, and which had effectually preserved our lives?

Let us but reflect upon all that has passed in Ireland; upon the designs of the enemy at this moment; upon the traitorous agents in this country; upon the confession of some of themselves; and the necessity of continuing a measure which had already rescued England from such imminent danger would be as obvious as it was desirable.

The question being put, the house divided—Ayes, 96; Noes, 6.

Dec. 26. The chancellor of the exchequer

Exchequer again moved for the suspension of the act of habeas-corpus.

Mr. Courtenay rose, he said, to adduce reasons for it no longer being necessary, and read a declaration made by his majesty, in April, wherein were these words: "The preparations of the embarkation of troops and warlike stores are now carried on with considerable activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the avowed design of invading these dominions, and in this attempt the enemy is encouraged by the correspondence of traitorous persons and societies of these kingdoms."

Here was a plain reason assigned for the suspension; but was the case the same *now?* Were our enemies preparing to invade us at this time? in what place, and in what manner? by whom were they now aided and abetted? and was our situation precisely such as it had been the year before? On the contrary, had not our enemies been discomfited in different parts of the world? had not the glory of Great-Britain resounded over the globe, signalised in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic? nor was it probable that the French would attack this country, when it was so unlikely that they would be able to retain their own conquests.

He adverted next to the prison of Clerkenwell. He re-asserted, what he had formerly stated upon that subject—that men were confined in narrow cells, without fire or candle, and, if they closed the wooden shutters of the window, they could have no light or fresh air. Experienced lawyers had acknowledged, that they remembered no instances of rigour like this towards any state-prisoners in the course of the administration of justice in England, and he defied any person to refute this fact. As a corroboration of it, he begged leave to read a letter from the wife of colonel Despard, which was as follows:

"Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the house of commons relative to the treatment of colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a damp cell, not seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the duke of Portland,—all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with a fire, but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement, I appeal to the hon. Mr. Lawless, and John Reeves, esq. who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The gaoler will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty thirty years, and all his family are now in the army.

"CATHARINE DESPARD.

"*Berkely Square*, 1798."

Mr. Courtenay said, that, when he saw the colonel in prison, he made no complaint to him. He asked him if he had been in the same situation as some other persons in that prison on the suspension of the habeas-corpus act? He answered, yes; but had been removed out of it by the humanity of Mr. Reeves. If these things were not true; if he was not to believe the letter of Mrs. Despard, nor trust to the evidence of his own senses, it was ex-

traordinary! When this matter was first mentioned to him, he did not think it was known to the ministers; but it now appeared that an application had been made to them in vain; therefore they must have known it. Mr. Courtenay cast some severe reflections on Mr. Wilberforce, who had doubted whether such atrocious inhumanity had ever been exercised; displaying, he said, much religious facetiousness, tempered with Christian rancour. A worthy magistrate had observed, that the prison was not originally designed for persons of this description, and that the state prisoners being sent to it was a matter of necessity. But there could be no necessity to use them ill in confinement. Why could not a proper house be hired for this purpose? Was it to be supposed that the people of this country, who afforded 30 or 40 millions for the public service, would grudge 3 or 400 pounds for the maintenance of prisoners? Could we be affected by the expense of a few hundreds of pounds devoted to humanity? In his own opinion, this abuse of the power given to government by this act might be logically urged against its renewal.

The attorney-general affirmed, there was no greater instance of cruelty than for a member of parliament to state, as an authentic account, any paragraph in a newspaper to the prejudice of a public officer. Such was the case respecting the duke of Portland and Mr. Wickham. Some complaints had been made to the duke relative to colonel Despard. Mr. Wickham, in the month of May, 1798, wrote to the keeper of the prison, stating, that he was directed by his grace to desire that Mrs. Despard should have access and converse with him in the presence of any proposed person. Mrs. Despard wrote a letter to the duke in June; in consequence of which he sent for the gaoler of the prison, and gave him directions, importing, that every indulgence should be shown to the prisoner which the nature of the warrant would admit. After this, Mrs. Despard wrote again, to which no answer was given, because proper directions upon the subject of it had been sent before. She then applied to Mr. Wickham, who advised her to send another letter, if she had further cause of complaint. The duke desired her to call at his house, which she did. He heard her complaints himself, and ordered the colonel every thing consistent with safe custody; allowed him the use of books; commanded the gaoler to attend to the circumstance of his being a man of rank, and afford him all the accommodation which common feeling dictated on this occasion. After this an order was issued out for all the prisoners to have every indulgence compatible with security; nor was any time, except one week, lost, in which Mr. Wickham went to Tunbridge. Some time after, the duke ordered colonel Despard to be removed to the place where he now was. Here the attorney-general read the description of the cells, maintaining that they were neither damp or unwholesome. He then read the deposition taken in prison, by which it appeared that the colonel was surprised at the statement of his hardships in the house of commons, and was willing (if it was necessary) to contradict it himself. The letter of Mrs. Despard was not of her writing: it was indeed admirably adapted for the purpose. There were artful men in that prison, and some of them had proved how ill they merited the le-

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rity which had been shown to them. Many of these had a great number of O'Connor's pamphlets ready for publication. They debated on the worst of all possible subjects since they had been permitted to be together. He mentioned these instances, to convince the house of the great impropriety of hastily adopting opinions upon the reports of newspapers. The prisoners should not be treated with more rigour than the necessity of things required, and to this they ought to submit without a murmur.

Mr. Wilberforce began by alluding to his speech in a former debate, which had occasioned much illiberal remark. "Religious facetiousness and Christian rancour," were mis-matched epithets applied to these substantives. But waving these, and to come to the point in question, we certainly ought not to remove our guard till our security was established. Whilst we had enemies of formidable strength and of formidable malice, both within and without—whilst there were members of that house, who, if they did not aid, were very cordial to persons of this description, it particularly behoved the wisdom and vigilance of parliament to baffle their machinations, and counteract their purposes. The prisoners, whose cause had been so pathetically pleaded, might heretofore have been objects of humane compassion; but where was the humanity and compassion of these gentlemen for them before they were accused of high treason? Where was the anxiety to regulate prisons, and alleviate miseries, before state-prisoners were confined therein? Had the treatment of vagrants, the sufferings of insolvent debtors, been an object of inquiry? Not that he urged these observations to censure any sympathies of nature, but merely to remonstrate on the injustice of bringing accusations against respectable characters, without any examination, and with no other motive than prejudice.

Mr. Jefferys, of Coventry, observed, that the reason the gentlemen who had supported this measure the last year opposed it now, was because they imagined the same inducement no longer existed; and here he agreed with them: for the last year it was an apprehension of treason, now it was a discovery of it; of which the trials at Maidstone furnished ample proof. He was the representative of a populous manufacturing city, and at this moment speaking the sentiments of ninety-nine of them out of a hundred.

Sir Francis Burdett contended, that all his assertions had been grounded on facts, and dwelt some time upon the indelicacy of insinuations respecting the motives of his conduct, and that of his friends. The papers sent by the prisoners of Manchester described those hardships, the existence of which had been denied. These prisoners could not obtain any thing like a bed in their small solitary cells, without paying for it: they certainly were left without fire or candle, the wet continually flowed down the walls, and here they were to linger seven months. Far other treatment had been promised them by the privy council; but though they had repeatedly written to Mr. Flood (the magistrate), intreating him to see his promise realised, they could obtain no other answer than, that if they wished to speak with him on public affairs, he would see them; but respecting their private situation, it was not in his power to make any alteration. No species of guilt *un*-proved could justify this harsh

usage; and it seemed unnecessary to add, that all accounts of the comforts enjoyed by the prisoners must have been exaggerated, if these facts of their actual sufferings could be so well attested.

Mr. Burdon affirmed, that he himself had taken pains to see whether they were well attested; for as soon as he read the letter of Mrs. Despard in the public papers, he felt it was his duty to investigate the cause of her complaint. He had had a long conversation with the colonel, who assured him, in the presence of the governor of the prison, that he was as well in every circumstance as the nature of the place would admit; indeed, he was determined to make no remonstrance, as he had all the comforts which the secretary of state had appointed, and he did not expect more. It was true he had a chilblain in his heel; but so little did he think of it, that he would not employ the surgeon of the prison upon the occasion: he was (he said) an old soldier, and placed no confidence in medicine. As soon as this was made known, he was removed to a room where he had every accommodation which he could reasonably desire: he had frequent interviews with his wife, with whom he was permitted to converse for almost any length of time. Of her letter he was totally ignorant, or should have disapproved it.

Mr. Burdon affirmed, that the cells were not damp; he had examined them himself; they were raised considerably above the ground, the walls were thick, and well white-washed; the beds did not touch them; to say that they were exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, was a false assertion. What could be the motive for agitating a question like the present, and what could be the effect of traducing the fair character of respectable magistrates, whose conduct should not be lightly arraigned?

Upon minds unbiassed by party, no doubt could remain of the propriety of the further suspension of the habeas-corpus act; the ground of the measure might be changed, but the very change confirmed the necessity.

Mr. Canning thought so little could be added to this testimony, that his observations upon the subject would be concise and few.

An illiterate woman, who could not even spell, was supposed to have written a most able letter, describing, in an affecting manner, the cruelties endured by her husband; but it was soon discovered that this same letter was not written by Mrs. Despard; it was by one of her friends, and its contents were not truth: indeed, they were so forcibly contradicted, and those who had brought the matter forward so completely defeated, that he believed they would not venture to re-state it again; at least, he hoped that Mr. Courtenay, whatever his creed might happen to be, would not expose it to the examination of Mr. Wilberforce. These were subjects which had better remain undiscussed in that place; and he advised him to keep his humanity for Smith and Binns, his religion for Newgate, and his jokes for the hackney-coachmen.

Mr. Courtenay contended, that not one fact adduced by him had been disproved. The state-prisoners had been actually confined in such cells as he had described, and were immured in a prison intended for convicted felons.

The attorney-general expressed his astonishment that this gentleman should

should affirm, "Although every body denied what he had advanced, no one contradicted it."

Mr. Courtenay maintained that it was still undisproved, though not un-contradicted.

The house went into a committee upon the bill; and it was agreed that it should remain in full force till the 21st of May, 1799.

In the house of lords, on Friday, Jan. 4, lord Grenville moved for the suspension of the habeas-corpus act.

After the bill had been read, the earl of Suffolk rose to oppose it. He said it was highly necessary that ministers should assign some reason for the renewal of this bill before it was proposed to the house; and the infringement upon the constitution of our country demanded some weighty reason, which had not yet been made known. These indeed were times of difficulty and danger; but was the danger such as to justify a measure as grievous as it was unconstitutional? Ought not the evidence to be produced of its necessity before it was adopted? and, if ministers were to be intrusted with a power so extraordinary as this bill would confer upon them, they should well reflect upon the lenity and moderation with which it should be used.

His lordship adverted to the treatment of colonel Despard, whose situation inspired universal regret wherever his amiable character was known. Sincerely he hoped that some of the accounts had been exaggerated respecting it; but to be confined in a cell seven feet square, without fire, or any other light than came from the top, without chair, table, or any thing to rest upon but a truckle-bed, was a cruel mode of punishment for a gentleman who had lived in the enjoyment of luxuries. But here it could not be justified: there had been no specified charge against him, notwithstanding his confinement had lasted six months; and he appealed to the humanity of the secretary of state, whether this species of confinement was proper for a gentleman of the rank and character of colonel Despard. If these measures were to be pursued when no crime had been specifically alleged, no subject in the kingdom could be safe.

Lord Grenville thought the reasons formerly given for passing this bill amply sufficient, and they remained in sufficient force to induce their lordships to continue it. As to the harshness with which it was said colonel Despard had been treated, he did not pretend to say he knew any thing about the matter: he had been told lately that something of the kind had been complained of, and that it was immediately discountenanced by government. The subject had already undergone investigation, and more would soon be made, by which, he believed, it would appear that no unnecessary rigour had taken place.

Lord Holland declared, that it had been his intention to have opposed this bill in a former stage of it; and he should have done so but for an accident, which detained him when it was read a second time. To propose such a bill as this, under very different circumstances from the present, would have alarmed him; but to propose it without any evidence on the table of the house, was a thing too extraordinary to pass unnoticed. It was under the act of the habeas-corpus that all or any of us walked the streets in freedom; and, but for that act, every individual might in an instant be put into confinement, to pine within the walls, and to be a prey to the horrors of a prison, without hope of any

any appeal to the laws of his country.

Only the most imperious necessity ought to induce the house to abandon so strong a bulwark to the liberty of the subject, and it was the part of their lordships to consider what proof they had before them of the existence of that necessity. Were he to admit all that had been urged by ministers to be true (which would indeed be a large concession), the whole taken collectively would not be sufficient for this suspension. That we were in a state of war, was no reason: the evils of war were enough of themselves, without being aggravated by the loss of liberty; and although he would not join with those who were in the habit of pronouncing eulogiums on the constitution which they sought to subvert, yet he thought too highly of it to doubt its being adequate to its own protection, even in the hour of turbulence and trouble, in which situation we were not at present involved. The custom of ministers was to call every man a jacobin who opposed them in any thing; but this was a bad argument, a poor reason for taking away the privileges of the whole community. The habeas-corpus act was so excellent a law, that nothing less than the detection of a conspiracy to overturn the government could justify this measure. Besides, before so much of the liberty of the subject was taken away, we should be very careful to whom it was entrusted. Certainly not to those who already had abused that trust, nor to any set of men whilst there was tranquillity in this country. The suspension rested either on the suggestion of the minister, or on the general disposition of the people of England. What had these dispositions been? Why, the very moment they were informed that an insult had been offered to their monarch, they testified attachment to his person; they proved, that, however they might bewail the evils of war, they had an attachment to the government under which they lived; and, therefore, his lordship affirmed the bill was totally unnecessary, and a gross calumny on Englishmen.

But it was still asserted that there had existed conspiracies of a deep and insidious kind, formed by men of settled hostility to all order and the laws. Here it might be well to remember, that several persons had been brought to trial on charges of high treason; that the reports of the house had almost predisposed the whole British public to pronounce them guilty before trial; that the crown, in short, had exerted all its strength, and employed all its means, on that memorable occasion: and what had been the result? why that the accused were honourably acquitted by a jury of their countrymen; and the treasons and seditions, of which ministers had spoken so much, and which the country regarded with such horror, disappeared in a moment; the nation sobered, and general tranquillity took place of general panic. If then no conspiracy existed, if sedition had been suppressed, and treason routed, what necessity could there be for the further suspension of the habeas-corpus? But if all the dangers stated in the preamble had been real, he would not admit that they justified an act which secured the personal liberty of the subject, and enabled him to obtain, without delay, a trial by twelve fair men of his country. From this act was derived all our privileges and all our security; and the moment in

which

which it was suspended, the whole nation would be in the power of the minister. It was for their lordships therefore to consider the nature and magnitude of the vote they were called upon to give. If there were danger of invasion; if *traitors* really were in this country; we might oppose, to the one, our vast military force; and, to the other, our judicious laws. Whilst courts of justice sat in tranquillity; whilst the laws of treason were comprehensive and vigorous; whilst the spirit of the people manifested itself in ardent expressions of loyalty to the sovereign, and attachment to the constitution; where was the pretended necessity for adopting this measure? There was but one case in which it could be necessary; which was, if there actually existed these conspiracies, and some of the persons concerned in them were in custody, but could not be brought to trial without the risk of giving the alarm to the rest, then, and then only, the bill should have his support.

He took a rapid view of the state of Ireland; denied that the rebellion in that country justified new rigours in this;—that had the government of Ireland ameliorated their condition, by removing their grievances, rebellion never would have broken out amongst them.

Whilst talking of the trials of Maidstone, he maintained, that Mr. O'Connor had *been honourably* acquitted; and connecting this assertion with the argument, that, as no danger existed, as the people declared for their own government, the preamble stated a libel on their loyalty. He would acknowledge, that to preserve confidence between the governors and the governed was essential; but it must be recollected, all firm confidence was mutual. If governors required it, they must themselves set the example: but here the true policy was reversed; the governors showed distrust, and expected confidence. What was the state of our public affairs? Thanks to the rashness of our enemies, to the bravery of our seamen, and, above all, to admiral Nelson, of whom he could not speak in terms too high;—thanks also to the admiralty for its arrangement of our naval force (for he had pleasure in acknowledging the merit which had distinguished that department of our executive government); thanks to all these, there was an end of every apprehension from the enemy: but this only tended to show still further, that there was no plea for the suspension of the bill.

Alas! the system of ministers was a system of terror; and they endeavoured to keep the attention of the public upon its own danger, instead of the incapacity or corruption of ministers. It was from this motive that they accused every man of being inclined to French principles who dissented from theirs, and this bill was a part of that system of alarm with which they wished to surprise the good sense of the English; but all this deception could not last long; the public would judge freely of the conduct of administration, and the bubble would burst, at last, with disgrace upon their heads. His lordship concluded with saying, "that when he considered the failure of the objects of ministers in public affairs, the zeal and loyalty manifested by the people, the treatment they had experienced, and the conduct which they had observed, he was astonished that their rulers should so calumniate them as to affirm that the bill was necessary!"

Lord

Lord Grenville said, that if the debate on this bill had depended on the opinion the gentlemen of the opposition entertained of administration, he should have no hope, perhaps no ambition, to convince the noble lord of the propriety of any of their measures. But although they had not been favoured with *his* approbation, they had repeatedly received the support of the house. On some minds, indeed, prejudice had so strong an effect, that even facts could not alter them; but there were also others on whom reasoning and evidence made considerable impression. As to the trials of persons acquitted at the Old Bailey, were we now to learn that the acquittal was a proof of innocence? So far was acquittal from negativing the reports of conspiracy, that it tended to confirm it. Was it not proved that there had existed, in this country, a certain description of people called the Corresponding Society? the object of which was, to pull down our government, to destroy our property, to introduce a new system of power on the model of the French republic, under the specious mask of parliamentary reform. With respect to another point brought forward against ministers, namely, their representing every man as a jacobin who did not agree with them; for his own part, he denied the charge; but had it been founded, had it been the desire of ministers to stigmatise them as being attached to French principles, he knew of no opposition who had, at any time, afforded them better opportunity. But on what evidence was the necessity of the bill maintained? (here lord Grenville quoted the proclamation in April last, which stated, that our enemies were aided and abetted by persons in this country) this evidence last year was deemed (he said) so satisfactory, that a similar bill to the present passed unanimously. Had not the fact corroborated exactly the minister's prognostication? Was it not confirmed by the person so *honourably* acquitted at Maidstone? The house needed not to be informed that he alluded to O'Connor. Had not that traitor, since his *honourable* acquittal, thrown himself on the mercy of that gracious sovereign whom he basely had attempted to dethrone? Had he not detailed, upon his oath, a series of the deepest designs against Ireland, which were afterwards confirmed by a rebellion? Nor was this all; O'Coigly, one of his confederates, had also been convicted of treason; and it appeared, beyond a doubt, that a communication was to be made to the directory, not from any society in Ireland, but in England. All these things proved the assertion, that there had existed a conspiracy in this country—that it also existed in Ireland—and a design had long been conceived of separating the kingdoms from each other. As to the idea of the English conceiving themselves calumniated by this bill, it was as absurd to suppose it, as that they would think they were all called murderers, because a law had been made against murder. If the discontent of the people had been general against their government, he would not propose this measure; because, in such circumstances, little could be done by the imprisonment of a few. But he was persuaded the public would view the bill as ministers intended to use it, not for the destruction of their liberty, but its protection; a measure which was not to bring them into misery, but adopted, in tenderness,

derness, for their future happiness and present security.

Lord Holland affirmed that he had not said absolutely, the verdict of a jury disproved a conspiracy; but it had proved that, when ministers came to parliament, and asked for extraordinary powers, they had taken up persons who were not guilty of that conspiracy, or that *there* was none at all existing. This point the noble secretary had been very ready to debate, but he had carefully avoided saying one word on the main subject—the state of the country. The reason recited in the preamble last year was, that the enemy was about to invade us. This was not now pretended; nor, had it been true, was it a reason for justifying the suspension of the *habeas-corpus*. As to the Maidstone trials, it was not yet evident that the conspirators, in England, were either numerous or powerful: it never had been signed, and the French government would not have been so absurd as to act upon such a document as the proof of meeting with co-operation. Of Mr. O'Connor he saw no cause for being ashamed to repeat, that he had *been honourably* acquitted at Maidstone; this did not infer that he had been so of a previous charge. His lordship had alluded to the disturbances of Ireland; were these any reasons for suspending the habeas-corpus here? The system pursued in Ireland had not produced effects to induce us to think that severe laws were the best remedy. Under all the attempts to repress evils by legislative severity, the rebellion had increased there; and if it were now checked, it was by the valour of our troops.

He conceived the object of this bill was to enable government to put off the trials of persons apprehended, lest those trials should be attended with disadvantage to the whole community. But government had much better consult (in his opinion) the tranquillity of the country, and the safety of the constitution, by removing grievances, and taking away colourable pretexts for rebellion.

The house then divided.

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CHAP. II.

Union with Ireland. Message from his Majesty. Debate in the House of Commons on his Majesty's Message. Debate on the Proposal for a Union. Resolutions proposed by the Minister as preparatory to a Union. Resolutions proposed by Mr. Sheridan — rejected. Farther Debates on the Minister's Proposals. Committee of the whole House on the Resolutions. Conference with the Lords. His Majesty's Message, relative to the Union, delivered to the House of Lords. Conference with the Commons. Resolutions presented by the Commons. Lord Auckland's Motion for Papers. Debate on that subject. Debate in the House of Lords on the Resolutions. Debate on the Proposal for an Address to his Majesty. Debate on the Address. Second Conference with the Commons. Joint Address of both Houses to his Majesty.

THE union with Ireland, on which we have ventured to deliver a cursory opinion, while it was yet a project, is certainly a subject of the highest magnitude and importance to both countries; and we cannot help expressing our surprise, that it has not excited a greater interest and attention in the bulk of the nation. Whatever may be the consequences of this measure, in a commercial view, its political effects cannot be neutral; they will either be productive of great good, or of great evil. With respect to commerce, we do not anticipate any speedy consequences of great moment. Capital changes hands more readily than it changes local situation; the current of commerce is not easily diverted into distant channels, and manufactures are slowly established, and with difficulty removed. But the political change which this measure must effect, will be more speedy in its operation, and of much greater importance. Those who have speculated deeply upon the subject of parliamentary reform (a measure which we agree is full of hazard), will do well to consider what was the nature and constitution of the Irish parliament, and to weigh well the effects which are likely to result from the change which will now be made in the constitution of the British house of commons. We believe we are not inaccurate when we state, that two thirds of the Irish house of commons were members for obscure boroughs, elected by a few nominal burgesses; but, in reality, nominated by some great man who was regarded as the *owner* or patron of the borough. Such a parliament was easily marshalled, was easily managed. By the present arrangement, the counties only, and the principal towns, are to return representatives; the borough system, therefore, and the aristocratical influence, are for ever at an end in the sister kingdom. On the other hand, may not the admission of one hundred members, elected in the manner which we have noticed, be regarded as tantamount to the famous measure of reform, which, we believe, was patronised by lord Chatham, of adding 100 county members to the British parliament? It is not the number of the members,

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so much as the mode and the motives on which they have gained their seats, that will render them difficult to be influenced by a minister; and that two bodies of men are more easily managed than one which is numerous and independent, we may easily prove from late experiments in a neighbouring nation. One effect, therefore, is obvious, from the measure of the union; that the constitution of the British legislature will certainly be rendered more popular; there will be a greater scope for the exertion of popular talents and democratical intrigue; and the influence of ministers will be proportionably narrowed. The limitation of the Irish peerage may also be considered as a step towards a measure which was proposed in a late reign, the limitation of the numbers in the upper house; and should the precedent ever be proceeded on, at any future time, Great-Britain will behold a material change in its constitution: whether for the better or the worse we will not venture to predict.

From what we have stated, however, the reader will perceive, that the clamour which has been excited against the union, as hostile to liberty, has but little foundation; and we must add, that it is with little grace, or at least with little consideration, that it can be opposed by the advocates of parliamentary reform, and the avowed enemies of aristocratical influence. Independent, however, of these effects, we can ourselves foresee many advantages arising from a unity of government; and our readers will recollect, that, in giving our opinion on the measure, in a former volume, we rather doubted of its seasonableness than of its general policy.

In our next volume we hope to present our readers with a satisfactory detail, from indubitable authorities, of the progress of this important measure in Ireland, and the *real means* by which it was effected. In the mean-time the question was ably debated in the British parliament; and from an attentive review of the arguments which were employed there on both sides, the reader will be enabled to form an opinion which will be tolerably accurate on the merits of the question at large.

The subject of a union with Ireland was introduced with some address into the British house of commons, on the 22d of January 1799, under the form of a message from his majesty, to the following effect:

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire."

Mr. Secretary Dundas then moved, that this message be taken into consideration on the morrow.

Mr. Sheridan said, as his majesty's message would be taken into consideration on the following day, he took it for granted that the address, which would then be proposed, would contain an assurance, that the

the house should proceed to an early consideration of the subject. He, however, thought it necessary to give notice of his intended opposition. For his part he viewed the bringing forward of the question at this time as a measure replete with so much mischief, that he held it his duty to do every thing in his power to arrest its farther progress. What he pointed at particularly, was the time of bringing forward the question; notwithstanding, he should join in returning his majesty thanks for his communication.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was at a loss to guess by what arguments the hon. gentleman would attempt to satisfy the house, that they ought not to proceed to the consideration of the measure: for his part, he wished to inform the house, that he only intended to propose an address on the morrow, and after a sufficient interval to proceed to the farther discussion of the subject. The day he wished to propose would be Thursday se'nnight. He did not intend even then to press the house to come to a vote until the outline had been explained.

Mr. Sheridan made a short reply. He deprecated the mischievous consequences of any discussion at all of the measure, therefore he was not to wait for the discussion when he deprecated the consequences. With respect to the arguments by which he should attempt to persuade the house, he hoped at least that the right honourable gentleman would wait till he heard them.

The motion for taking his majesty's message into consideration on the following day was then agreed to.

On Wednesday, Jan. 23, therefore, Mr. Secretary Dundas brought several papers relative to the proceedings of certain societies in Ireland, and the rebellion in that country, which were ordered to be laid on the table. After this, the order of the day for the consideration of his majesty's message being read,

Mr. Secretary Dundas rose, and said, he thought it almost unnecessary to say one word more than simply to move an address to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication; as his right hon. friend had yesterday stated to the house, that it was not intended to consider at present the immediate topics in the message, but only to move an address signifying the readiness of the house to take them into their serious consideration, and to appoint a farther day for resuming the subject. He then moved the address, the substance of which was, that the house would proceed with all due dispatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message.

Mr. Sheridan rose, and said, he must frankly declare, that he was not of the same opinion with the right hon. gentleman, who thought that there was nothing more necessary, on the part of his majesty's ministers, than to move a mere address, returning the thanks of the house for his majesty's most gracious communication. The subject was too important to be passed over lightly, in any stage of its progress. Not one man in the country would be free from reproach, if he could regard with apathy, or with an ease of temper approaching to indifference, a question which at once would involve every thing dear to Irishmen, and which ought to be dear to every subject of the British empire. He therefore thought that more was necessary on the part of his majesty's ministers, than merely to move an address; as it was stated that

that the principal object of the message from the crown was to invite the commons of Great-Britain to the consideration of the most practicable means of finally adjusting the interests in common between Great-Britain and Ireland. From this consideration he was led to inquire, how the terms of the final adjustment, made and agreed to by the parliaments of the two countries, in 1782, came to fail. No man acquainted with the history of that period could have forgotten in what kind of circumstances that adjustment took place: on this he made some very pointed remarks, and said, before ministers recommended to the house of commons to take measures that lead inevitably to the discussion of some plan of union, it was incumbent upon them to have shown that the last pledge of the English parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognised, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. He thought it impossible for any man clearly to show, that there ever was want of unanimity on any important occasion. He said he was the more strongly impressed with this belief, because a solemn declaration of the Irish parliament, sanctioned by all Ireland, was now on record, wherein it was stated, that the independence of Ireland would be asserted by the people of Ireland, and that their parliament was an independent parliament, and that there was no power whatever competent to make laws for that country. From this consideration, he said, he must think that the people in that country, who really cherished and loved rational liberty, would come forward to a second adjustment with a temper which he was afraid would augur not tranquillity, but disquietude. He owned that there was something informal in this way of treating the question immediately before the house, notwithstanding, much as he respected the forms, he felt that to be silent on the present occasion would be to act unbecoming a man enamoured of free discussion: his country had claims upon him, he said, which he was not more proud to acknowledge than ready to liquidate.

Mr. Sheridan added, that he was perfectly ready to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, for he really thought they would not propose a measure which they believed would ultimately terminate in a separation of Great Britain from Ireland. It was a connection which he wished to preserve, as much as any man, and was equally averse to sedition and revolt: upon this he dwelt with great energy, and said, he had no doubt but France anxiously looked on, eager to come in for a share of the plunder of the liberties of Ireland. This he used as an argument against the present measure, as having a tendency rather to encourage the enemy than to drive them from their settled purpose. He asserted also, that it was the conduct of ministers towards the Irish nation from which alone we could have any reason to apprehend danger; by dividing the native and constitutional defenders of Ireland, they would sow among them the seeds of treason, and encourage the attempts of the enemy on that unfortunate country. He next made some general remarks on the dismissal of certain respectable characters from office, and especially sir J. Parnell, as mentioned in a letter from lord Cornwallis, which showed that the object was a union,

though the word union was not to be found in the message. On this ground he contended that we had not a single proof of the people of Ireland manifesting a wish to unite; on the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to the proposition; and if it was effected, it would be a union accomplished by surprise, fraud, corruption, and intimidation. Indeed, had we been told that the whole people of Ireland had declared that they would shake off all allegiance, and that the parliament had violated the rights of the people; that the country did not prosper under its constitution; then he said there were strong reasons for agreeing to the proposition of union; but this had not been the case: the Irish commons had been thanked for their patriotic vigilance in defeating their internal enemies. He next made some remarks on the conspiracy in England, as asserted by ministers, whose reports, he observed, stood contradicted by juries, and whose accusations had been falsified by verdicts of acquittal: and he also contended that the juries of Ireland had returned verdicts of convictions more contrary to justice, and more dishonourable to them as men, than the juries of England could possibly do. Mr. Sheridan further observed, that the parliament of England was not competent to legislate for the parliament of Ireland; as every advantage of situation favoured the one, of which the other was deprived; and he remarked, that lord Clare had said, that the English parliament was less acquainted with the state of Ireland than any body of men in the world. The only arguments he had seen for the present measure, which he could suppose came from ministers, were those contained in a book written by two gentlemen in office in Ireland, and a more offensive or more flimsy production he had never seen. After making some very shrewd remarks upon this pamphlet, he concluded with proposing the following amendment:

"At the same time to express the surprise and deep regret with which the house, for the first time, learned from his majesty, that the final adjustment, which, upon his majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement; and, farther, humbly to express to his majesty, that his faithful commons had strong reasons to believe that it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to propose a union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis."

Mr. Canning rose, and combated the arguments of Mr. Sheridan; and observed, that though the words "final adjustment" were made use of in the journals of 1782, yet if the house would but attend to what followed in the same journals, they would see that another resolution followed, evidently of a perspective nature, which declared the necessity of establishing some more permanent system, by which the tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland could remain uninterrupted, and continue to be improved.

His honourable friend had contended, that this was not a proper time to discuss such a question, when Ireland was in such a convulsed state. The house could not but remember, he said, that for three

three years past those who were in the habit of opposing his majesty's ministers had repeatedly been calling for inquiries into the state of affairs of Ireland, though such inquiries were not then brought within the view of the house; but now it seemed they had no wish for any investigation, and all their curiosity had subsided. Surely his honourable friend had not inquired into the state of Ireland since late events had taken place. Was it not notorious, that the object of the traitorous machinations which had given rise to the rebellion was not any partial change of men or measures, but a total subversion of the existing government and constitution of the country, and the complete destruction of all connection beween the sister kingdom and Great-Britain? After the detection of those deep and destructive plots, surely it ought to be deemed expedient to examine into, and adopt the most effectual means of counteracting, the pernicious consequences that might still flow from them.

He next made some observations upon Dr. Duigenan's Answer to Mr. Grattan, on which he passed some very handsome compliments, and remarked that Dr. Duigenan stated it as an unavoidable alternative, either that a plan of union must be adopted, or that some other must be devised, for the fortification of the protestant ascendancy. The hon. gentleman had strongly insisted on the intimidation which the presence of an armed force would be likely to impress on the public mind of Ireland; it was by promoting such an union of interests and affections, as this measure would insure, that we might hope to remove the necessity of keeping a large armed force in Ireland; and removing that necessity, in fact, would remove one of the objects of his own censure and complaint. But where were the effects of that intimidation which the honourable gentleman seemed to apprehend? It surely did not affect either the liberty of speech, or the liberty of the press; both he remarked had been pretty freely indulged on the present subject He also observed, that some of the most strenuous friends of reform in Ireland had frequently said, that they wanted only to be brought nearer to the perfection of England, and desired that they might enjoy the substantial blessings of the British constitution.

Here he made some very judicious animadversions on the French constitution, as well as their conduct towards the people of Piedmont; all which he reprobated in the most striking language.

Mr Canning then observed, that it had been frequently said, that nothing had been done for Ireland but what she had extorted, and what she had a right to demand; but he would wish to ask, whether an independent country could demand to trade to the colonies of another independent country, as a matter of right? Could an independent country, he said, insist upon sending her linens to England under the most advantageous circumstances as a right? He did not mention those things as reproaching Ireland with the gratitude which she owed to England, but merely to show the good disposition of England towards Ireland

After some observations upon the benefit which must result from the present measure, he concluded by conjuring the house not to refuse to consider a question which involved in itself the best, perhaps the only means which could remove the dangers, and quiet the dissensions

of Ireland, while they cemented the connection which it was essential for both countries to strengthen.

Mr. Jones was against the measure, and contended that it would have a tendency to promote the distractions of the country, and extend that system of horrible rapine which had unhappily too long prevailed.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt said, the hon. gentleman, in bringing forward his amendment, had but one argument in support of the conclusion which he laboured to establish, viz. that there was no power which could make the result of the deliberation for adjusting the reciprocal interests of both countries effectual. He had taken upon himself the task of denying to the parliament of either kingdom the right of incorporating one country with the other. If the parliament of Ireland had no right to incorporate itself with the legislature of this country without the sense of the people of Ireland, as little had the parliament of Great-Britain a right to follow the same measure with that of Ireland, as little had the parliament of Scotland a right to agree to the terms of the union which had been effected, and as little had the parliament of England a right to ratify that union. If there were any truth or consistency in what the honourable gentleman had said in his denial of the right which he challenged, then all the solid and beneficial establishments which had been carried into effect since the period of the union must give way and fall to the ground. With respect to the competence of parliament to carry the measure into effect, there did not appear the least doubt. The honourable gentleman had declined entering upon any inquiry whatever relative to Ireland; now, said Mr. Pitt, he is bound to make out to us, that the state of Ireland is completely satisfactory, and that there is no need of the present measure: however, for his part, he had heard nothing but complaints, and had seen the rebellion raging with inveterate fury, and aiming a deadly blow at the connection between that country and Great-Britain. If the hon. gentleman looked to Ireland for a legislature calculated to apply a radical cure to these calamities, he would find himself disappointed; surely he never could suppose that the parliament of Ireland could be so well adapted to have that degree of connection with the great mass of the people as the parliament of Great Britain. The honourable gentleman did not scruple to assert, that the final adjustment with Ireland in 1782 had been found competent to settle every difference, and that he wished to perpetuate the connection between Great-Britain and Ireland: but, for his part, he did not wish it to be perpetuated, but that Ireland should participate in all the blessings of the British empire.

He next made some observations on what Mr. Sheridan had advanced relative to the final adjustment, and contended that it was dictated by the spirit of momentary popularity, and was not founded in the solid interests of the country. He said, when the act was passed which gave independence to Ireland, it was accompanied by a resolution, with a salutary provision. This resolution stated that it was the opinion of the house, that the connection between both kingdoms should be consolidated by future measures or regulations founded upon the basis of mutual consent. He then ordered the extracts to be read from the journals: after which he proceeded, and said, he had the authority of that resolution to prove, that no final

final adjustment was then made; and nothing had been since attempted to provide for that defective settlement, but the partial and inadequate measure of the Irish propositions, which were defeated by the persons who framed the resolution. The *onus*, he said, of showing that it was a final adjustment, lay with those who framed the resolution, *viz.* the honourable gentleman and his friends. He contended that there might be a probable case in which the legislatures of both kingdoms differ, and referred to the case of the regency some years back, when, he said, the Irish parliament decided upon one principle, and the British parliament upon another, notwithstanding however they both led to the appointment of the same person. He here remarked that the person must have been regent in one capacity in one country, and in a capacity directly the reverse in the other; he therefore contended, that the office might upon grounds equally justifiable, have been vested in two distinct persons. He said, he had now been arguing to provide for the prosperity and safety of Ireland, and to remedy the miserable imperfections of the arrangement made in 1782: the present state of that country were indeed deplorable; and, if any institution were inadequate to establish the internal tranquillity of that country, he did not hesitate to say the Irish legislature was, not from defect of intention or want of talent, but from its own nature, incapable of restoring the internal happiness of the country, and fixing the prosperity of the people on a firm and permanent basis.

Mr. Sheridan made a short reply, and

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said also a few words in explanation

Mr. Martin remarked, that if, upon a future discussion of the subject before the house, it should appear that a union with Ireland would contribute to the advantage of both countries, it ought to be agreed to.

Mr. Sheridan then withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried.

On Thursday, Jan. 31, the order of the day being read for taking his majesty's message into consideration,

Mr. Chancellor Pitt rose, and said, when he proposed to the house the subject the last time, in order to fix that day for the farther consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed * of the speedy accomplishment of a measure which he then proposed: however, he said, he had been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature—a power which he by no means meant to dispute: but while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt that, as a member of parliament of Great-Britain, he had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform, viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to insure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantage to the two kingdoms, he should propose it

* The Irish parliament had just then rejected the proposal for a union. Of the whole of these proceedings in Ireland we shall give a full account in our next volume.

to be recorded, that the parliament of Great Britain was ready to abide by it, leaving it to the legislature of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter upon a full consideration of the subject Notwithstanding the opinion expressed by the Irish house of commons, he was convinced that the measure was founded upon such clear and demonstrable grounds of utility, and attended with so many advantages to Ireland, that all that could be said for its ultimate adoption was, that it should be stated distinctly, temperately, and fully, and then left to the unprejudiced judgment of the parliament of Ireland. He should therefore, before he sat down, open to the house a series of resolutions, comprising the general heads of the plan, and move that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss those resolutions.

The general principle, to which both sides of the house acceded, was, that a perpetual connection between Great-Britain and Ireland was essential to the interests of both countries. Ireland had been attacked, he said, by foreign enemies, and by domestic traitors, whose great object it was to dissolve the connection. When he addressed the house last upon the subject, he stated that the settlement, which was made in 1782, so far from deserving the name of a final adjustment, was one that left the connection between Great Britain and Ireland exposed to all the attacks of party, and all the effects of accident. That settlement, he contended, consisted in the demolition of the system which had before held the two countries together. Such was the final adjustment, which he could prove not only from the plainest reasoning, but by the opinion expressed by the British parliament at that very time. On a former night, he said, he showed, from the journals, what was the opinion of those by whom the final adjustment was proposed, when it appeared that the message was sent to the parliament of Ireland, recommending to them the adoption of some plan for a final adjustment between the two countries, and wishing to know the grounds of the grievances of which they complained. In answer to this message, the parliament of Ireland stated certain grievances, the principal of which was, the power claimed by the parliament of Great-Britain of making laws to bind Ireland: but with respect to that part of the message relative to the propriety of adopting some measures for a final adjustment between the two countries, they were wholly silent. Their grievances were redressed by parliament, by the repeal of what was called the declaratory act.

[Mr. Sheridan here desired that that part of the journals to which Mr. Pitt alluded might be read.]

After this, Mr. Pitt proceeded, and said, that after the motion for the bill, of which so much had been said, an address was moved to his majesty, and carried, praying him to take such farther measures as to him seemed proper to strengthen the connection between the two countries. He said, he had dwelt longer upon this part of the subject than was absolutely necessary, but it was merely to show that the final adjustment of 1782 was incomplete. He next made some remarks on the obvious impediments to the prosperity of Ireland: one of the most prominent features was a want of industry and a capital, which, he said, were only to be supplied by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of this country. He also made some observations on the religious distinctions;

tions; which, he said, he was aware was a dangerous and delicate topic, especially when applied to Ireland. However, no man could say, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, that full concessions could be made to the catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. He next made some remarks on the great advantages which Ireland would derive from a union with Great-Britain; which, he said, he could prove from the documents which he held in his hand, as far as related to the mere interchange of manufactures. The manufactures exported to Ireland from Great-Britain in 1797 very little exceeded a million sterling (the articles of produce amounted to nearly the same sum), while Great-Britain, on the other hand, imported from Ireland to the amount of near three millions in the manufactured articles of linen and linen yarn, and between two or three millions in provisions and cattle, besides corn and other articles of produce. After dwelling upon this subject at some length, he made some observations on what the honourable gentleman opposite him (*Mr.* Sheridan) had said when his majesty's message was brought down, viz. that the parliament of Ireland was incompetent to entertain and discuss the question, or rather to act upon the measure proposed, without having previously obtained the consent of the people of Ireland, their constituents. However, from what the honourable gentleman said afterwards, he concluded that he made this objection rather by way of deprecating the discussion, than as entertaining the smallest doubt upon it himself. If, however, the honourable gentleman, or any other gentleman on the other side of the house, should seriously entertain a doubt on the subject, he should be ready to discuss it with him even then, or at any future opportunity. No man, he said, who held the parliament of Ireland to be co-equal with that of Great-Britain, could deny its competency on this question. He then made some observations relative to the union with Scotland, and remarked, that it was as much opposed, and by much the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions, creating the same alarms, and provoking the same outrages, as had lately taken place at Dublin; yet, he said, let any man look at the advantages which Scotland had derived since the union; the population of Edinburgh had been more than doubled, and a new city was added to the old one. He also remarked, that Glasgow had increased in proportion. After a variety of arguments to prove the great advantage of a union with Ireland, he brought forward his resolutions, of which he wished, that the more detailed discussion might be reserved till a future day.

RESOLUTIONS.

"1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

"2. That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose, as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great-Britain and

Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland*.

" 3. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

" 4. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be presented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords, spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union: and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the United Kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take, and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great-Britain and Ireland.

" 5. That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by by law established.

" 6 That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great-Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great-Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the

union

union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

"7. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great-Britain and Ireland respectively. That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom, in peace or war, should be defrayed by Great-Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

"8. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the United Kingdom to require.

"That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty, with an humble address, assuring his majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majesty's gracious message.

"That we entertain a firm persuasion that a *complete and entire union* between Great-Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

"Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established, by the deliberative consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation

vation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

Mr. Sheridan rose, and, in a very bold and animated speech, replied to the chancellor of the exchequer. Though the right hon. gentleman had introduced, he said, the question with a great display of eloquence, he must yet critically pursue him in all the mazes of his dextrous declamation. He observed, that he had taken an opportunity last week of opposing the measure of legislative union with Ireland, in the first stage of the discussion, which, as a matter of course, was to lead to that question. He did it from a conviction, that measures of such magnitude and of such novelty, should always be opposed in the infancy of their progress. However, after considering the subject more fully, he was convinced, under the present circumstances of the convulsed and disordered system of policy and general government of Ireland, that it was not only impolitic, but even unsafe, to agitate the discussion of topics, the issues of which were to lay the most hardy and stout hearted prostrate at the feet of a British minister. Considering the manner in which the subject was brought forward in Ireland, and the fate of the question in the parliament of that kingdom, it might be doubted whether the right hon. gentleman would persevere in the measure. He had, however, solemnly pledged himself, that it should be the favourite object of the remainder of his political life to effect a legislative union of the two kingdoms. But, thank God! said Mr. Sheridan, the house had not given a pledge to support him. The right hon. gentleman had sown already the most frightful dissensions in that unfortunate country. He had divided its parliament against itself. He had held it up to scorn, by libelling its measures, and traducing its wisdom; and, after all, he had to array the British parliament against it, with a pertinacity which distinguished ignorance, and with the fierceness of men who were to be told, that a country struggling for its liberties only waged the war of faction, and wielded the weapons of disaffection and treason. The right hon. gentleman had contended, that the commercial advantages derived by Ireland from her connection with Great Britain were necessary to her existence; and he added, in the same breath, that to have those advantages continued to her, a union was indispensable. The inference, Mr. Sheridan said, was, that Ireland must abandon all her commercial advantages if she rejected the proffered alliance. From this, he contended, that the people of Ireland could not come with unbiassed minds to this discussion, and it would be impossible that a free choice could be left to the parliament of that country. He also contended that Ireland ought to consent to a union, because she was incapable of defending herself against her internal and external enemies without her powerful neighbour. Mr. Sheridan insisted that the inference was irresistible. Was it generous, he said, to hold out such language to Ireland? Would it be proper to force the people of Ireland to ask, why they have not had those advantages yielded to them, on which, according to the opinion of the British minister, their prosperity depends? With respect to what the right hon. gentleman had said relative to Ireland, not being able to defend herself, it was well known that her volunteers had defended Ireland during the war; but he contended that it was a most cruel taunt, uttered in the face of the whole

whole people of Ireland, to say, that while we have 40,000 British troops in the heart of their country, we will awe them by such a force, reproach them with weakness, notwithstanding we have had 200,000 of their best inhabitants to support us in the present war; whilst 100,000 fighting men of their nation have fallen in our battles, in the West Indies and elsewhere. What was it but to say, you have assisted us, but you are now naked, ignorant, and uncivilised; if you do not accept from us the benefits we offer, we will proceed to confer them upon you by force. He next took notice of an argument which the right hon. gentleman had made use of in favour of an union, viz. the prosperity which Scotland had enjoyed since it had been united with England. But, said Mr. Sheridan, might not Scotland have attained the increase of wealth and prosperity merely by the dint of her own industry? Besides, Scotland could not well be compared with Ireland. In Scotland, the gentlemen of property were fond to reside and encourage trade, &c. but in Ireland quite the reverse. It was also urged, that two independent legislatures would seldom agree; and from this want of concurrence the most serious calamities might arise. It might as well be argued, that two independent houses of parliament may not co-operate, because the lords, for example, may throw out a money bill sent from the commons, or that the commons may refuse to concur in the amendments made by the lords. The whole of these objections, he said, were refuted by experience. Mr. Sheridan said, he should move two resolutions, which, in case the propositions should be carried, he would wish to be placed before them, for the purpose of taking off, in some degree, that jealousy which the Irish parliament would be apt to entertain of their passing the house, after the measure of the union had been so decidedly rejected in the house of commons in Ireland. Mr. Sheridan then read the following resolutions:—

"That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries.

"That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation, in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, was an enemy to his majesty and the constitution."

Lord Hawkesbury rose, and reminded the house of the motion which the honourable gentleman had brought forward last session, relative to an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish government. In that business, he said, the house was desired to interpose its authority respecting measures which were resolved on and carried into execution. He argued, that the opposition which the hon. gentleman gave to the measure then before the house, was founded on the interference of the British parliament in what had recently been rejected by one of the branches of the Irish legislature. It had been insinuated, that the people of Ireland were against the measure of a union: this he begged leave to deny. The people of Cork, and those of Limerick, had expressed themselves in favour of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, but the great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same

same favourable light. His lordship said much had been urged as to the commercial prosperity of Ireland, in consequence of the independence of her parliament; but, whatever that prosperity might have been, the course of events, which had for some years past taken place in Ireland, had convinced him that there must be something radically wrong in the internal situation of that country. He said, if Ireland had continued prosperous and tranquil since 1782, he should have entertained hopes that the interest of the empire might be secured without recurring to the measure then under consideration; but the reverse had been the case, and one subject of discontent had alternately risen after another, till it had terminated in the foulest and most unnatural rebellion. His lordship added, that it was his desire to extend the blessings of the British constitution to all the subjects of the British empire; and it was his particular wish, that the people of Ireland should derive every benefit that resulted from it to the people of England.

Mr. Sheridan spoke in explanation, and denied that he had voted on the Irish propositions, as stated by his lordship.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that the inference drawn by the noble lord, with respect to the inconsistency of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) having made a motion for an inquiry last session, and then opposing the measure under consideration, was not well founded. The situation of the two countries, in his opinion, was totally different at the present period from what his lordship had conceived them to be. When the measure was first introduced, he was not clearly decided that he should vote against it; circumstances, however, had taken place elsewhere which made him regret that the measure had ever been brought forward at all. Ireland, he said, appeared at present to be in a state of considerable irritation, and it was certainly of the highest importance that such a disposition should not be aggravated by the stimulation of any jealousy which they might have conceived of an intended attempt on the independence of their parliament. Dr. Lawrence made some remarks on the measure being introduced under the name of a union; and observed, that, after one of the parties, which was to give its assent to the marriage, had absolutely rejected it, how could that be called a union? A marriage was a matter of that delicate nature, that if the parties contracting it were not agreeable to each other, the closer they were drawn together by the bond, the farther in fact they were put asunder. Therefore, to press forward a measure of so much moment by the parliament of Great Britain, when the parliament of Ireland had rejected it, was certainly pregnant with the most disastrous consequences.

The house then divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair—Ayes 140; Noes 15.

Mr. Grey said a few words against the measure, as having a tendency to inflame Ireland, and produce the most alarming consequences.

Mr. Tierney agreed with Mr. Grey, as to the dangerous consequence of pressing farther the measure.

Mr. Sheridan said, he would move his resolutions on Thursday, as he had heard nothing advanced against them.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt replied, that nothing had been objected against the

the resolutions, because they had not been before the house, nor had been moved. However, he said, whenever they were brought forward, there were sufficient on the face of them to show the impropriety of adopting them.

The resolutions having been read in the committee, the house was resumed, and the committee asked leave to sit on Thursday, till when the house adjourned.

Thursday, Feb. 7. Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve into a committee, in order to take into farther consideration his majesty's most gracious message respecting the proposed union with Ireland.

Mr. Sheridan said, according to the rules of the house, the right hon. gentleman had an undoubted privilege of moving the order of the day before he (Mr. Sheridan) could attempt to move his resolutions, the nature of which he intimated on a former occasion. If that privilege was insisted upon, he must postpone his motion for the present.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt then waved his privilege, to give the precedence to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. Sheridan proceeded, and said, he felt it incumbent upon him to take up as little of their time as possible. He should, therefore, only urge a few of the reasons which might be advanced in support of the resolutions which he intended to move. As he knew the irritation produced in the public mind by the agitation of the question, and also the marked disapprobation which the mere suggestion of the measure had received from the Irish parliament, he had hoped that these considerations would have taught the right hon. gentleman not to have persisted in that pledge, which he had given in the first debate on the subject. He had declared, that to accomplish a union of the two kingdoms should be the object not only of his political life, but of his natural life. Happily, however, said Mr. Sheridan, the house were as yet pledged to nothing. The effect of the pledge which the right hon. gentleman had given, must be considerable on the people of Ireland, as it would inflame all those discontents which had already occasioned so much misery in that country. It had been contended, that Ireland could not exist without the support of this country; and a noble friend of the right hon. gentleman had held out a threat of withdrawing from Ireland that protection, without which she neither could defend herself against a foreign enemy, nor survive intestine warfare. Thus, said Mr. Sheridan, the people of Ireland were told what was to be the consequence of their refusing to surrender their independent legislature. Much had been said upon the corruption and mis-government of the Irish parliament. He did not mean to say that the Irish parliament had never neglected its duty, nor over-stretched its power; but it was very extraordinary that this argument should come from the mouth of the right hon. gentleman, who had so lately allowed that parliament to be the saviour of Ireland; when he had, through the medium of the viceroy, congratulated them on the suppression of an insurrection and the defeat of an invading enemy. Mr. Sheridan said, if he were asked whether the parliament of Ireland might not have sometimes fallen into errors—whether many of the evils which exist might not have been remedied by them—this, he said, he did not mean to deny; but contended,

tended, that an union was not the cure for the evils complained of; and that the British legislature could never correct political defects, or remove the distresses of Ireland, so well as its own legislature. He denied the assertion, that we had no alternative but division and separation, or union. The real alternative, he said, was that the Irish government should no longer continue to be a corrupt English job. It had been asserted, that there was some innate depravity in the Irish character, which rendered them unfit to have a parliament of their own. This he utterly denied, and contended that the corruption complained of was obvious—the government of Ireland had been made a job of for the advantage of the British minister. The right hon. gentleman had contended, that Ireland was helpless and dependent. He had threatened the country with a measure which it detested, and which must drive the people to take every precaution against the corruption and intimidation with which he menaced them. He had said, that Ireland would obtain great commercial advantages in consequence of a union, and that the situation of the catholics and dissenters would be improved; but he had not said why these ameliorations would not take place without a union. After some more observations of the same kind, Mr. Sheridan moved the following resolutions:

"That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connection, now existing between Great-Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the manifest, fair, and free consent, of the two countries.

"That whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation, in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption and intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and the constitution."

Mr. Chancellor Pitt said, he should make a few remarks on the motion of the hon. gentleman, as it stood divided into two parts. The first was, that no measure of union should be pursued without the unbiassed consent of the parliaments of both countries. This, he said, was a truism which was never attacked, but must be assented to as soon as stated. The second part of the motion stated, that whoever should, by corruption or intimidation, attempt to carry the question, was an enemy to his country. This, he had no doubt, had a reference to what had passed on former debates, when it had been insinuated that such conduct had been pursued. It alluded to the case of an high officer in the sister kingdom, who had quitted his situation on account of his disagreement with his colleagues in an important measure of government. Mr. Pitt observed, that, if many gentlemen were connected together with the fair intention of acting for the service of their country, it would be necessary, in order to preserve a unity of action, that they should agree in their system. It was impossible, therefore, to assert that doctrine, unless he meant to apply it to the particular instances to which he had alluded. The chancellor then moved the order of the day.

Mr. Grey said, he could see nothing but danger in the discussion of the question, and particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland. The house, in his opinion, should have resisted it in the first stage; but, above all, they

should

should not, at that time, leave it in the power of ministers to bring forward the measure whenever they pleased, and hold out a prospect to Ireland which must keep that country in continual alarm.

Mr. *Jones* said, the question as it struck him was, whether or not three-fourths of the people of Ireland were to be cut out from the fair and equal benefits of the constitution?

Mr. Speaker called the hon. gentleman to order, and told him he was not speaking to the question.

Mr. Sheridan said a few words in explanation. He said that the house then knew that the Irish house of commons was adverse to the measure; that, however, was not his whole inducement for opposing it; for, had that not been the case, his sentiments of it would have been the same. He had contended, he said, that Ireland, with 40,000 men in the heart of her empire, relying upon this country for commercial advantages, and these threatened to be withdrawn, was not in a situation to give her *free* consent to a measure of that kind. The right hon. gentleman well knew, that there were one hundred and sixteen placemen in the Irish house of commons; and that, by making two great examples, the dismissing the chancellor of the exchequer, and the prime serjeant, the others would be sure to remain staunch and true out of fear. If the union was desirable, as the right hon. gentleman had said, the people of Ireland ought to know upon what principle it was to be carried, and not to be deceived by false appearances, and dazzled by the splendour of the imperial parliament. He remarked, that, if the measure was carried by threats, this country would have ample cause to repent, as it would give a perpetual pretence to rebellion. He therefore deprecated the idea of a union on such terms.

Mr. Grey and Mr. Jones said each a few words in explanation; after which the house divided on Mr. Chancellor Pitt's motion. For the previous question, 141; against it, 25. Strangers were then excluded the gallery, and, on their re-admission,

The hon. St. A. St. John was speaking against the question for the speaker's leaving the chair. He observed, that it was believed pretty generally that the prosperity of Ireland had increased since the declaration of the independence of the Irish parliament. He therefore thought something more ought to be adduced in support of the measure than merely the necessity of it. Many comparisons had been made between the probable effect of the Irish union, and the certain effect of the union with Scotland. It had been contended that union had produced mutual strength. This, however, did not appear to him a conclusive reason; neither had any person attempted to show that Scotland might not have improved if the union had not taken place. He, however, was not called upon to discuss that point; but simply to state, whether, in the present situation of affairs, the house of commons in Ireland having declared its sense against considering the measure at all, any good could result from the agitation of it at that moment? In his opinion, it would only have a tendency to irritate the house of commons in Ireland. He said, he was not much in the habit of bestowing praise upon the house of commons of Ireland, but, he would say, that, by the steps they had taken upon the measure, they had shown themselves much

much more worthy of being called representatives of the people of Ireland than he had thought they were. After a few more remarks of the same nature, he concluded by opposing the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Grey rose, and said, the house was called upon, under circumstances the most extraordinary, to agitate a question, the most momentous that ever came before any parliament, either in point of constitutional right or public policy. It was called upon to discuss a bargain, on the merits of which one of the parties, whose consent was absolutely necessary to give it effect, had declared they would not listen to the very preliminary of the proposal. A union, he said, was what he heartily wished for; but he meant something more than a mere word. He meant not of parliaments, but of hearts, affections, and interests; an union of vigour, of ardour, of zeal, for the general welfare of the British empire. It was that species of union, and that only, that could tend to increase the strength of the empire, and give it security against any danger. But, said he, if any measure with the name of union only be proposed, and the tendency of which would disunite, and create disaffection, distrust, and jealousy, it would tend to weaken the whole of the British empire. Of this nature he took the present measure to be. Great evils he admitted existed in Ireland; but did they owe their origin to the legislature of Ireland? That Ireland had an independent legislature was true; and that with that legislature great calamities had happened in that country, was also true; but he did not think that because these two things were co-existent, that therefore the one of them must be considered as the cause, and the other the effect. Although the conduct of the parliament of Ireland was answerable in many respects, we ought to look to other causes than that of the independence of their legislature; because a great deal of it had been owing to the conduct of government, and for which, he said, the right hon. gentleman was responsible. "Look (said Mr. Grey) at the history of Ireland, and you will find that if it had not been for the interference of British councils and of British intrigue, none, or but few, of the evils which were felt, would ever have taken place—evils of which government was the parent, and which were now made the reason for taking away all the semblance of liberty among the Irish people. All the feuds and religious animosities and dissensions, which had distracted Ireland, had been caused by government; and yet government was making use of these evils as a pretext for taking away the liberty of the people of Ireland." Mr. Grey next made some observations upon the adjustment in 1782; and said, the right hon. gentleman had contended that there could be no final settlement or adjustment at that time, because it was even then expressed that something was left to be done; but the right hon. gentleman ought to have had the candour to acknowledge, that there might be a final adjustment, and yet something be left to be done. That was to say, there might be a final adjustment of one thing, and another might be left to be settled, which indeed was the case The final adjustment referred to the political independence of the Irish legislature; but the point to be settled was one that related to trade. The repeal of the sixth of George

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the First, was the first measure of liberality from England towards Ireland. After this, a plan was adopted, and a bill brought in, by his hon. friend Mr. Fox; and that was considered as all that was necessary upon the subject; and Mr. Grattan, after the declaration of the independence of the Irish parliament, observed, in the Irish house of commons, that it was all they wanted from Great Britain upon the constitutional point. The next circumstance which Mr. Grey took notice of, was the objection which the right hon. gentleman stated to two independent parliaments; as an argument against which, he had quoted the case of the regency. But what, said he, was the case of the regency? The parliament of Ireland vested in the heir apparent the full power of a regent, without any restriction. The parliament of this country had voted the same person, but with certain limitations and restrictions. But the two countries were by no means alike. In England there was a vast deal of power and influence which attached to the sovereignty, independent of that which is properly to be called government: in Ireland there was none. Mr. Grey said, he had not heard the first speech of the right hon. gentleman upon the measure, though he had heard that it was eloquent. But what had been the effect of it in Ireland? It had tended to inflame the parliament there instead of reconciling them; and they had agreed to have a call of the house, for the purpose of watching the farther progress of the measure. Mr. Grey concluded with some general observations upon the situation of affairs on the continent.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, notwithstanding the arguments so strenuously advanced on the other side of the house, he rose with a considerable degree of satisfaction to refute the objections urged against the union with Ireland. The last honourable gentleman had dwelt with much minuteness on the discussions of the year 1782, and on the commercial and political situation in which Ireland was then placed. But he begged leave to observe, that every deduction from those circumstances, and every grant made to Ireland at that time, had nothing to do with the question then before the house; which contained in it no suggestion derogatory to the acknowledged independence of the Irish parliament. He was ready to admit, that, by the transactions of 1782, the Irish parliament was placed on the same footing of independence, in relation to Great Britain, as Scotland was with respect to England before the union of the two kingdoms; and certainly he had never heard that the proposal made in 1707, for the union of England and Scotland, had, at any period, by the opponents of the measure, been regarded as an attack on the independence of the parliament of Scotland. With regard to the measure itself, he had entertained an opinion that the question would have been argued in a different stage of the business, and that there would not have arisen any debate on leaving the chair. However (he said) he was ready to meet the opponents of the measure in any way they pleased, as he was armed with such authorities as would overturn every objection that could be offered. He said he would assume as a proposition, which he believed no man would have the boldness to deny, that there existed in Ireland a spirit of clamour and dissension,

of treachery and treason, which menaced the overthrow of the present government. Now the question was, whether or not the political disease was not likely to be removed by incorporating the two parliaments? He did not mean any thing disrespectful to the parliament or people of Ireland when he affirmed that the evil machinations of the enemy in both countries had been too successful in most instances, and that the check or control of the English government was absolutely necessary for the salvation of Ireland. He said, it was impossible to imagine a remedy more appropriate to the radical cause of the disease, than the measure of an incorporate union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms. The protestants would, of course, lay aside their jealousies and distrust; being certain that against any attempt to endanger the protestant establishment in Ireland, the whole strength of the united parliament would be exerted; and, on the other hand, every catholic, who was a friend to the connection with Great Britain, desirous of obtaining every indulgence, and of being admitted into a participation of every privilege consistent with that connection, would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by a united parliament. Gentlemen, he said, had talked much of the parliament of Ireland, and had insisted that a consent to the present measure would totally destroy the liberty and independence of the Irish parliament. This, however, was a wrong conclusion. Would there not be by the incorporated parliament, the three estates of king, lords, and commons? and, if there was a sufficiency of the aristocracy and democracy of the different countries, how could the independence of the parliament or the liberty of the people suffer? It ought also to be recollected that, with all the boasted independence of the parliament of Ireland, it could not give vigour or effect to its acts till approved of by the third estate, whose residence was in England. If the parliament of Ireland were as independent as its advocates insisted, why was it obliged to adopt the measures of the parliament of Great Britain on all occasions of peace or war. The incorporated parliament of Ireland would have all the privileges of the incorporated parliament of Scotland: this he corroborated. He himself was one of the forty-five Scotch members; and could, in the face of five hundred and thirteen English members, freely discuss and watch the interests of Scotland. Mr. Dundas next observed, that an objection had been made by some gentlemen that the business ought not to have been proceeded on in England till the proposition had been made by the parliament of Ireland. He confessed, however, he did not understand the objection. It was intended to follow, step by step, the manner of recommending and adopting the union between Scotland and England, but we had many records by which we might direct our proceedings. When the queen of England sent a message to the parliament of England, on the subject of the union, her majesty sent also a similar message to the parliament of Scotland. The measure of a union with Scotland had been so often in contemplation that the general plan required little amendment. It had been proposed in the days of James the First; in those of Charles the First; in those of the usurper Cromwell; afterwards by William; and, lastly, by Anne.

Anne. He remarked, that it never was offered in the one parliament, without at the same time recommending it to the other. Mr. Dundas next entered into a comparative view of the benefits which Scotland derived by the union with Great Britain. At the time of the union, the linen trade in Scotland amounted to about one million of yards; but, by the fostering care of the united parliament, and from a benign consolidation of the interests of both kingdoms, it had increased to the quantity of twenty-three millions, manufactured in the year 1796. He observed, that these improvements, and this increase of trade, were not confined to any particular part of Scotland, but were experienced in every corner of it. Many melancholy pictures, he said, in the shape of prophecies, were presented to the public view on that memorable occasion. Among other false prophecies, he mentioned the celebrated speech of lord Belhaven. He then made some observations on a letter from queen Anne to the Scottish parliament, recommending to them to take the articles which had been agreed upon at London under their consideration; and showed, from this letter, that her majesty was a true propheteſs, as not one syllable of her predictions had failed with respect to the advantages which Scotland derived from a union with England. Mr. Dundas said, it had been asked, what right we had to impute all those advantages to the union of the two kingdoms, as Scotland might be expected, like other nations, to have advanced in prosperity from the various causes which had contributed to the modern wealth of other states? Many answers might be given to the question, founded on the local situation of Scotland, her internal policy, and her relation to other nations, which must have for ever debarred that kingdom, in a separate state, from participating that prosperity which had marked the progress of other states in Europe. He then quoted part of the speech of Mr. Seton, of Pitmeddon, as a complete answer to the above question. This gentleman was one of the commissioners for treating with England for an union, and, upon the first article being brought under consideration of the Scotch parliament, delivered his sentiments upon it. It had been asked, by an hon. gentleman, why not give those advantages to Ireland without a union? To which he answered, that if Great Britain should communicate those indulgences to Ireland, it would be impossible, under the present constitution and government, to take advantage of them; for the strength of both countries must be consolidated in order to enable Ireland to reap the full advantage. It had been insisted upon by some gentlemen, that we ought to proceed no farther in the business, after the house of commons of Ireland had expressed its repugnance to the measure. No decision, however, of that house, should deter him from telling and explaining to the people and parliament what were the proposals which ministers were desirous to submit to their cool and dispassionate consideration. The Irish house of commons had expressed what they thought of a union; and it was our business to tell what we think of it also. After some observations of a similar nature, he concluded by voting for the speaker leaving the chair.

Mr. Sheridan replied to some of the arguments urged by Mr. Dundas, and said the right honourable

gentleman had contended that much of the discontents in Ireland, were founded on the excluded situation of the Catholics, and that if Ireland came under the regulation of an incorporated and imperial parliament, their situation would be altered for the better. But, unfortunately for the right honourable gentleman's argument, another part of his speech proved how little they had to expect on that head, for he had shown that the British parliament (without the same excuse of that body in England who formed three-fourths of the community, and therefore without the dread of their participation of equal privileges with the Protestants being attended with that danger to the supremacy of the Protestant interest) had acted far more illiberally towards the Catholics, than the parliament of Ireland, under all the inequalities attending their numbers, had ever done. He then asked, to what cause was it to be attributed? To the influence, said he, of the English councils, and not to the Irish parliament? The right honourable gentleman had said, he wished to treat with Ireland upon equal terms; but Mr. Sheridan denied the possibility, surrounded as they were with English troops, which were said to be necessary for their defence, and depending, as it had been said, on the British parliament for the continuance of their commercial advantages, they could not be in a situation to give a free consent. The next thing noticed, was the competency of the Irish parliament to discuss the matter. The right honourable gentleman had talked of "a sovereignty in abeyance in the people," and had denied it on the ground, that if it was allowed, all the acts passed by the parliament, such as the septennial act, the act of union, &c. were nullities, and that all were usurpers who held seats in the house. Mr. Sheridan contended, that there was a sovereignty in abeyance in the people: the practice of the revolution clearly showed it. When king James the Second abdicated the crown, the parliament did not proceed to do any act of itself, for settling the crown, but expressly called a convention, which the lord mayor of London and fifty commoners were invited to attend. Every step was actually taken in the then pressing exigency of affairs, to show that the appointment of the crown was *in* the people, and in them only. He concluded by giving his hearty negative to the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Tierney said, he never rose to speak upon a question with more uneasiness than the present. However, he said, he expected an answer to a question, which he thought decisive upon the subject. He wished to know what advantages could be gained by a union, which could not be obtained without it? He was clearly of opinion, that these resolutions would produce the same effect, if they were sent over without parliament being pledged to them. An argument had been used in favour of the present measure, that it would defeat the hopes of the foreign and domestic enemy; for his part he did not think it would prevent the attempts of the enemy, or put an end to the intestine troubles, because its effects would be to create still greater divisions than existed at this period. Much had been said of the benefits resulting to Scotland from the union, and the right honourable gentleman had given several statements upon that subject. But although he had proved that Scotland had increased in prosperity,

sperity, he had not attempted to prove, that that prosperity had been the consequence of the union. Mr. Tierney said, he wished by no means to contend, that the measure was radically a bad one, or that we ought to abandon it for ever, but merely wished to convince the right honourable gentleman and the house, that after the opinion which had been expressed in the Irish parliament, and throughout that country against it, he ought at least for the present to abstain from pressing it. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) who had drawn so many arguments from the prosperous state of Scotland, had confounded himself with his country, and had endeavoured to prove the benefits which had followed to Scotland, by a statement of the prosperity which had flowed upon himself. Indeed, the whole of his argument seemed calculated to persuade the Irish parliament to engage in the present measure, as likely to turn out a good speculation for themselves.

Mr. Secretary Dundas said a few words in explanation, and contended, that he did not say that the imperial parliament would be a good field of enterprise and adventure to the members of the Irish parliament. Therefore, he said, the honourable gentleman must permit him to say, it was impertinent in him to put words into his mouth he had never used.

Mr. Tierney said, "Does the right honourable gentleman mean to call my observation impertinent?"

A cry—"The question—the question!"

Mr. Tierney said, he considered such language unparliamentary.

Mr. Grey said, he believed his honourable friend had been misled by his momentary warmth, and he thought Mr Dundas did not use the expression.

Mr. Dundas explained.

Mr. Tierney expressed himself satisfied with the explanation.

Mr. Speaker acknowledged, that the expression, as it had been used, did not appear to him to be parliamentary.

Mr. W. Grant spoke in favour of the motion.

Mr. W. Smith said a few words on the subject.

The house then divided—

For the speaker's leaving the chair - - - - - 149

Against it - - - 24

Mr. Chancellor Pitt said, it would be improper to proceed farther at that late hour, and hoped the speaker's leaving the chair would not be opposed at any future day, the question having been decided.

Mr. Sheridan said, he would not pledge himself to agree to the speaker's leaving the chair at any time, as the intelligence from Ireland was of so alarming a nature.

Mr. Pitt made a short reply to Mr. Sheridan.

The committee on the union reported progress, and asked leave to sit again on Monday—after which the house adjourned.

On Monday, February 11, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee for the further consideration of his majesty's message; which being read, and the speaker having moved that the same be taken into consideration,

Mr. Sheridan rose, and said it was not his intention at present to oppose the speaker's leaving the chair, for the purpose of preventing the house from resuming the consideration of his majesty's message.

He did understand, he said, that an honourable friend of his, who was in the country, had an intention of coming to the house for that purpose. Having already on several occasions argued at considerable length against the principle of the measure, it was not his intention to oppose the house going into a committee in the absence of his honourable friend, as he knew that it was in his power to suggest in the committee any other plan for consolidating the interest of the British empire.

As the right honourable gentleman, however, was, by the forms of the house, entitled to a pre-audience, he would not at that time go into any detail of argument to prove that the resolution he intended to move was such as the house ought to adopt, but he would merely state it as a proposition which was fairly entitled to the consideration of the committee. This proposition was no less than that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from an union, would be more certainly attained by the parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions. He did not mean that any steps should be taken for that purpose which should have the least appearance of trenching upon the independence of the Irish parliament; on the contrary, he had taken care to word his motion so as to avoid any such construction. Whether its fitness at the present crisis would or would not be disputed, it had this recommendation at least, that it was considered by his majesty's ministers in 1795, to be a measure of prudence, safety, and indispensable necessity. Here Mr. Sheridan read an extract from earl Fitzwilliam's letters to lord Carlisle, stating the agreement of the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt in the opinion that the emancipation of the Catholics was necessary for the preservation of Ireland. Mr. Sheridan said he would be glad to know, whether the events which had since happened in that distracted country, all of which were predicted by earl Fitzwilliam, were not such as to induce the right honourable gentleman to regret that he had not permitted the measure to be brought forward at that time? It was necessary that the right honourable gentleman should explain the motives for the sudden change in his sentiments. If there had been no change, the inference then was, that when he appeared to countenance the scheme of emancipation, he never entertained any idea of carrying it into execution. Had the right honourable gentleman attempted to prove that all the efforts of the Irish parliament would be ineffectual to the extinction of religious feuds and political discontents, then, said Mr. Sheridan, it would be thought no way surprising that he had changed his opinion. The primary object of lord Fitzwilliam's administration was, from the first moment of his landing in Ireland, avowed to be the complete emancipation of the Catholics; and it was well known that it constituted the avowed ground of his recall. The right honourable gentleman had said, that he wished to wait for a moment of calm, when the irritation occasioned by the first view of the measure should subside, and its many advantages could be considered. In this the right honourable gentleman had contradicted himself as to the principle, for he loudly talked of the necessity of an immediate remedy. If he avowed that he designed to carry it by coercion, his anxiety to have his resolutions carried would then excite

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no surprise. Mr. Sheridan, after a few general remarks on the Catholics, concluded by moving,

"That it be an instruction to the committee to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interest, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions."

Mr. Chancellor Pitt said, that of all the speeches he had ever heard the honourable gentleman make in that house, that which he had just concluded was the most extraordinary; for he began it by saying, that though he rose to move an instruction to the committee, yet he did not think any was necessary, and that it was equally competent to him to propose his motion in the committee itself; and on this account he would not oppose the speaker's leaving the chair. From this strange mode of proceeding, he said, he could hardly think that the honourable gentleman had any serious intention of persisting in his motion.

The next singularity in the speech was, that his motion was inconsistent with the proposed resolutions; and yet he immediately after added, that it might be substituted in their stead, and that it would completely supersede the plan of a legislative union. What was still more surprising, at a more advanced part of his speech, he laboured to prove, that, instead of producing the effect of consolidation, it would have in fact a direct contrary tendency.

Mr. Pitt next observed, that if the honourable gentleman's motion should be taken in the manner in which it had been opened, that the abolition of the religious disabilities were intended to operate by way of example upon Ireland, then there were three points which ought to be weighed before the house gave its assent to it. The first was, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it; the second, whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity; and the third was, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far it would go towards strengthening the connection between the two countries? He said, admitting that religious exclusions were abolished here, he could not perceive how it was to operate upon Ireland, which was a separate kingdom. But, indeed, the arguments of the honourable gentleman were throughout the most extraordinary he had ever heard. He would therefore no longer detain the house from proceeding to the order of the day.

Mr. Speaker observed, that if the house were of opinion that the tenor of his majesty's message did not warrant the introduction of the motion, to discuss it at present was certainly irregular; but if it came within the committee, it was not regularly worded; it ought to be some such words as these: "That it be an instruction to the committee in the first instance."

Mr. Sheridan said, he had not the least objection to withdraw his motion for the present, or he would assent to the amendment to avail himself of an opportunity of making some comments on what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman opposite. He thought it very strange language, to tell a member of the house he was not serious in the arguments which he pressed upon its attention. Probably the right

honourable gentleman only ascribed to him what he felt to be too much the habit of his own mind. He had argued that it was unsafe to grant Catholic emancipation without union. He would then ask, why he had authorised lord Fitzwilliam to promise it? why he had raised that expectation in the minds of the Catholics, of the fallacy of which he had since endeavoured to convince them by a system of torture of every denomination? The house, in adopting his motion, would only repeat the sentiments of his majesty's ministers in 1795; however, it was not his intention to take the sense of the house upon the subject at present.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt made a short reply to Mr. Sheridan. With respect to the transactions of 1795, he denied that the circumstances of refusing to grant the Irish Catholics at that time their requests was the cause of the insurrections which had since taken place; he also denied that there were any hopes which lord Fitzwilliam was directed to hold out to Ireland, and which were afterwards withdrawn; and he contended that the cabinet of this country never gave the lord lieutenant any such authority, therefore there remained no such to be withdrawn.

Mr. Sheridan said, this was a subject upon which the right hon. gentleman and himself were at issue, and was the material question which ought to be inquired into.

Mr Pitt replied, that he could by no means agree that the house should be called upon to consider the situation of the Catholics of Ireland whilst both parliaments remained distinct, because he considered such a motion to be an attack upon the independence of the legislature of Ireland.

On Mr. Pitt's motion that the speaker leave the chair, general Fitzpatrick said, he had not the vanity to suppose that any arguments of his could divert the right honourable gentleman from a project on which he seemed to have set his mind. However, what he had to say was principally on the settlement of 1782. In that year he was officially employed in carrying into effect what, he would venture to say, was then universally considered as a final adjustment between England and Ireland. He was in Ireland, and had a seat in the house of commons there, when the resolutions passed in 1782: it was wished at that time to talk them over, which, he said, was done very fully; and he remarked that the whole assembly was satisfied with them. He observed, that there was one member of that house (viz. Mr. Flood) who was not very well disposed to them: he called on him, as an official person in that house, to say, whether there was any other measure to be grounded on that resolution; to which he answered that gentleman, from the authority of those with whom he acted, that there was no constitutional measure to be brought forward; there were some measures that were to be proposed, relative to commerce; but surely, said general Fitzpatrick, the union is a constitutional point, and therefore so far inconsistent with the settlement of 1782. He would venture to say, that for the fifteen years following the resolutions, there had been no doubt entertained upon the independence of the Irish legislature in a constitutional point of view. With respect to the terms of the union he did not mean to say any thing, nor was it necessary, in the view he had of the matter, to

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consider any thing about the terms, because he looked upon the whole as a flagrant breach of faith.

The right honourable Dudley Rider said, that he felt pleasure in hearing the right honourable general state it as a ground on which he came forward that night to deliver his sentiments, that he was once a servant of the crown; or, as the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) expressed it, a mercenary supporter of some minister. Such an expression he conceived to be indecorous and unparliamentary.

Mr. Sheridan said a few words in explanation, and observed, that what he had asserted was, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt), by retracting the pledge, and frustrating the hopes, which, at the opening of lord Fitzwilliam's administration, he had held out to the Irish Roman Catholics, was truly the cause of all the calamities which had since continued to afflict Ireland. And to those, in general, who had supported that right honourable gentleman when he gave that pledge, and equally supported him when he retracted it, he applied the word mercenary, wherever those persons were to be found.

Mr. Rider then resumed and adverted to the arguments of general Fitzpatrick. He said there could be no doubt but that the settlement in 1782 was not considered as final by the parliament of 1783, who passed an act for completing what was left imperfect in the only point which was then not settled. And he also contended, that still less could it have been the opinion of the parliament of 1785, who adopted the commercial propositions, involving not only regulations of trade, but the most important questions of navigation and revenue. If, said he, the right honourable general was correct in his assertion, that, by entertaining the present question, the house was acting against the independence then finally settled, that would preclude, no doubt, all discussion upon the subject; for if it were a breach of faith to open a negotiation between two independent legislatures, for the purpose of an arrangement of points essential to their interests by mutual consent, such a breach of faith had certainly been committed by the proposal of the present measure.

General Fitzpatrick spoke in explanation. He denied, as the right honourable gentleman seemed to assert, that he was conscious of some other points reserved in 1782, as well imperial as commercial; by imperial he meant of a constitutional nature, exclusive of regulations strictly commercial. With respect to the settlement being final, touching all matters of imperial concern, that, he said, was evident from the address voted to his majesty by the house of commons, in which all the friends of the duke of Portland concurred.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt then entered upon some of the principal points which had occurred in the right honourable general's speech. He wished (he said) to ask whether there was any thing inconsistent in the conduct of the two separate legislatures, rendered perfectly independent by the adjustment of 1782, in discussing and entering into agreements and regulations, which any two states, equally separate and independent of each other, might do? Could the right honourable general maintain, that any recognition of the independence of the Irish parliament, in the year 1782, made Ireland more incapable of treating of the question of union,

union, or of any other grand political consideration, than any other country whatever? Where then was there any ground for the charge which had been brought against them? Mr. Pitt observed, he himself never considered it as a final adjustment, so as not to be altered, but merely a recognition of the independence of Ireland. Having said so much upon this point already, and as it continued the object of discussion, he judged it necessary to sift it to the bottom. In consequence of the statement made by the parliament of Ireland, against the power claimed by the parliament of Great-Britain, of making laws for them, a bill was judged necessary to repeal the act of George the First, and a motion to that effect was assented to by the British parliament. This power assumed, was therefore laid aside by the repeal of the declaratory law. After this had passed, an address was carried to his majesty, praying him to take such farther measures as might appear to him proper to strengthen the connection between the two countries [Here Mr. Pitt read the proceedings from the Journals]. His majesty's most gracious answer (he said) was, that he would take such measures as might be necessary for that purpose. With this view the duke of Portland was sent to Ireland, with the right honourable general as his secretary. Mr. Pitt wished to ask the right honourable general whether there were not instructions given to him then, for the accomplishment of farther arrangements? And he maintained, that the primary object of the duke, when at the head of the government in Ireland, was directed to the establishment of a new system, calculated to promote and perpetuate the connection between the two countries. From this consideration he was perfectly of opinion, that the subject of the union grew out of what was improperly called the final adjustment.

General Fitzpatrick said a few words in explanation, and observed, that though he certainly had access to the official dispatches transmitted to government by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, while he acted as secretary to the duke of Portland, it could not be supposed, that, after a period of sixteen years, he could be able to speak with accuracy to their contents; but this he could assert, that the objects which the duke of Portland, at that period, had in view, (as far as he was acquainted with them) did not relate to any imperial constitutional points.

After a short reply from the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Tierney rose to make a few observations relative to the transaction of 1782. He had met with an authentic document of the business in Ireland at that time. It was an address of the house of commons, on the resolutions in question. The address, he said, was moved by Mr. Grattan; and certain expressions in it, were so remarkable, as to leave no doubt on the subject. The passage stated, that in consequence of what had been done, *no constitutional question could now arise* to interrupt the harmony between the two countries. The debate which arose on this subject, was suggested by the recorder of Dublin, who had said, that actual recognition, instead of mere repeal, was necessary. In the same record he found the speech of his right honourable friend, general Fitzpatrick, on that occasion. The speech stated his right honourable friend to have said, that if the final adjustment was not considered

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as having settled the whole question, he had no hopes that it ever would be settled.

Mr. Secretary Dundas wished to ask the right honourable general, whether, at a period subsequent to the address which had been alluded to, when a resolution was taken to prorogue the Irish parliament, that measure had not been delayed, in consequence of the duke of Portland saying that he entertained some hope of being able to obtain a settlement of those points, which the independence of Ireland made it necessary to arrange.

General Fitzpatrick said, he had no recollection of the circumstance.

Mr. Jones deprecated the farther agitation of the question at the present moment. The language which had been used, he said, by the right honourable secretary, had a tendency to irritate the people of Ireland.

Mr. Dundas said, he never used any words which could have that tendency.

Mr. Sheridan contended, that the house had recognised Ireland to be independent by an act as solemn as the bill of rights. The Irish address, entered upon the Journals of the House, declared that their separate legislatures was essential to their liberties. Therefore, he said, it was inconsistent then to enter upon the Journals a set of resolutions directly contrary to the privileges which the Irish parliament, in its former resolution, declared its determination to maintain. The right honourable gentleman had found out, that those who opposed him laboured under a charge which had never before been deemed serious; those, indeed, who differed from him, were disreputable for the mere circumstance of being out of office. The right honourable gentleman was offended with an allusion to the conduct of France with regard to Switzerland; but in the odium of that comparison he begged leave to share with his honourable friend, for in principle the conduct of the right honourable gentleman was the same as the most jacobinical proceeding of the directory. It had been said, indeed, that no force was to be used towards Ireland, and that her free consent would be required. This country, however, was to claim the privilege of judging, when Ireland was free to judge for herself. She was to be considered as mad and intoxicated till she acceded to the propositions which that house was to resolve were necessary for her interest; in principle, this was the same as the conduct of France, which had been so much reprobated. Every placeman who dared to vote according to his own judgment was deprived of his place.

He next made some observations in reply to what was said of the mischievous consequences of retracting the pledge given to the Catholics in Ireland. An allusion had been made to the confessions of the conspirators in that country, and of a person who was described as his (Mr. Sheridan's) friend; and he had seen many attempts made out of doors at least to implicate those who gave evidence at Maidstone in the guilt of Mr. O'Connor. With respect to the evidence which he had given on Mr. O'Connor's trial, he did not in the least retract; and he called upon a learned gentleman who had been present at the trial to point out any inconsistency in his conduct. After a few remarks on the same subject, he concluded by urging the danger of continuing the

the agitation of the question at the present moment.

Mr. Solicitor General made a short reply to Mr. Sheridan's remarks concerning Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. Percival also made some remarks on the evidence given on Mr. O'Connor's trial, and said, he thought the whole of the evidence which was given upon that occasion, in favour of the character of O'Connor, was capable of being interpreted in a double way. But though he considered this subject as very important, he should decline it for the present. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had brought forward an address, voted by the Irish house of commons, which he conceived to be unanswerable; however, he could not agree to that. His majesty required, by a message, to know what were the grievances of which Ireland complained; they stated, that they required an independent legislature. Upon this being granted, they considered that their constitutional grievances were at an end. But they did not mean that there might not be imperial grievances. If it be true that there was a great majority in the Irish house of commons on the address, it was rather extraordinary that in the following year there should be so great a majority requiring a renunciation on the part of Great Britain of her power. The honourable gentleman had adverted to the time when the measure was brought forward, and said, "the period when they had chosen to propose the union, was when they could most insult the parliament of Ireland by it; they had brought it forward at a time when they could not reject it:" yet, he said, one of the arguments of the honourable gentleman was, that they would reject it. The honourable gentleman said also, that such was the force in Ireland, that the parliament of that country could not enter upon the discussion of that subject with any degree of freedom. He had deprecated the discussion of the subject, as it would be a means of irritating the minds of the Irish people: he was sorry he had not, throughout the whole of the debate, attended to that circumstance; if he had, he would not have employed the similies which he had done, in his assertion that the conduct of England towards Ireland resembled that of France towards Switzerland.

Mr. Sheridan said a few words in explanation.

The right honourable Sylvester Douglas made a few general remarks upon the subject of the competency of the English parliament.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that the advantages to be derived from a union were reciprocal to England and Ireland, and that the control of England over the legislature of Ireland, by means of the royal prerogative of assent and dissent, was sufficient to prevent any ill consequences from the present form of its government. It had been urged, that the union was a measure calculated to heal the disquiets of the country, and calm the discords among the various contending sects; but why was it to be done by means of an union? There were other modes, and by the conduct pursued in lord Fitzwilliam's short administration it plainly appeared that the people of Ireland were anxious to have the remedies proposed by that nobleman.

The Scotch union had been urged as an argument in favour of the present measure, but this he would not

not admit as by any means analogous. To prove this, he went into a very long historical detail. He concluded by wishing the house most seriously to consider the mischiefs that were likely to ensue by pursuing a line of conduct inimical to the wishes, and contradictory to the resolutions, of the Irish nation. He should, he said, object to the speaker's leaving the chair. The house then divided—for the speaker's leaving the chair, 131; against it, 19;—majority, 112.

The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro formâ*, and, being resumed, the committee asked leave to sit again the next day.

On the 12th of February, the order of the day being read for the house to go into a committee upon his majesty's message respecting the union with Ireland,

Sir John Sinclair said, he should have opposed the speaker's leaving the chair, had not it been an understood compact, that gentlemen on that side of the house would not farther press their opposition to that point.

Mr. Sheridan said, he did not wish to detain the house, but he could not agree with the honourable baronet that there was an understanding on the part of gentlemen on that side of the house, that they were not at full liberty to oppose the speaker's leaving the chair. There was indeed an exhortation from the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Pitt) not to give that opposition; but he should not, he said, have expected the honourable baronet would have been very desirous of obeying that exhortation. Mr. Sheridan added, that he wished to say a single word to two points which had been subjects of discussion in the course of the measure before them, previous to the house going into a committee: it had been asserted, that, during the whole of the debate upon the subject, no one member had asserted, that an union, abstractedly considered, might not be good for Ireland, if it could at any future period be carried with mutual harmony and good intent. This assertion, he said, he must contradict: he wished to state it as his opinion, that though the attempt at this period would be attended with multiplied dangers, yet at no other time it would be a desirable measure. The other point was, an honourable gentleman had assumed, that no one had ventured directly to assert in the house, that parliament was not competent to give sanction to a legislative union. In answer to this point, he maintained, that there was a broad and visible distinction in the cases of the two parliaments, the one incorporating, and the other surrendering its independence. However, he said, he had no hesitation in saying, that he thought parliament was not competent to surrender an independent legislature—they could not do it consistently with their duty to their constituents.

Mr. Martin said a few words in favour of the measure, and the speaker then left the chair; and the house went into a committee on the resolutions, the right honourable Sylvester Douglas in the chair.

The first resolution being read,

Mr. Hobhouse said, he had voted with those gentlemen who had opposed the speaker's leaving the chair, because he conceived the times to be very unfavourable to the measure. The parliament of Ireland—nay, he said, the whole nation of Ireland, were absolutely hostile to the measure. At present he should give

give no vote, but wait until the committee had brought the plan to the greatest improvement which the present stage of the business would allow: upon the report he should perhaps trouble the house with his sentiments.

Mr. Banks stated, that he thought the committee the proper stage of discussion. He contended that Ireland was not in a state to coalesce and unite with this country, from the religious discords and political feuds. The method to remove these disorders by an union was not the proper way, and he argued that the Irish parliament was the only medium by which all those disorders should be remedied. The very source of them, he contended, lay not in the government of Ireland, but in the prevalence of English faction and influence. He had heard it advanced as an argument in favour of the union, that the connexion now existing between the two countries was frail and fragile, and might be eventually destroyed. He always understood that the parliament of Ireland was more under the influence of the crown than that of England, and therefore he saw no danger of any separation. The union, if carried, would not tend to tranquillise Ireland; not one catholic, he believed, would be the less in arms, but all the dangers remain equal, without adding any strength to the empire. Upon these grounds he should oppose it.

Mr. Speaker said, the occasions were few on which he was disposed to take any part in the debates and proceedings of the house, however he thought it incumbent upon him to express his opinion by his vote. His view of the subject, he said, was very different from that of his honourable friend (Mr. Banks), who had stated that the situation of Ireland was such, as to render it not only inexpedient, but unsafe, to coalesce with her. For his part, he had long been satisfied of the urgent and pressing necessity of the measure in question from the situation of that unhappy country. His honourable friend was also disposed to think that the legislature of that country was fully adequate to the redressing of those grievances which required parliamentary interposition. Its adequacy, in his opinion, could not in the least be doubted; but there were radical and inherent evils, closely interwoven with the state and condition of Ireland, which, though they were not occasioned by the separation of the two legislatures, yet he was convinced the incorporation of the two legislatures would effectually remove. In contemplating the state of Ireland, even at a period of apparent tranquillity, it was impossible not to discover the seeds of animosity which had unhappily been matured by circumstances into insurrection and rebellion. To account in a measure for those animosities, it might be sufficient to state, that a large majority of the people were catholics, and that four-fifths of the property was in the hands of protestants, who are alone legally competent to hold high offices of state, and to perform the functions of the legislature. Hereditary feelings and resentments had besides contributed to keep those elements of internal discord in almost constant agitation: he therefore contended, that no remedy could be effectual, but such as would strike at the very root of the evil, by which the protestant and catholic inhabitants of the two countries would become one people, under the superintending authority and

and protection of an united and imperial parliament. Mr. Speaker acknowledged that he was anxious for the removal of the most obnoxious grounds of complaint, against what was termed the protestant ascendancy, but he sought for that desirable object by no other means than those of a legislative union. His honourable friend, who spoke last, thought it would be expedient for the parliament of Ireland to tread back some of the steps that had been taken, and to re-enact the whole code of popery laws (the repeal of which had been the subject of such general encomium and satisfaction) against the Catholics who did not produce certificates of their peaceable and loyal conduct during the late rebellion, and to provide that those by whom such certificates were produced should be admitted to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Protestants; but he had also intimated such an opinion of the Catholics as to leave little hope that many of them would be entitled to the benefit of such a distinction. Mr. Speaker next adverted to the measure of 1793, by which the competency to enjoy and exercise the elective franchise, and to hold certain offices, was afforded to the Roman-catholics of Ireland, and to the opinion which had been stated concerning it from the authority of Mr. Foster, who had said, "That he could not thank the Irish minister for this, though he did for many other measures; for that from his soul he considered it as the prelude and certain forerunner of the overthrow of the Protestant establishment in Ireland—that it hazarded the Hanover succession, and the connection with Great Britain." If the predictions of Mr. Foster were well founded, and he confessed that they accorded in a great measure with his own sentiments and apprehensions, he saw no means by which their accomplishment could possibly be averted, but by a legislative union, or by a renewal of the restrictions and disabilities which were done away by the act of 1793. Some gentlemen had entertained an opinion, which he acknowledged was entitled to serious attention and consideration, that as the measure had been discountenanced by the house of commons in Ireland, to persist in the discussion of it here would be to add to the irritation which unhappily prevailed in that country. Such an effect (he said) he would sincerely lament, and should be very sorry in having any share in producing. He trusted that we should adopt such resolutions as would rather tend to appease than to inflame—such as would be a pledge of our liberality and our justice; that we should manifest the sincerity of our wishes to communicate to Ireland a full participation of all the advantages of the British constitution. He concluded by giving the resolution his most cordial support.

The first, second, third, fourth, and fifth resolutions were then read by the chairman, and agreed to without any objection. The question being put upon the sixth resolution, which goes to grant an equality of privileges in trade and navigation, &c. to Ireland,

Mr. Wilberforce Bird said, it was well worth the attention of the committee to consider maturely the effects which an agreement to this resolution might produce upon particular manufactures throughout the kingdom. When a comprehensive view was taken of the general commercial and manufacturing interests of

of a great nation, it might perhaps not be improper to lose all sight of local and particular interests, and to attend only to what might promote the general welfare and prosperity of the whole community. However, this was not the exact light in which a measure of that complicated tendency should be viewed by the representatives of a manufacturing town, whose constituents might come forward with petitions against it when it was finally determined.

Mr. Dent said, if the manufacturing towns had considered their interest affected, they would have petitioned.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt said, considering the subject with a view to the general prosperity of the empire, he had no hesitation in saying, that he considered it as a matter of indifference in what part of the empire the manufactures flourished, except that it should be in that part in which they could be carried on to the greatest advantage. However, he had not the least reason to think that these resolutions would create even local injury to the manufactures of this country—they stood upon a much stronger foundation.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird said, that, as the resolution had not been properly before the house till now, no petitions could be presented against it.

Mr. R. P. Carew objected to the seventh resolution, as not expressing the exact taxation which should take place between the two countries as soon as the union should be effected.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt replied, that it was impossible at present to fix the exact proportion to be paid by the two countries. When he opened the subject (he said) he then stated that the proportion Ireland ought to pay would not be greater than that which she now paid.

Mr. R. P. Carew professed himself satisfied with the explanation; and after a few words fr m Mr. Dent and Mr. W. Bird, the resolution was agreed to.

When the house was resumed, the report was ordered to be received on the Thursday following.

On Thursday, Feb. 14, the right honourable Sylvester Douglas appeared at the bar, with the report of the committee of Monday upon the resolutions respecting the union with Ireland. The question being put, that the report be brought up,

Mr. Hobhouse said, when he first heard that his majesty's ministers were employed in forming a scheme of union between Great-Britain and Ireland, it was no small degree of surprise to him that they should have resorted to so dangerous an expedient. With respect to the catholics, who constituted three-fourths of the population of the country, they of all others must suffer most in consequence of an union. Many of the penal laws against them had indeed been repealed, but there were still degrading incapacities to which no man ought to be subject, until his opinions, of whatever nature they were, had shewn themselves in overt-acts of mischief. The elective franchise had indeed been granted to them, but the remaining right, viz. of sitting in the parliament of their own country, had not been ceded; and thus the object they had long in view, and the attainment of which earl Fitzwilliam, the lord lieutenant, afforded them strong inducements to expect, would be entirely defeated by a legislative union. He had

had looked into the Annual Register for that year, in which it was stated, that, upon a surmise of a projected union, "a mob of many thousands assembled, and had been guilty of the greatest outrages;" and certainly, if such disturbances were caused by the mere report of a union, what was to be expected when it was forced upon them? Would it not have been adviseable to have tried first how far it was agreeable to the Irish nation? Had the parliament and country spoken in favour of the measure, then it should have been submitted to the British parliament. But what would it signify to state terms to those who would not listen to them? He had however heard it said, that whatever may be the ultimate opinion of the Irish legislature with respect to a union, yet it was necessary for the *English* parliament to record its sense upon the subject, with a view to prevent the misrepresentations of malice as to its intention; but would this be deemed a good reason for pressing a measure which increased the irritation of Ireland? He wished to promote the connexion between the two countries, and to guard against the artifices of those who aimed at their separation. No man more than himself deplored the late calamitous events in Ireland; but certainly the parliament of that country had shown itself adequate to the task of suppressing disturbances, and repelling attacks upon its constitution. He would ask (he said) whether a resident legislature, acting upon the spot, were not more likely to prevent or render ineffectual the intrigues of an artful enemy, than one sitting at a distance? It had been contended, that the government of Ireland was extremely vicious, and contained in itself the seeds of separation; that the government being in the hands of the protestant minority, and the honours and emoluments of the church being in the possession of the same minority, the mass of people must be always discontented: all this he was ready to allow, but he could not see how a union with this country could possibly remove the evil. If the catholics were only to be allowed to elect protestant representatives in the imperial parliament, they would have less power than before,-for they had a share now in sending three hundred members to parliament, but then they would be confined to a far inferior number: on this Mr. Hobhouse made some very judicious remarks. It had been contended, that great commercial advantages would accrue to Ireland from a union, but he begged leave to ask, whether, as the number of absentees would be considerably increased, the value of their imports would not suffer, and consequently their trade on the whole be diminished? Mr. Hobhouse next made some remarks on the compact of 1782, and contended that the subsequent resolution must have referred to commercial regulations or minor considerations.

He also made some observations on the competency of the Irish parliament, and quoted some authorities to prove that the parliament could not transfer the power of making laws to other hands, it being but a delegated power from the people. However, he was not anxious to form a decided opinion as to the extent of the powers of parliament; for, admitting that parliament was adequate to create even a new constitution whenever it pleased, still the sovereignty was in the people. He concluded by saying he was heartily against the proposed union.

Lord G. L. Gower said a few words in favour of the proposed union; and considered it not only as necessary to consolidate all the powers of the empire, but to guard against external attacks and internal conspiracies.

Mr. Peel observed, that during the discussion of the Irish arrangements, he was a petitioner at the bar of the British house of commons against those arrangements with Ireland. The object of those propositions was to open a more free intercourse betwixt two independent kingdoms. The one possessing great foreign dominions and universal commerce; the other possessing no foreign dominions and very little trade; consequently they enjoyed separate interests, which must be the case while they had separate legislatures. From this consideration, it was evident that those arrangements, however well intended, would have been prejudicial to the manufactures of Great Britain. The plan of union embraced great advantages, both political and commercial, which, he said, by uniting two countries into one country, were calculated to add strength and security to the empire. Though he confessed himself a friend to the principle of the measure, he thought it his duty to draw the attention of the house to the sixth resolution. Each country was to provide for its own public debt; and that of Great Britain being infinitely larger than the debt of Ireland, heavy taxes were necessarily imposed on almost every article of consumption; which had so strong a tendency to enhance the price of labour, that goods manufactured under such a pressure could not be tendered on equally low terms, with the produce of labour in places where similar burthens did not exist. Mr. Peel said, unless this objection could be removed, the measure could not be expected to have the concurrence of Great Britain. He next made some remarks upon what Mr. Hobhouse had said, relative to the increase of absentees. He was ready to admit the injury which had already resulted to the sister kingdom from that circumstance. In a country, however, governed by equal laws and a free constitution, he could see no practical means of compelling a residence, or removing the evil, under the present order of things. The clamours raised against the union by interested men in Ireland might, he said, mislead the judgment of many people; but the delusion could not be of a long continuance, and, in the end, reason would take the place of passion, and policy prevail over prejudice.

Earl Temple said, it might, perhaps, better have become him to have listened to the arguments urged by others upon the subject, than to have intruded his own. He thought it, however, the duty of every man, who had the honour of parliament at heart, to rescue it from the charge which an hon. gentleman, who opposed the measure, had sent into the world—"that the house was inclined to support a measure, which they wished the country to believe his majesty's ministers meant to carry into effect by force, by corruption, and by bribery." He was well aware, that there were many who opposed this measure, both in England and Ireland, on very different principles; and that there were some who opposed it in Ireland of known honour and integrity. Their abilities he admired; the perversion of them he sincerely regretted. It had been contended, by the hon. gentleman who opposed the measure, that it would

would have a tendency to irritate the minds of the Irish people. He remarked, that their passions were irritated already, by the men whose factious endeavours only looked to this or any measure as a stock on which to engraft confusion and rebellion. On the heads of those men, he said, and on their heads alone, who had deserted their country in order to fetter its government and cramp its councils, fall the irritation of the passions and the inflammation of the public mind in Ireland. It had been said by some hon. gentlemen, how mean it was to take advantage of the weakness of Ireland, and to force this measure upon the country. But how much more mean would it have been in England to have deserted Ireland in the moment of her weakness, and neglected her in the time of her peril? The hon. gentlemen, whom he conceived did not fancy themselves strangers to the state of Ireland, boldly asserted, that a union would infringe the compact of 1782: that compact which the hon. gentlemen thought proper to call "*final.*" But he wished to ask the hon. gentlemen, who had ever called that compact "*final?*" Did the parliament of England or Ireland ever call it "*final?*" *No:* none, said he, till the hon. gentlemen chose to call it so, because it best suited their purpose that it should be thought so. The next argument which had been urged against the proposed measure was very extraordinary. The hon. gentlemen contended, that the parliament of Ireland had no right to pass an act which in its principle was contrary to the constitution of the country, and yet they allowed the competence of the Irish parliament to give complete *emancipation to the catholics.* Now he called upon them to mention any one measure so completely militating against every principle of the Irish constitution, as it now stood, than the very measure they recommended. It had been contended, that a union with Ireland would affect the trade of that country. This, he said, could not possibly be; for the additional security, which would be given to the country, must give additional encouragement to the employment of British capital. The value of land must increase in proportion to the protection which would be given to the landholder. It had been the opinion of some gentlemen in both countries, that, in case of a union, all the advantage would be on the side of England; but he asked, what were the advantages England would gain distinct from Ireland? Here the noble lord drew a comparison between Ireland and Scotland, and showed the great advantages which Scotland had derived by a union with England. After which he concluded by giving his decided vote for the report of the committee being brought up.

Mr. T. T. Jones said a few words, in answer to what had fallen from earl Temple.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird said he was sorry to have seen a gentleman (Mr. Peel), who had so strenuously opposed the Irish propositions, come forward and warmly espouse the defence of a measure that must prove still more injurious to the trading and manufacturing interests of England.

Viscount Morpeth supported and recommended the measure of a union, as the only one that could correct the vices that were evidently inherent in the Irish government.

The solicitor general reprobated the agitation of the question, of the

competency or incompetency of parliament to surrender the rights entrusted to it by the people, whose sovereignty was held up as the only source of government. It was attempting to establish a doctrine that led to nothing but anarchy, and the dissolution of all regular government!

Colonel Mark Wood spoke in favour of the measure.

Mr. Banks said a few words in confirmation of his former sentiments. With respect to the independence of Ireland, he thought it was more to be ascribed to the volunteers than to the exertions of any men in parliament. If it was thought necessary to grant further immunities to the catholics, the parliament of Ireland was competent for it; but, he thought, they had granted indulgences to the catholics at a time when they were not fitted to receive them. With respect to a union, he was convinced there were many difficulties in the way. He could not see how local matter, such as canals, election disputes, &c. could be so well adjusted here as in a local parliament.

Viscount Belgrave said a few words in support of the measure.

General Fitzpatrick said a few words relative to the final adjustment of 1782. It appeared that in what had passed on the subject between him and the chancellor of the exchequer on a former night, relative to the adjustment of 1782, there might be some misunderstanding as to the dates. He was disposed to think, that what the right honourable gentleman had stated to have been in the contemplation of the Duke of Portland, when in Ireland, must refer to a period prior to the final adjustment of 1782, and to something in agitation in the outset of the busines He asserted then, that nothing fa ther had ever been in the conten plation of the duke of Portland sub sequent to the bills by which th independence of Ireland had bee established.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt expressl stated, that the official dispatch of the duke of Portland did prov that, after the modifications Poyning's act—after the resolution on which the bill settling the poi of Irish independence had passe something more was necessary. Sub sequent to the proceedings of th Irish parliament on the subject, an when the bill for the repeal of th act of George the First was cons derably advanced in its progres the duke continued to think some thing farther necessary, to secur not only commercial points, bu matters of political and imperi concern. General Fitzpatrick sti believed his recollection to be ac curate.

The house then divided on th question for bringing up the report for it, 120; against it, 16;—ma jority, 104. The house then pro ceeded to the consideration of th report, and the first resolution w read and agreed to.

Mr. Tierney objected to the oth resolutions as unnecessary; the gre object of showing to the people Ireland the disposition of the ho towards a union, being attain He particularly objected to the si resolution, relative to the comm cial regulations, because he mi be instructed by his constituents oppose it.

The right honourable S. Dou supported the resolution, as nec sary to show the intention of liament.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird, right nourable D. Ryder, Mr. Tier

ir W. Geary, and Mr. J. H. Browne, said each of them a few words on different sides of the question.

The resolutions were then agreed to, with some amendments; and

Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connexion between the two countries, which was ordered.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, that Earl Temple carry the message.

Earl Temple then went up to the house of peers, and communicated the resolutions at a conference.

Monday, April 22, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration the address from the lords upon the subject of the union with Ireland; which being read, he moved that the same be now taken into consideration.

The address being read, Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, "that the house do concur in the said address."

The right honourable Silvester Douglas said, the subject was of the most extensive nature, and comprehended a great variety of considerations. Since it had been first stated, several new objections had been urged against the measure, and particularly in the sister kingdom.

There were two observations which occurred in the progress of discussing the subject. One of these was expressed in such forcible language, by the grand jury of the city of Cork, that he begged leave to repeat it. They said, "while they could not but lament that there had been a considerable difference of opinion amongst the loyal subjects of his majesty, they could not but remark, that the enemies of his majesty's government in both countries had been unanimous in their opposition to this measure." The other observation was, that the opponents to this measure had endeavoured to prove, that the union between England and Scotland was totally irrelevant to the union with Ireland: but surely, he said, in this mode of proceeding, there was less candour than dexterity, as experience must teach every man to the contrary. He next made some remarks with respect to the competency of parliament; and said, it appeared to him, that, if it was not competent to parliament to conclude a treaty of this nature, he saw no constitutional authority in the country that was competent. The holding of the contrary sentiment directly led to the mischievous and dangerous doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and to the fiction of an original compact between the governors and the governed. He next made some observations on the settlement of 1782, which he said had been styled *final*; from which it was contended, that nothing henceforward was to be altered, even though for the benefit of Ireland. Mr. Douglas then entered into the nature of that settlement, and showed that it was never intended as *final*, but that something farther was necessary to be done; in consequence of which, an address was presented to his majesty, desiring that he would be pleased to take measures farther to cement the connexion between the two countries.

Mr. Douglas then adverted to other objections. It had been contended by some, that this country was proposing to Ireland that which was perfectly nugatory. That under the pretence of admitting her a share in the legislature, it would be

merely a British parliament, binding Ireland by its acts as formerly, as the number of Irish members would be fewer than those of the British. But, on the contrary, Ireland, in the event of an union, would not only have its own representatives, but every member of Great-Britain would become its representative, and it would be as much their duty to watch over the interests of Ireland as of Great-Britain.

With respect to the trade of Ireland it had been asserted, that, since the compact of 1782, the trade had flourished, and especially in the staple linen manufacture. This, he contended, was ill-founded and fallacious. It appeared to him, that the progressive improvement of the Irish linen trade had not been accelerated since 1782, more than for fifty years previous to that period. In support of which, he quoted facts from Mr. A. Young, who made the tour to Ireland; and showed that the linen and other manufactures had increased more the last twenty preceding years than they had done for a century before.

With respect to the executive government here, the complaint had been frequently made, that ministers had no adequate information, and no regular means of attaining the necessary knowledge of Ireland. The inference drawn from this was wrong, that therefore the executive administration should not interfere at all in the affairs of Ireland. The evil complained of, he said, could only be remedied by a legislative union, when Irish members sent here would be perfectly acquainted with the local interests of Ireland. Another objection had been raised to bringing over Irish members and peers, and increasing the number of absentees. This he considered as a bad compliment to any country to pass a kind of *ne exeat regno*; but, he made no doubt, but when Ireland became secure and tranquil, which the measure of union was likely to effectuate, the evil complained of would be in a great measure removed.

Lord Sheffield supported the resolutions and address, notwithstanding he was of opinion that the measure of a union was ill prepared for Ireland, and that country was ill prepared for a union. If the outline of the liberal proposition which was then offered had been at first properly communicated, in a manner which suited the Irish character, it would, he was convinced, have been differently received. It was not, however, the question then, he said, whether the measure had been brought forward and conducted as it ought to have been, but whether the British parliament should do what depended on it, to obviate the mischief which must arise from independence and a separate legislature? It had long been his opinion, and every thing which had happened to Ireland, and particularly during the last twenty years, had convinced him of the necessity of a union. Much had been said with respect to the "final adjustment;" but that which was so called only referred to the then asserted independence of parliament, and which by no means precluded a union; on the contrary, it was the opinion at that time that farther measures were necessary to establish a connexion on a solid and permanent basis.

He next made some remarks on the disturbed state of Ireland; and observed, that a great proportion of the people were as ill disposed to government, as bigoted, as ignorant

rerant, as uncivilised, as they were at the time of the massacre in 1641. His lordship then made some very judicious remarks on the situation of the protestants and catholics of Ireland, and showed that the measure of a union was particularly calculated to remove those evils. Indeed, he said, it seemed highly incumbent on the British parliament to take the most effectual steps to promote the proper remedy.

He next made some observations with respect to the conduct of the people of Cork and Galway, who, he said, had expressed themselves in favour of the union; their addresses were signed by 373 of the principal nobility, bishops, magistrates, clergy, and persons of property, both protestants and catholics; and there was great reason to believe, that the sentiments expressed in the addresses were much more general in the several counties which had not addressed than had been supposed.

No country, he said, was better circumstanced for manufactures than Ireland, for she had plenty of water and fuel—the first requisites in manufactures. The encouragement to her industry, he contended, would be great, especially as it would be impossible to countervail the difference of price, of labour, and of exercise in the two countries; and commercial men would acknowledge the superior advantage of a near market, and a quick return, so necessary to a country wanting capital. It had been contended, that the prosperity of Ireland arose from the independence of its parliament, and not from the commercial advantages derived from Great Britain. This assertion was so entirely unsupported, that he scarcely knew how to reason about it. His lordship here went into a long detail relative to the imports of the product and manufactures of Ireland into Great Britain, on an average of the last three years; and likewise of the imports of the produce or manufactures of Great Britain into Ireland; and, after making some general remarks upon the measure of the union, he concluded by saying, until a union took place between the two countries Ireland would never be settled, but be disturbed by the most mischievous speculations and intrigues, the sport of parties, and of the enemies of England.

Sir Francis Burdet agreed with the hon. gentleman with regard to the word union being a comprehensive term; indeed, so comprehensive as to be equally applicable to the most opposite things. An union, he said, accomplished by a conviction in the minds of the Irish people of their advantages, and an union brought about by a mere hollow vote of a corrupt parliament, seconded by military force, were totally different. It was material (he said) then to know what was meant by the term union; because an union, which should conciliate the people, restore peace, liberty, and justice to Ireland, would, in his mind, be inconsistent with the whole system which had been recently acted upon.

Mr. Buxton said a few words in reply to what had fallen from the honourable baronet, and contended that, unless the measure of an union was adopted, Ireland, in the end, must become a province of France.

Mr. J. H. Browne reprobated the conduct of the honourable baronet; and contended, that the violent invectives which he had made use of were the very words which had frequently been re-echoed by France and the United Irishmen. With respect to the address, he would cheerfully vote for it, as he wished to grant to Ireland a full participation

of all the British privileges and advantages.

General Loftus was of opinion, that if the measure had been fairly before the Irish house of commons, it would have met with better success.

General Fitzpatrick said the precise question now was, whether the house was to agree to this stage of the proceeding, which was, to lay the result of their deliberations at the foot of the throne? as it was professed that no step was to be taken in the matter till the Irish parliament showed a disposition to acquiesce in it. With respect to the chief bond between the two countries at present, he thought erroneous opinions were entertained. It was not the crown merely, but the power of stopping Irish acts of parliament in England, which constituted the great bond. This he and many others had thought sufficient in 1782, when it was established; and that arrangement he still thought sufficient, notwithstanding what had been said to the contrary. He next made some observations on the point concerning which some difference had existed between him and the right honourable gentleman opposite, and said, that the papers which the right honourable gentleman had communicated to him upon the subject had confirmed him in his former statement.

Mr. Canning made some remarks on the final adjustment of 1782, and contended that farther measures were in fact at that time in contemplation. However perfect that settlement might be with respect to the objects to which it was applied, it could not in an equal degree comprehend and adjust things which were wholly out of its scope and operation. If it were esteemed *final*, as concluding all differences and discussions which it was intended to conclude, it could not be final to the extent of *precluding* all future discussions and settlement of points not then in contemplation, of points which did arise out of the nature of that very measure itself. He next adverted to what had been said relative to the disapprobation of the parliament and people of Ireland manifested to the measure of an union. Admitting the disapprobation to be general, what injury or disadvantage could arise from the parliament of Ireland being made to understand precisely what it was that they rejected, from their being called upon to decide, not upon the name, but the thing. Indeed, said Mr. Canning, it would be an act of injustice in us not to determine to record, in a distinct and unquestionable shape, not only the offer which we had made, but the principles and terms on which we made it. Evident as it must be that such an explanation was necessary to the success of the measure, it was not less evident that, in case of a failure, our best justification in the eyes of Ireland, and of the world, would be to be found in such a record of the good intentions of the liberality, and generosity of Great-Britain.

Strong as his conviction was of the advantages to be derived to Ireland from an union, he should be as averse as any man from pressing it upon the Irish parliament in any manner that should be injurious to its honour and independence. The attack upon the independence of the Irish parliament was stated to be the more unpardonable, as there was no settlement or security to be attained by an union which could not be equally well provided by an arrangement between the two subsisting and separate parliaments. This argument (he said) he was so far from agreeing to, that he could almost be satisfied to rest the whole question

question on this point alone, and give up the plan of union altogether, if it did not appear plain that there could be no mode of arrangement devised for the possible differences and disagreements between the two kingdoms short of union, which would not take away from the parliament of Ireland even the shadow of independence, and deprive it of all freedom and dignity in the points the most essential to its very being as a parliament.

It had been said, that no union but that of affection could possibly be lasting or advantageous. This he readily acknowledged; and to argue whether or not the union now proposed would be such a union, it would be necessary to investigate the probable advantages that would result from it. Let it not be imagined, that, because the Irish are quick in feeling, that they are creatures of passion only, and that they are not capable of appreciating real benefits, or of being convinced by a fair appeal to their understandings. Such an appeal, he observed, it was the business of the address to secure; and if the union should be found, upon examination, to offer solid and permanent advantages to that country, let it not be apprehended that the proposal of it by Great-Britain can be long construed into insult or unkindness. He concluded by giving his vote for the address.

Lord William Russel thought the settlement of 1782 was the solemn recognition of a right which we could not call upon the Irish people to abandon.

Mr. Pitt rose merely to say a few words upon a subject on which he had been so unfortunate as to differ from a right honourable general in his speech in the early part of the debate relative to the final adjustment of 1782, which he (Mr. Pitt) had contended was not considered by those by whom it was effected as a final adjustment. The right honourable general, after having seen the papers which alluded to that adjustment, seemed fully convinced that the duke of Portland had entertained the opinion which he (Mr. Pitt) attributed to him, viz. that of the propriety of adopting some farther measures after the final adjustment. The right hon. general seemed to think notwithstanding, that it was only an opinion which the duke of Portland had slightly entertained, and soon gave up. In answer to which, Mr. Pitt read to the house several letters, in order to prove that it was not an opinion cursorily entertained, either by the duke or by the king's ministers.

General Fitzpatrick said a few words in reply to Mr. Pitt, and tending to prove that the adjustment was considered as final.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt then moved, that a message should be sent to the lords, informing their lordships the house had agreed to the address, and had filled up the blank with the words, "and commons."

As the question was considered with the most minute attention by the commons, we have given the precedence to their debates. In the house of lords the subject was introduced on the same day (Jan. 22), and in the same mode, viz. by a message from his majesty.

The message was delivered by lord Grenville, who then moved that it be taken into consideration on the following day, and the lords summoned. His lordship added, that it was his intention to move an address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious communication.

On

On Wednesday, Jan. 23, therefore, in pursuance of this notice, Lord Grenville moved the order of the day for taking his majesty's message into consideration; which being done, his lordship moved an address to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication, and expressing their lordships' readiness to concur in any measure which might be found necessary or expedient towards the consolidation of the general interests of the British empire.

The question being put, the address was voted *nem. dis.* and the house adjourned.

From this period the business remained dormant in the house of lords till Monday, Feb. 18, when a message was delivered by earl Temple, importing, that the commons desired a conference with their lordships, in consequence of his majesty's most gracious message for settling a complete and final adjustment between this country and Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor having read the message,

The Earl of Chatham moved that a conference be presently held in the Painted Chamber.

The conference was presently held; the earl of Chatham being president. Earl Spencer, lord Grenville, viscount Sydney, lord Auckland, earl of Buckinghamshire, earl of Fauconberg, and lord Bayning, the bishops of Rochester and Exeter, and other peers, were the managers appointed to hold the conference on the part of that house; and being informed that the members deputed by the commons to manage for that house waited for them in the Painted Chamber, they went thither, and immediately returned with a copy of the resolutions voted by the house of commons on the subject of the proposed union with Ireland. After they were read by the clerk, and, on the motion of the earl of Chatham, were ordered to be printed,

Lord Grenville rose merely to give notice, that as it would be irregular to name any day for the consideration of the resolutions which were ordered to be printed, when they were printed, and on the table, he intended to move that the said resolutions be taken into consideration on this day se'nnight.

Lord Auckland said, there were certain papers which it would be necessary for the house to be in possession of previous to any discussion that might take place on the resolutions, in order that their lordships might be enabled to make up their minds on every part of the merits of so important a subject. He moved, therefore, "That there be laid before the house an account of the imports and exports of Great-Britain during the four last years preceding the year 1793, specifying those articles, together with the amount of the same, exported to, and imported from, Ireland, in that period."

Lord Holland said, he did not rise to object to the production of papers; but when he considered how decidedly the house of commons of Ireland had refused even to entertain the discussion of the question respecting the union, to move now for papers calculated to make a boastful display of the mighty sacrifices, in point of commercial advantages, that Great-Britain was willing to make, as the price of a compact which Ireland had, by the voice of one of her houses of parliament, refused to listen to, was, in his judgment, unworthy the generosity and greatness of mind that ought to be the

the characteristic of every part of the conduct of this country towards the sister kingdom.

Lord Grenville replied, that undoubtedly, after what had passed relative to the resolutions, it would not only be extremely irregular, but highly disrespectful to the house, if any noble lord were to rise to enter into a premature discussion of the subject at that moment. Surely it was extremely necessary to have every information, to enable the house duly to consider the important measure previous to its being discussed.

The earl of Moira said, after the decision of the house of commons of Ireland was known, and the temper of the kingdom respecting it was fully understood, the whole of the proceeding in the British parliament appeared to him to be utterly incomprehensible.

Lord Clifton also deprecated the farther discussion of the measure.

The question, however, upon lord Auckland's motion, was put, and agreed to.

On the 19th of March, lord Grenville moved the order of the day to be read for summoning their lordships, for the purpose of taking into consideration the various papers before the house relative to the state of Ireland, &c.; which being accordingly read,

Lord Grenville next rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given, and for the purpose of calling their lordships' attention to the very important subject of the resolutions communicated to that house, some time since, by the commons, relative to the state of Ireland, on which it was his intention to submit a motion to their lordships. He had (he said) the satisfaction to be convinced, that the two main points upon which the question could be properly argued had been already established, and was so fully impressed upon their lordships' minds, that no diversity of opinion could possibly arise; viz. that whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive rights of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as that of Great-Britain; and, 2dly, that it was essential to the interest of the empire at large that the connexion between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the subject itself, which was started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure, and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to discuss the subject? In answer, he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit of, a fair and temperate discussion of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland? There his lordship took occasion to remark the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of their commons (for more it could not be called) certainly was not conclusive; that which passed in their lower house of parliament, so far from amounting to any thing like a law, was, in fact, a dead letter upon their journals. In such a case the British parliament surely ought not to be precluded from doing what wisdom and prudence dictated.

With respect, therefore, to the question, whether, in the present state of things, in the particular circum-

circumstances of both countries, there appeared a necessity for the adoption of a plan, whereby the strength and resources of both countries might be consolidated and improved? or, whether or not there appeared a necessity for a change in the Irish system? The necessity of a change, he believed, was allowed on all hands; the grand difference of opinion was with respect to the remedy for the grievances complained of in that country. His lordship then adverted to the settlement of 1782, and contended that it was not conclusive, neither was it intended, he said, at that time to be conclusive, such were the declarations at that time, and such was the language expressed in the addresses to the crown. It was, then, a duty incumbent on parliament to come forward and supply the defects of the former settlement. With regard to the supposed existing bond of connexion between the two countries, he was not afraid to say it was *absolutely null:* not that it was imperfect or inadequate, but absolutely null. If the two parliaments were suffered to remain in their present state; if the countries clung together by no other bond of connexion than the present; the connexion was, he repeated, absolutely null. If this was suffered, the evils would be necessarily entailed upon their descendants, if they did not fall upon themselves. If by the British constitution the royal power could be exercised free from the controul of parliament, then, indeed, the regal identity might be a bond of connexion; but if the whole system of the regal power be not only under the controul, but cannot go on without the aid and assistance of parliament, and the parliaments of each kingdom are to remain distinct and separate, then, he said, the bond of connection was obviously *null*. Here his lordship argued at some length, and asserted, that the countries were reduced to the alternative, of either giving up the exercise of the independence of the parliament of the one country, or of all bond of connexion whatever between both. There was, he remarked, an instance which would be introduced in this part of the argument, viz. the case of the regency, which took place in the year 1789; and the conduct of the Irish parliament on that occasion best spoke for itself. No regular mode was laid down before that period for meeting such an exigency. The question was considered by both parliaments; and the mode in which the Irish parliament thought proper to supply the exigency was one very different from that adopted by the British. This, he said, was one of the cases that evinced the necessity of an incorporated union. He next made some remarks on the competency of parliament; and said, in the opinion of that excellent lawyer and statesman, Blackstone, parliament was competent to effect a change in the constitution itself, as it had done in the measure of the union with Scotland. If it be argued that the parliament of Ireland be incompetent to agree to an incorporate union with the legislature of this country, it must follow that every act of the English parliament, not only since the union with Scotland, but even since its first existence as a parliament, must be an infringement upon public rights.

Another objection had been urged, which, if well founded, he should feel as of very great weight, viz. that which regarded the honour and independence of the Irish parliament; but did the proposed union

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go to attack that independence, he should not give it the least countenance. But to what did this objection amount? Surely, when examined, it would be found that never was there a more complete mistake, or a more groundless misapprehension of terms. In the first place, he said, the very notion of compact, on which this union was proposed to be founded, implied the independence of each legislature; for, unless there were independence, there could not be a contract; and the very recognising of the powers of parliament to enter into this treaty, contained an acknowledgment of its distinct independent authority. His lordship next made some observations relative to the union with Scotland; and said, there had been many lamentable cries with respect to the effects of that union, but time had shown how fallacious they were. No interest of Scotland had been sacrificed; so far from it, it had remarkably flourished since that æra, in its agriculture, wealth, and commerce; its towns had largely increased in population, and many of its local advantages had been attended to. It was for the general interests of the empire to consult the interests of every component part of it; and as this had proved true with regard to Scotland, and in consequence of a union with that country, so also, he was persuaded, a similar measure would operate with regard to Ireland.

After apologising to the house for engrossing so much of its time, he said he should move that the resolutions of the house of commons be read *pro formâ*; he should then move, that the house do agree with the resolutions of the house of commons; after which he purposed to move, that these resolutions be laid before his majesty in the form of a joint address from both houses, with an humble request, that his majesty would lay them before the parliament of Ireland, at what time his majesty should deem most proper. He then moved, that the resolutions of the house of commons, which had been laid before the house, be read.

Earl Fitzwilliam objected to the discussion of the subject, under the present situation of affairs. Whatever good, he said, might be effected, at a future period, by the measure, still no man could tell him that that good could be immediate. Did any one know the evils existing in Ireland? A rebellion raged against government; but was it a matter of course, that whatever those evils were which existed in Ireland, they were to be removed by an incorporated union? if they were, it must be attributable to the influence prevailing in that legislature; if so, the same might prevail in an incorporated legislature: where then would be the remedy? If it be meant to conciliate the catholics, and the lower orders of people, and this was to be done by an incorporated union, it would be first necessary to show them how much they would be benefited by it. The whole of the arguments of the noble lord tended to show, that both countries, when incorporated, would be stronger and better. But the inconveniences stated, as likely to arise from a separate legislature, had existed from the most ancient times. It was not from 1782, he said, only, but long before that period, that all acts of imperial concern had been done by the Irish parliament. In the declaration of war in 1757, and in 1778, their lordships would find, that his majesty had communicated such

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declaration to the Irish parliament.

His lordship said, he understood that it had been stated, in another place, that, during his administration in Ireland, he was never required to retract what he had been directed by government to propose. If it had been stated, that he never received orders to bring forward the question of catholic emancipation, on the part of government, he admitted the statement to be true. He believed, however, in his conscience, that the events which occurred at that period had led to the evils which now existed. At that period he entered his protest against resisting the question, if it should be brought forward from any other quarter; and he made the most distinct declarations, that, in case it should be brought forward, it should receive his full support. His lordship then returned to the subject of the union, and said, he was convinced of the impropriety of discussing the subject at present, in consequence of which he gave his negative to the resolutions.

Lord Grenville made a short reply to earl Fitzwilliam, and said, that the noble lord had asserted that he had entered his protest against resisting the question, if it should be brought forward from any other quarter. Where that paper was, he knew not; however, he could assure his lordship, he had no knowledge of any such protest and declaration.

Earl Fitzwilliam was sorry it was not in the recollection of the noble lord that he entered his protest.

Lord Grenville said, he had no recollection or knowledge of any such declaration.

The marquis of Lansdowne entered, at some length, upon the subject; he said, there was one question which ought to be considered, viz. whether the affairs of Ireland could go on, if they continued to be governed as they now were; if not, is the projected union calculated to remove the evil? This was a point which ought to be strictly considered. In his opinion, it was morally impossible that things should go on as they were now governed: in proof of this he alluded to public acts which had occurred a few years back. In 1791, the Roman catholics first presented their petition to the Irish parliament. If must, he said, be in the knowledge and recollection of every noble lord, how that petition was received, and what provocation it occasioned: in 1792 they presented it again, but it met with the same contumely as before. In 1793 the Roman catholics and the protestants became somewhat warmer against each other. The protestants were then established, and had recourse to the interference of the grand juries to concur with them in discountenancing the Roman catholic body. Afterwards a petition was delivered by the Roman catholics here, in order to represent their grievances. This petition was graciously attended to, and they were immediately relieved, though not to the extent of total emancipation. Much gratitude was expected for the favours conferred on the catholics; the contrary, he said, however, happened; and earl Fitzwilliam was sent to Ireland, whose system, he was sorry, had not been proceeded on. They afterwards had recourse to measures of coercion, and the Irish instituted a correspondence with the French. Now, said he, a moment's reflection must show how rapidly the people of Ireland passed from

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one extreme to the other; and can it be supposed that such a government, so abused, could continue? The noble marquis next adverted to what had passed in the year 1782, and contended, that there was no use in making the comparison between the proceedings of 1782 and the proceedings of the present time. The proceedings of 1782 had, for their objects, the separation of two parliaments, to make them independent of one another; the proceedings now, he said, before their lordships, was for the purpose of joining the two parliaments. The noble marquis next observed, that there was one thing on which his mind was yet in doubt, and that was, as to the mode of carrying into effect the union of parliaments; upon all other points his mind was clearly satisfied. He had no doubt, he said, but that the landed and commercial interest would be benefited by it, not only in some local respects, but upon a general scale. From these considerations he felt himself inclined (as an independent man) to adopt all the resolutions alluded to by the noble secretary of state, except one, and that was, that which related to the addition of one hundred members to the house of commons; however, if others were satisfied, he should have nothing farther to say.

Earl Camden rose to say a few words in reply to what had fallen from the noble marquis, who had hinted, he said, that the present state of Ireland was owing to the recall of the noble earl Fitzwilliam and the measures which had been subsequently pursued. He wished to remind the house, that before that noble earl left Ireland, there were disturbances in the county of Cavan. Soon after he (lord Camden) took possession of the government of that country, there was a disturbance in Roscommon, which was, however, soon suppressed, and the kingdom was afterwards quiet for nine or ten months, a proof, he said, that the public mind was not affected by the recall of the noble earl Fitzwilliam. He then made some general remarks on the disturbances in Ireland, and said, the situation was such as to render it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken, and no other had been suggested so likely to produce such beneficial effects as the measure of a union.

Marquis Townshend said a few words in favour of the measure.

Lord Clifton rose and paid some very handsome compliments to earl Camden for his conduct while entrusted with the administration of the government of Ireland. With respect, he said, to the present measure, he had expressly stated to the house, not only on a former occasion, but at other times since he reflected on the subject, that on an abstract proposition, whether two countries, in the relative situation in which Great Britain and Ireland stood, could be so united, no difference of opinion could possibly exist, and he had always been induced to prefer the system of legislative union as the most likely to promote their mutual interests and advantage. Notwithstanding, however, he had, at the same time, doubted whether the measure might be found practicable, and principally on account of the rooted antipathy to it, and strong national prejudice against it, which he knew existed in Ireland. Much had been said on the subject of the union with Scotland; and, in his opinion, it was very improperly adduced as a parallel instance; for, on consulting the history of that trans-

transaction, he could discover very little similarity between the two cases.

There was one point on which he could not avoid giving his decided opinion, viz. the competence of parliament, which had, on this occasion, been called in question. It appeared clearly to him, that if they questioned the competence of parliament, to enact this or any other thing, they might question the right by which their lordships sat in that house. He concluded, by saying, he could have wished, and must still persist in thinking, that it would have been much better to have avoided any discussion of the propositions. However, as their lordships had thought otherwise, it was by no means his intention to offer any opposition to them.

Lord Hobart said a few words on the subject. It was his opinion, that a union was essential to preserve the connection between the two countries, because, while three-fourths of the people of Ireland were catholics, a protestant parliament could never be a satisfactory government for the kingdom. A noble marquis had said, that the petition had been derided by the parliament of Ireland; that fact, he could assure the noble marquis, was not so, for the petition had received the most respectful attention.

The marquis of Lansdowne said he was not present at the time, therefore could not charge his memory with the circumstance, however, it was reported as such.

Lord Hobart assured the noble marquis that the parliament of Ireland had paid the greatest respect to the petition, but they were convinced of the danger of granting its prayer.

The earl of Moira rose to oppose the resolutions. He was in hop that the noble secretary of st would have seen the propriety postponing the consideration them under the present circum stances. There was no person, said, who would more heartily tha himself concur in the measure, wer he assured that it was founded the wishes of the majority of th people of Ireland; but was it no manifest that the opposition to was not limited to the Irish parlia ment only, but that it had bee treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of phrensy? After this marked reprobation of the propo sal, what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame than our persevering in it? It had been stated, in support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not go on in its present state. He had predicted, that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on, and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet. That however was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland, but the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government. The noble secretary had touched on the state of Ireland, with regard to the state of œconomy in the establishment of its military force. He had said, that a case might occur in which the parliament of Ireland would refuse to pay the troops; and seemed to think it strengthened very materially his position on this ground of argument, by taking occasion to observe, that the test taken by the military of Ireland was different from that taken by the troops of England, and that, from this, much mischief might at one time or other ensue. If, said he, the observation concerning the test referred

ferred only to the militia of Ireland, it was foreign to any conclusion that could be drawn with respect to the present argument; because that difference applied to troops raised exclusively for local service, and of course organized according to local convenience. If it respected the regular army, the latitude must have been prescribed in the enlisting orders issued from the British war-office; and it would prove nothing, but that government was wisely satisfied that a man might be a brave soldier and a trusty supporter of his country's cause, even though he should believe there were ten sacraments. The noble lord had expatiated on the benefits which an union would confer on Ireland. Possibly he might be right; but the question whence any opinion was to be drawn respected the expediency of bringing forward these resolutions. Whether justly or not, it appears, said he, that they think the demand upon Ireland was nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent parliament. Under such circumstances, how does the mass of the Irish nation weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by present threats of continued infliction—how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been mischievously told were owing all their past sufferings. Such sufferings, he said, they had all undergone or witnessed, and they had justly ascribed them, not to the licentiousness of the soldiers, but to the principle and procedure of government. In the nature of the union, there was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government; but, on the contrary, many checks upon that government would be withdrawn. The noble earl (Camden) had alluded to some acts of the legislature of Ireland having been treated with reprobation in that house. He did not know to whom the noble lord alluded. What he had complained of always in that house was, that the conduct of the executive government in Ireland was no more reconcileable to the acts passed by the Irish parliament than it was to justice, or to policy on general principles. He had referred, he said, to the modes of indiscriminate and savage torture, which had been adopted without compunction, and persevered in without remorse. The picketings, the burning of houses, the rapes, and numberless other outrages, that had been perpetrated with the view, as it was said, of crushing disaffection. The measures which had been resorted to were evidently improper.

His lordship said there was something very curious in the noble secretary's imagining that those people, whom he called barbarians, described as utterly uncivilised, and treated as incapable of comprehending the meaning of catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform, were notwithstanding intimately acquainted with all the abstruse discussions that had taken place respecting forms of government, and the principles on which they were established. The inapplicability of such a statement, he said, to any thing under present consideration, afforded a presumption that the noble lord had some other view in introducing the observation. After a few more general remarks

upon the subject, he concluded by saying, that he felt himself bound to give his vote against the farther agitation of the question.

Earl Camden rose to vindicate the government, in answer to what had fallen from the noble earl, relative to the cruelties which had taken place in Ireland.

Lord Holland could not allow the resolutions to lie upon the table, without stating his sentiments upon the subject. The noble secretary of state had said, that it was necessary to exhibit to the people of Ireland what the terms were upon which this country proposed to unite the legislature. Such, he said, might very naturally be the desire of his majesty's ministers; but if they had imprudently involved themselves by bringing forward this question, that was no reason why their lordships should be implicated with them. If there were any necessity for showing the people what the intentions of his majesty's ministers were, he thought that a report of the noble secretary's speech would be sufficient for that purpose. This, he said, would be a better way of settling the business than the house agreeing to the resolutions, which were not only in direct opposition to the adjustment of 1782, but to the vote of the Irish parliament.

It had been argued, that Scotland had derived great advantages from a union with Great-Britain; but he remarked, that it was forty years after the passing of the act of union before the commercial prosperity of Scotland began to revive from the shock it had received. He also observed, that, five years after it was settled, the very same persons who moved the union proposed its abolition in that house; and stated as their reasons for that proceeding, that experience had shown that the union had not those beneficial effects which were expected to flow from it. There was another subject upon which he could not avoid saying a few words. Nothing astonished him more than the apathy with which the proposition for adding one hundred members to the house of commons was received. This invasion of the constitution, he said, was looked to with the most perfect indifference. The proposition was also incompatible with the opinion of all those who wished for parliamentary reform.

Lord Mulgrave said, he entirely concurred with the noble lord (Moira), in admitting, that, when his noble friend first introduced the subject, by bringing down his majesty's message and moving an address, he acted most judiciously in moving an adjournment of a farther consideration of it to a distant day, in order to afford time for the parliament of Ireland to have the subject opened to them, and to receive it. He was, however, he said, of a different opinion from the noble lord with respect to the bad effects it would occasion in the kingdom of Ireland; on the contrary, he thought, that after the resolutions had undergone a calm and temperate discussion, the Irish houses of parliament might possibly, from knowing what the terms were on which this country was willing to unite with them, be induced to revise the opinion of one house which had hastily declared upon the subject. With regard to its being made a matter of grievance and complaint by Ireland, that this country should chuse to have the outline and ground work of the proposed union put on the records of the British parliament, which some noble lords had insisted upon,

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he confessed that he saw not the smallest reason to suspect that such would be the effect. The noble marquis had said, that the adjustment of 1782 had no connexion with the question of union. From that opinion he differed totally, because out of that very adjustment arose the immediate necessity of the *proposed* union. The adjustment *turned* upon four questions; two of them, he said, might be deemed British questions, viz. the declaratory law, and the resolution of the house of commons that soon followed it. The Irish questions were, the removal of the appellant jurisdiction, and the repeal of Poyning's law. And it was that repeal that so considerably loosened the connexion between the two countries, which rendered it necessary to come forward now with some measure for effectually securing and drawing closer that connexion between the two kingdoms that was on all hands admitted to be extremely desirable to be kept up and secured.

The Earl of Carlisle rose, and said, he should not have troubled their lordships at that late hour, had not something fallen from a noble lord near him (lord Holland), which might have a mischievous tendency in Ireland if no notice were taken of it. That noble lord had reprobated the discussing of the topic in that house, and had termed it an ungenerous advantage taken of Ireland, to discuss it in the British parliament after the opinion that had been passed upon it in one of the houses of parliament in Ireland. Nay, he had charged his majesty's ministers with a design to carry the measure by force. His lordship said, he had a considerable time back been entrusted with the government of Ireland, and it was during his administration that the system of adjustment, that took place in 1782, was formed; but when he heard that talked of as a *final adjustment*, he confessed he was at a loss to comprehend what was meant by the expression. It was, as he had understood it, an adjustment suited to the circumstances of those times, and calculated to remove the then grievances; for he was persuaded that the two countries did not intend to bind posterity, and legislate for future generations. After speaking at some length with respect to the good effects which a union would produce, he concluded by giving his vote for the measure.

The Earl of Westmoreland, in a speech of some length, supported the resolutions. He spoke of the adjustment of 1782, and appealed to lord Lansdowne if farther measures were not then in contemplation, and if it were not at that time suggested to send over commissioners to superintend the interests of Ireland.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was impressed with an idea, that the cabinet ministers at the time alluded to were then of opinion, that the parliamentary independence of Ireland was completely established.

Lord Auckland said, he would not detain the house at the late hour, which they had sat, any longer than to observe, that when the subject should come before the house again he would deliver his sentiments at length.

The Duke of Portland said, the settlement of 1782 had not been considered by him, or any of the cabinet, as a final settlement.

The original motion was then agreed to without a division.

The resolutions were read and agreed to; and

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Lord Grenville then moved, that their lordships be summoned for Thursday, April 4, when he would move the address.

On Wednesday, April 3, lord Grenville reminded their lordships that he had before the holidays moved, that they should be summoned for the next day, in order to take into consideration an address to his majesty relative to the connexion between this country and Ireland. He was, he said, far from wishing any delay should be interposed, and yet he was under the necessity of delaying it at present, on account of the indisposition of a noble lord (the lord-chancellor). He therefore moved, that the order for the next day be discharged, and their lordships summoned for Thursday the 11th of April.

Lord Auckland expressed his satisfaction that the time was extended, as he should be better able to arrange the observations he meant to submit in regard to the papers on the table, by which he would be enabled to correct the opinion of a noble peer opposite to him (earl Moira), that they were greatly connected with the question of the union.

Earl Moira said, he had already stated that the papers alluded to were by no means connected with the question of a union, and nothing that had fallen from the noble lord had tended to alter that opinion. His lordship was proceeding to make some remarks upon the measure of the union, when lord Kenyon reminded the noble peer that his observations were not relevant to the question before the house.

The Earl of Moira did not consider himself strictly to be out of order. It was not, he said, as far as he observed, the practice of that house to restrict its members to very confined limitations, but to give a latitude becoming such an assembly.

Viscount Sydney thanked the noble lord upon the woolsack for stepping forward to recall the house to the observance of its ancient rules.

Their lordships were then ordered to be summoned for Thursday the 11th.

On the 11th of April, the clerk having read at the table the summons desiring the full attendance of their lordships,

Lord Grenville rose, and said, after the very able manner in which the subject had already been discussed, he felt it would be unnecessary for him to take up any more of their lordship's time. He, therefore, should content himself with moving the address.

Lord Auckland rose with peculiar satisfaction to give his support to an address to the revered sovereign of the two kingdoms, for the purpose of communicating their resolutions to the lords and commons of Ireland.

There were few, indeed, who could deny the necessity of some great change being made in the system of Irish government; and he did not believe that any noble lord would maintain that the union of the two kingdoms, accomplished upon grounds satisfactory to each, would not promote the tranquillity, civilisation, and prosperity, of Ireland; but, said he, the consent and co-operation of Ireland are still wanting. Ireland must form her own decision; she must decide for herself, through the medium of the deliberate wisdom of her parliament. He did not mean to attempt an examination of those objections

jections which had been stated against the measure; they had been amply confuted both in this country and in Ireland. The unconstitutional doctrine, which denied the competency of parliament to effect a union, and to operate what (by an inference falsely conceived, and idly expressed) was called "its own extinction," was, he said, exploded even in the beginning of this century. It had been revived in the schools of democracy, by the admirers of the sovereignty of the people. His lordship next examined the nature of that independence, which some affected to say would be destroyed by a legislative union. In point of fact, what was the independence of a country which had no means of defence or security, or self preservation, but through the *aid and* protection of its more *powerful* neighbour? Ireland, he said, *had no* power of negotiating, *controling*, or even rejecting treaties; notwithstanding that those treaties might involve the most essential interests of the British empire, of which she formed a part. But he waved these considerations, though he thought they ought to be strong inducements to Ireland, not merely to accede to the proposed union, but to seek it. His lordship used a variety of arguments to show that Ireland was not so independent as was imagined. He said, it might add a little weight to his reasons, if he might be permitted to explain, what he had at all times endeavoured to promote, the commercial prosperity and constitutional freedom of Ireland; and, what he was going to state, was the result, not of new motives, but of long meditation. It was necessary to make a short reference to past transactions. So early as in 1799 he stated and published the expediency of that enlarged system of commerce, which was then demanded by Ireland, and which was granted to them a few months afterwards. In 1780 his lordship said, he went to Ireland as chief secretary in a vice-royalty, which, at its close (in 1782) received, from the Irish parliament, strong assurances of national gratitude and respect. In the session of 1781 he was named, with the recorder of Dublin, to be of the committee for the bill which extended to Ireland the writ of habeas-corpus by an Irish court. In the same session, he promoted the bill for making the Irish judges independent He also framed the whole institution of the bank of Ireland, and introduced the act which established it. In 1782, he was the first who proposed in the British parliament the repeal of the statute, 6 George I. which asserted the right to bind Ireland by British laws, which was treated by some persons who heard him as violent and precipitate. It was in most cases objectionable to refer to printed statements of parliamentary debates, as such statements were generally erroneous; however, he said, it might happen that the substance of particular passages might be verified, as far as human evidence could go. His lordship animadverted upon this part at some length, and said, it became a general opinion that uniformity of laws must accompany the communication of permanent advantages. His lordship said, it was impossible to contemplate those papers without exultation of mind at so brilliant an exhibition of the increasing prosperity of Great-Britain. Those papers, he said, would give their lordships what had never before been attempted, the true valuation of our whole commerce,

according to current prices, and to other documents, the accuracy of which, he observed, was incontestible. Here his lordship entered into a review of the total value of our imports and exports in the year of 1798; after which he returned to the subject of the union. He asked, what were the multiplied and inestimable blessings which the address and propositions held out to Ireland? why the preservation of her actual advantages, the extension of capitals, the increased employment of her people, with the consequent cultivation and softening of their minds and manners,—and, above all, an introduction of a middle class, one of the greatest wants in Ireland, and the most important link of security between the highest and lowest orders. Still, he remarked, leaving her the same constitution and liberties which she enjoyed at present.

His lordship said, before he sat down, he would say a few words upon one point, viz. catholic emancipation. It had long been his opinion, that, whatever might be the indulgences, whether more or less limited, to the catholics in England, the measure of those indulgences ought to guide their discretion with respect to the catholics in Ireland. He sincerely lamented the abrupt and wide departure from the rule in 1793. However, he must not look with an unavailing regret to what must now be considered as irrevocable; and he rejoiced, that their future adherence to that rule must be one of the many important consequences of a legislative union.

The Bishop of Landaff said, in rising to deliver his opinion on a subject which had already been illustrated by some of the ablest speakers in that and in the other house of parliament, he could not but feel an apprehension lest h should be considered by their lor ships in the unfavourable light of man unnecessarily vexing the relu tant ear; but, as he had long bee accustomed to contemplate the sub ject as an object of the first poli cal importance, he must entre their lordships' indulgence while explained his sentiments upon it.

While the duke of Rutland w lord lieutenant of Ireland, he ho noured him with his confidence The Irish propositions, as they we then called, were under discussion they were, he said, ultimately aban doned, on the ground of their n being acceptable to the Irish nation In writing to him about that time he perfectly well remembered hav ing said, "You, and your friend th minister of England, would im mortalise your characters, if, in stead of a mere commercial ar rangement, you could accomplish by honourable means, a legislativ union between the two kingdoms His answer, he said, he should never forget. He wholly approved of the measure; but added, the man who should attempt to carry it into exe cution would be tarred and feather ed. He mentioned this circum stance to shew to their lordships that the opinion which he intended to deliver on the subject was not rashly or recently taken up. Hav ing formed such a judgment, he would not be deterred from declar ing it on account of its unpopula rity in any country. If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of a union in few words, he would say, that a union would enrich Ireland—that it would not impo verish Great Britain—that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe. The strength of every state depends on the number of its people. The lands,

lands, he said, of Great-Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent, if the measure took place, would, in half a century, support a population of thirty millions at least; and thirty millions of people would afford five or six millions of men able to bear arms; but even with one million in arms, with united hearts, what would Great-Britain have to fear from the combined aggression of all Europe? Having expressed his general approbation of the measure, he made some remarks on the present parliament of Ireland, whether it had a right to vote away its own extinction. If this was a question with respect to Ireland, a similar one applied to Great-Britain, viz. whether the present parliament of Great-Britain had, or had not, a right to accede to a union. However, he said, a volume might be written on the subject, and still the question would be undecided. There was another question which he considered of high importance, and that was, whether the Roman catholics in Ireland, being a great majority of the people, have, or have not, a right to some ecclesiastical establishment? This question becomes perplexed, he said, when it was considered that the property, by which such an establishment must be maintained, was principally in the hands of a small minority of the people, who would not receive any direct and immediate benefit from such an establishment. With respect to protestants and catholics, he recommended the advice of an ancient father of the church, who, in composing the animosities of contending religious parties, counselled each side to give up little things, that both sides might obtain great things —peace, tranquillity, and concord. There was another question of great importance, viz. whether the British constitution would or would not undergo some change? and, if any, what change from the introduction of Irish members into the two houses of parliament here? On these questions, he said, he could speak at considerable length, but he purposely declined entering into the detail of them.

On the subject of the union, as far as it respected Ireland, three different opinions had been adopted in that country. The first was the opinion of those who thought that an union with Great-Britain was the most probable and effectual means of securing, of enlarging, and rendering permanent the prosperity of Ireland. Whatever might be the number of persons who entertained this opinion, he had no scruple in saying he concurred with them. A second opinion was, that British connexion was indeed essential to Irish prosperity. This opinion, he said, had been supported by men of such approved integrity and ability, that he suspected his own faculties when he presumed to differ from them.

In an ordinary mode of reasoning one would say, that if British connexion was essential to Irish prosperity, then the closer that connexion was, the greater would be that prosperity. This, he observed, would be an ordinary inference, unless it could be shown that the connexion, when it had approached to a certain degree of proximity, changed at once its nature, like some physical powers which are attractive to a certain distance, and then become repulsive.

The present bond of connexion between the two kingdoms was, that of their having the same king; the proposed bond was, that of their having the same legislature.

How slight the former bond was, had been fully shown by a noble secretary in a former debate upon the subject.

The third opinion, he said, which prevailed in Ireland on this subject, was, that British connexion and British union were equally and irreconcileably hostile to the interests of Ireland. This, he said, was a preposterous opinion, and not supported by experience derived from the history of nations. Ireland, as a graft inserted into the stock of the British empire, might throw out branches in every direction; but "if," said his lordship, "you separate it from this connexion, and plant it in a soil by itself, it will neither strike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards, for an hundred years, though it should be left to itself, free from the annoyance of its neighbours." His lordship said he foresaw, and with great satisfaction, the time, should the union take place, when the whole state of Ireland would be changed; it would in time convert the bogs of that country into corn fields, it would cover its barren mountains with forests, it would dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics; in a word, it would render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy.

But though he was a friend to the union, he was no friend to its being accomplished, except by the most honourable means. Ireland at present seemed not disposed to contract. What then, said his lordship, is to be done? Precisely that which Great-Britain was doing, viz. giving time to Ireland to consider this subject in all its bearings. His lordship said, he spoke in the sincerity of his heart, that no human means could be devised more suited to the situation of Ireland than a liberal, cordial, legislative union between Great-Britain and [illegible] country.

Lord Minto spoke at considera[ble] length in favour of the measu[re]. In deliberating on this question, said, the first proposition wh[ich] seemed to impress itself on ev[ery] mind was, the convenience inde[ed] amounting to necessity, not mer[ely] for the advantage and benefit, b[ut] for the preservation and security both countries, that there shou[ld] subsist between Great-Britain an[d] Ireland a close connexion of o[ne] description. The most disadvan[ta]geous situation in which eithe[r] country could be placed was tha[t] of a total disconnexion. The ques[ti]on then arose, What would be th[e] best and most eligible mode o[f] forming that connexion? In his opinion, the first proposition was, that when two countries were so circumstanced as mutually to require connexion, the only mode of connexion which could perfectly remove the evils of separation, and fully confer the benefit of union, was a perfect identity and incorporation of their governments.

The next thing his lordship adverted to, was that of federal connexion. The question of union, he said, was supposed by some to lean towards a connexion of that nature: however, he confessed he could find nothing in that mode of relation to recommend it. And every thing proved that, in the first place, to be inadequate to the purposes of union; and, in the next place, of a very precarious duration. On this topic his lordship made some very pertinent remarks. His lordship afterwards animadverted upon the competency of parliament, and said, if parliament was not competent, where could be found a more adequate authority? for whatever the whole nation could do, if there were no parliament, was

was within the regular and fundamental powers of parliament; but as this subject had been so ably handled by others, he concluded by expressing a strong opinion, that the union of these two nations, already united in their nature and in their interests, must in the order of human events come to pass.

Lord Boringdon said, that if he *had not* recollected the opinions *professed* on a former night by some *noble* lords near him, he should be led to imagine, from the speeches just delivered, that he was about to address an unanimous house; but before he rose, he waited to see if any noble lord on the opposite side wished to address their lordships. However, he said, he could scarce flatter himself with the idea, that those who had opposed the measure in former debates had abandoned their *opinion*. The idea, he said, that *the* political liberties of Ireland were *to be* sacrificed by the measure of an union, altogether surprised him. It was with difficulty he could believe that any such apprehension could have ever been entertained, especially when one of the measures which it was universally believed would result from a union, was the removing the political incapacities of four-fifths of the whole inhabitants of that country. He next made some general remarks on the *supposed final adjustment* of 1782. He said, he never could admit that as a conclusive argument against the union, and contended that those persons who were concerned in the completion of it did not consider it as *final*. In support of this opinion he referred to Mr. Fox's speech on the commercial propositions in 1785, who declared that the resolution of the house of commons of the 17th of May 1782 in no way referred to commerce, but solely to objects political and imperial. To prove that it did not refer to commerce, his lordship used a variety of arguments. He concluded by saying, that if Ireland was determined to reject the plan offered to her, the presentation of the proposed address was essential for the purpose of making known to her, and to the world, what were the conditions on which England was willing to unite with her.

Lord Hay (Earl of Kinnoul) said a few words in favour of the measure.

The question was then put upon the address, and carried *nem. dis.*

Lord Grenville, lord Auckland, the bishop of Landaff, and lord Minto, were then named as a committee to draw up an address conformable to the motion; and when they returned with it, it was agreed to.

Lord Grenville then moved, that a conference be desired with the commons on the following day, at half past four o'clock, on the subject of their conference on the 18th of March last; which being put and carried, his lordship gave notice that he should then move, that the managers of the conference, on the part of their lordships, be instructed to request the commons to agree that the address be presented to his majesty as the joint address of both houses of parliament, which was accordingly done.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Finances of the Year 1799. Committee of Supply. Navy Estimates—Sir John Sinclair's Objections—Debate on the Subject. Army Estimates. The first Budget—Supply—Ways and Means. Income Tax—Debate on the Resolutions relative to it—Resolutions—Debate on the Report. Bargain for Part of the Loan. Further Debates on the Income Tax in the House of Commons—Debates on the same Bill in the House of Lords—Amendments made in the same Bill in the House of Commons after its Return from the House of Lords. Vote of Credit for Three Millions on Exchequer Bills. Subsidy to Russia Further Vote of Credit for Three Millions to enable his Majesty to make good Engagements. Second Budget—Ways and Means—New Taxes. Resolutions relative to the Service of Ireland. Mr. Tierney's Motion relative to the Finances of the Country—Debate on that Subject. India Budget.

THE finances of the year 1799 were introduced by a notice given to the house of commons, on the 26th of November, by the chancellor of the exchequer, that on that day fortnight he should have the honour of making a statement of the whole ways and means of the year. The plan of proceeding which he meant to recommend, was that of raising within the year a considerable part of the supplies. The principle of that plan had already received the approbation of the house; but what he had to propose would, he trusted, be done in a mode less exceptionable than that of the former year. The principle, however, was the same, and the advantage of it had been already felt; and so far was he from apprehending it would not be approved, that he expected a general concurrence. For the present he should defer the detail of the plan, and propose that the resolutions should be voted, and a bill introduced in pursuance of them on Monday; he should then propose that the blanks should be filled up, and that the interval of nearly a week should be taken to peruse it; and afterwards he should propose the re-commitment, which he hoped would take place on Friday.

Preparatory to the introduction of the minister's new plan of finance, the house entered into a committee of supply on the 27th of November. Mr. Hobart then brought up the report, in which it had been voted that 120,000 men be employed for the service of the navy for the year 1799, including 20,000 marines. The several resolutions were read a first time; and, on their second reading, granting 120,000 men for the service of the navy,

Sir John Sinclair rose, and said, that, after a cool and careful deliberation on the subject of the present resolution, he found himself countenanced and confirmed, by a variety of what he deemed to be cogent reasons, in an opinion he had formerly expressed, namely, that the number of seamen proposed to be employed was by no means called for by the necessary service and exigences of the state. When he considered the depressed and ruined condition of the enemy's fleet, the fallen condition to which it was reduced by the superior skill and gal-

lantry

lantry of British seamen, he could not but rest satisfied, that victories so brilliant and decisive as those which our navy had achieved must render a far less naval force than that hitherto employed fully adequate to every purpose of annoyance and defence. But when he moreover considered, that our exertions were now to be seconded and invigorated by the co-operation of Russia, of Turkey, of the Neapolitans, and the Portuguese, he was further strengthened in the opinion that a less naval force would be necessary; and he was more particularly impressed with the necessity of turning the most serious attention of the house to the deranged situation of our finances; a situation which pointed out œconomy as the great object that should now engross their exertions and their thoughts; not that œconomy, as it had been characterised by the right honourable gentleman, but a vigorous, an essential, and general œconomy, that should regulate the expenditure of not only one branch of the administrative power, an œconomy which should pervade and purify every department of the state.

He had carefully perused Steel's List, and there he observed that we were now in possession of one hundred and forty three sail of ships of war; of these, that eighty-five were employed in actual service; that twenty-eight were fitting out, refitting, in the different ports; that no less than thirty sail of the line were actually employed as guard-ships: and that thirty sail of the line should be thus cooped up in a state of inertness that only accumulated idle expense, was what he could not think of without regret, and what loudly called for the most serious consideration of the well-wishers to public œconomy. He was charged with holding opinions of a singular nature; but the more he considered them, the less he could see them chargeable with singularity. What he advanced was, that a greater number than that called for last year, viz. 110,000 seamen, was not necessary for the service of the ensuing year. He alluded to the opinion of Mr. Hussey, who was not now present. But the enemy did not now possess seventy sail of effective ships: there was therefore nothing like the same number now necessary on our side; and were the house to vote a supply of naval force in proportion to the now existing force of the enemy, they could not well exceed fifty-five ships. Should a peace be speedily concluded, what would be the result? Immediately we should have to discharge at once the immense force of 90,000 seamen, and 350,000 soldiers. Should a war with France continue for a length of time longer, would not wisdom and experience suggest the propriety of our then carrying on the war upon as reduced a scale as possible? This caution was hinted and enforced by an old political maxim, a maxim wise as it was old, that *exhausto denario et imminente calamitate cavendum erat ne res publica deseretur.*

Mr. Thomas Wallace said, he could by no means agree in opinion with the honourable baronet, notwithstanding the declaration he had made, that his sentiments upon the present question were the result of a cool and careful examination.

General Tarleton assured the house also, and the honourable baronet who opposed the resolution, that neither he, nor those political friends with whom he had the honour to act, either now or ever did entertain an idea of opposing any thing that went to strengthen our naval depart-

department, which was the pride of the nation and its best defence; on the contrary, they had always approved of the measures that had that tendency, and gave them all the countenance in their power. The resolution was then put and agreed to, with only one dissenting voice, namely, that of Sir John Sinclair.

On the 28th of November the chancellor of the exchequer moved the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the ways and means for raising a supply granted to his majesty.

The house having accordingly resolved itself into a committee, he moved the following resolutions:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the several duties imposed upon sugar by the 27th, 34th, and 37th of his present majesty, and also the duties of excise on tobacco and snuff, directed in the last session of parliament to be continued until the 5th of March, 1799, should be further continued until the 5th day of March, 1800.

"That four shillings in the pound, and no more, be imposed on all pensions, offices, &c. and continued.

"That the duty on malt, &c. be continued from the 23d of June, 1799 to the 24th of June, 1800."

These resolutions were agreed to; and the house being resumed, the report was ordered for Friday; on which day the secretary at war proceeded to open the army estimates; his great object in doing which, he said, was to shew the difference between present and former estimates. The difference between this and the last year would be something more than one million. The objects which had created this difference were the supplementary militia, provisional cavalry, the volunteer corps, and barracks. The estimates for the year 1797 amounted to the sum of 6,900,000*l.* T ose of the following year were voted at two different times. The first sum (5,900,000*l.*) was considerably less than that of the preceding year, and would have answered for the charges of last year, were it not that other objects, not expected at the time the estimates were made, arose out of the situation of affairs that afterwards took place: the charges, therefore, attendant upon those new arrangements, added to those already estimated for the year 1798 (2,316,000*l.*) amounted in the whole to the sum of 8,305,925*l.* Besides these increased establishments, which were to be kept up for the ensuing year, there were some volunteer corps that had not been called out till the present time, and others that had considerably increased since the last estimate: on this account the esimate for the ensuing year would amount to somewhat more than the sum of nine millions. There was one circumstance which had swelled the estimate of 1798 above that of the preceding year, and that was the augmentation of pay to the army; and he apprehended, that was an increase which must continue. Besides, there was a number of regiments serving in Ireland, and now remaining there. Should it be continued, Ireland might hereafter be called upon to contribute a part towards bearing that burden.

An augmentation had also taken place in the regiments of dragoons, which brought on an additional expense of 65,000*l.* Another of 39,000*l.* took place in consequence of the increase of the companies of foot guards from 100 to 120 men, and other troops. Another increase

increase of expense was that of the establishment of a number of regimental paymasters: this was a plan adopted after much consideration, and he believed it would produce much advantage to the public. The expense attending this establishment he stated at 27,000 *l.* per annum. Another charge was owing to a provision made for a supplementary militia, because that subject came only partially before parliament last year. There was another additional charge also of about 100,000 *l.* on the account of barracks. Another head of charges which he had to bring forward was entirely new, and it was proposed that it should be permanent: it was an increase of about 12,000 *l.* appropriated to the enlarging of widows' pensions, a description of persons whom he conceived to be such as the committee would be glad to protect as far as they could, with due regard to public œconomy. Great care should be taken to keep this within the bounds of moderation; in no instance was it higher than 30 *l.* and in some it was so low as 10 *l.* a year. An additional sum was also to be employed for the service of Jamaica. And here he might have concluded what he had to say, but something which had passed before required explanation,—he meant the large fees that were taken in some departments of his office. A committee had reported against a continuation of them; and the whole had been collected and thrown into a mass, whereby a fund was created, and out of it a new division was made, and the salaries of the different clerks regulated. He at that time took the liberty of doubting the wisdom of that measure; he doubted whether it would produce in the sequel much saving to the public. He had nothing now to add, and therefore he should proceed to move the different resolutions, unless some gentleman should express a desire for further explanation.

Mr. Tierney said, that whatever he might think his duty directed him to say, he should not oppose voting upon the estimates now; but although he said this, yet he could not help adding, that he was not a little mortified by the speech of the secretary at war. He could have conceived, that the advantages of our victories and our triumphs would have been immediately felt in the diminution of our expenses, whereas it appeared that some of them were increasing. The public had a right to say that the secretary at war had deluded them; for, last year, the danger of invasion operated upon the public mind, and much of the expense was incurred to provide against that calamity. Now the skill and valour of our gallant officers, and the steadiness of our men, had removed all fear with regard to invasion; and yet ministers held out no hope of any retrenchment, even in useless offices. He should not vote that night for the resolutions, but should wait till he was further informed, as it would probably happen the resolutions would remain for two or three days. He was sure that there was not a man who heard him, who did not think there ought to be the severest œconomy in every part of the state. The gentlemen who had reaped the advantages of these enormous fees were to have an additional allowance, because the fees of last year had not been equal to the expense calculated by the committee, and allowed upon a new arrangement. He did not mean to insinuate that the secretary at war was interested in any of the fees; on

on the contrary, he believed his motives to be pure and honourable in all such particulars. But it appeared that a farther sum would be wanted to make up deficiencies in office, &c. and this after a full consideration of the matter, and a report made by a committee of finance.

Sir John Sinclair expressed a wish to know if the report on the army estimates was to be taken into consideration on Monday next.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that as the discussion in the report might run into some length, it was his wish that it be taken into consideration on Tuesday; especially as Monday was already fixed upon for considering an important measure of finance. The report of the other estimates he wished might be brought up on Monday, as they must be voted before he could open the ways and means of the year, which it was his intention to bring forward without delay. The resolutions were then put and agreed to.

On Monday December 3d, the house having formed itself into a committee, Mr. Hobart in the chair, the chancellor of the exchequer said, before he proceeded to open to the committee the very important subject to which their attention would in the course of the evening be directed, it would be proper for him previously to lay before it a general outline of the supplies, which would be necessary for the service of the current year. It must be obvious to the committee, that it was impossible now to produce that statement with perfect accuracy; but from the manner in which the different estimates were made, a general outline might be proved which would approach pretty near the truth. This statement must be founded upon a comparison with the expense of the same branches in former years.

	£.
"Independently of the transport service, said Mr. Pitt, which has not yet been voted, but which I shall state at 1,300,000 *l.* the sums voted for the navy, including 120,000 seamen amount to 10,720,000 *l.* making in all, under the naval department, ordinary and extraordinary	13,642,000
For the army there had been already voted, upon estimate	8,840,000
The extraordinaries last session amounted to about 3,200,000 *l.* besides a vote of credit for one million; but these sums would be fully adequate to cover the extraordinaries in the course of the year, and there would be no arrears on this head. As no specific provision, however, was made for the vote of credit, that article must come to be provided for in the supply of this year	1,000,000
For the service of the year 1799, he imagined the extraordinaries of the army would not exceed the sum of	2,000,000
There had that night been voted, under the head of ordnance, the sum of	1,500,000
Carry forward, £.	26,982,000

Miscel-

Brought forward, £.	26,982,000
Miscellaneous money included, expended on the plantations	600,000
The sum voted in addition to the annual million for the reduction of the national debt	100,000
Interest due to the bank on exchequer bills, and on treasury bills	565,000
Discount on payment of the loan of last year	210,000
Interest on exchequer bills	300,000
Deficiencies of land and malt	300,000
	£.29,157,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Towards the supply there were the same general resources as usual, except the instance of the land-tax now made perpetual. In lieu of the land tax, however, there are stated the particular duties which were to be reserved for the same purpose	2,700,000
The lottery	2,000,000
Consolidated fund	1,500,000
Imports, exports, sugar and coffee	1,700,000
	£.6,100,000

Leaving a sum of about two millions to be provided for the service of the current year.

It remained then to be considered in what manner this sum should be raised, and in what proportions it might be divided between the two principal modes which suggested themselves. Here two leading principles occurred for the guidance of our judgement. Either to raise the whole by a loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of this supply within the year, and to make a provision for the liquidation of what it might be deemed expedient to raise by loan upon the principle adopted last session of parliament, and carried into practice with so much advantage.

Last session the plan of trebling the assessed taxes not only was taken to furnish a certain portion of the supplies of the year, but part of produce was assigned for the tinction of such part of the loa eight millions as was not cov by the sinking fund. The v tary and cheerful efforts whic honourably to individuals, a the country) came in aid o deficit on the assessed taxes the superior produce of the ex and imports, beyond the esti brought the amount of the raised to that which they had calculated at. The different a were estimated at seven millio a half, and this sum was fu vered by the actual receipt the different heads. The p of the assessed taxes, under modifications, and all the ev was four millions. If he calculate the evasion, the fra the meanness, which had st to defeat the operation of

sessed taxes (and he mentioned with shame, that in a moment like the present, in a contest so awfully interesting to every individual and to the nation, there had been men base enough to avail themselves of the general modifications which were intended to relieve those who might have been called upon to contribute beyond their means, to avoid that fair assessment which corresponded with their circumstances), instead of 1,500,000 *l.* the voluntary contributions already exceeded two millions; and the sum of seven millions and a half, for which credit was taken, had been effective to the public service.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. For this purpose, it was his intention to propose, that the presumption founded upon the assessed taxes should be laid aside, and that a general tax should be imposed upon all the leading branches of income. No scale of income, indeed, which could be devised, would be perfectly free from the objection of inequality, or entirely cut off the possibility of evasion. All that could be attempted was to approach as near as circumstances would permit to a fair and equal contribution. The details of a measure which attempted an end so great and important must necessarily require serious and mature deliberation. The outlines of this plan, continued Mr. Pitt, I shall now proceed to develope to the committee as clearly and distinctly as I am able.

The commissioners, who should be invested with a power of fixing the rate of every one's income, should be persons of a respectable situation in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; men of integrity and independence. He should think that no man should be admitted, to act as commissioner, for the purposes to be afterwards specified, who did not possess 300 *l.* per annum. To these, other persons, of similar qualifications, should be added, and the list so formed to be referred to the grand jury, or those who had served on the two last grand juries, to form the commissioners. In case the party was dissatisfied with the decision of these commissioners, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. In commercial towns, some special provisions would be necessary, adapted to the nature of circumstances.

The next point for consideration, then, was the mode of contribution which shall be adopted. On this head it was his intention to propose, that no income under 60 *l.* a year shall be called upon to contribute, and that the scale of modification, up to 200 *l.* a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restriction. The quota which would then be called for ought to amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income. The mode proposed of obtaining this contribution differed from that pursued in the assessed taxes, as, instead of trebling their amount, the statement of income was to proceed from the party himself. In doing this, it was not proposed that income should be distinctly laid open, but it should only be declared that the assessment was beyond the proportion of a tenth of the income of the person on whom it was imposed. In this way, he hoped that the disclosure, at which many might revolt, would be avoided, and, at the same time, that every man would be under the necessity of contributing his fair and equal proportion. Knowing the difficulty of

of guessing what a man's real ability was, he did not think that the charge of fixing what was to be the rate ought to be left to the commissioners. It would, he was persuaded, be most acceptable to the general feeling to make it the duty of a particular officer, as surveyor, to lay before the commissioners such grounds of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. These doubts, and the reasons on which they were founded, were then to be transmitted by the surveyor to the commissioners, in order that they might call for further explanation from the person concerned. When doubts were entertained that a false statement had been given, it should be competent for the commissioners to call for a specification of income. It would be necessary to simplify, and state with precision, the different proportion of income arising from land, from trade, annuity, or profession, which should entitle them to deduction. The commissioners were then to say whether they were satisfied with the statement which was given. The officer or surveyor was to be allowed to examine and report whether there appeared reason to believe that the assessment was adequate. When the day of examination arrived, the commissioners should hear what the surveyor and the party had to allege in support of the objection and the assessment, and examine other individuals. The schedule, which should be drawn up in such a manner as accurately to define every case of exemption or deduction, should be presented by the party, with the claim clearly specified. To the truth of the schedule he should make oath. The party, however, should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined: if, however, he declined to submit to the investigation of his books, and the examination of his clerks, and other means of ascertaining the truth, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment; and their decision should be final, unless he appealed to the higher commissioners. No disclosure was to be compulsory; but, if the party was unwilling to disclose, he must acquiesce in the decision of the commissioners, who should not be authorised to relieve without a full disclosure. Whatever facts might be disclosed to the commissioners, in the course of their investigations, they should be sworn not to reveal. After a statement had been given by the party on oath, it ought never to be brought forward, unless in cases where perjury was flagrant, in order to lay the foundation of a prosecution for that offence. There was but little danger that such men as would be commissioners would act from idle, wanton curiosity, or from any malicious motives; nor could there be any well-founded jealousy, that, by disclosure, under an oath of secresy, any superiority would be given to a rival or to an enemy.

Should the house approve of the outline of the plan, it might, likewise, be desirable to know what was proposed in the way of extending the ratio in some cases, while it was modified in others. Some allowances probably ought to be made, while cases might occur in which an increased proportion might fairly be required. The principle adopted last session, in this respect, might, perhaps, be proper to follow in the present case. Perhaps those who had families might,

in certain cases, the fair objects of allowance and deduction, while those who had no families might, with equal justice, be called upon to contribute in an increased proportion.

In forming a rough estimate, he should begin with the first source of income, the rent of land; a subject which, since first political œconomy became the subject of discussion and of inquiry, had given rise to various speculations and opposite theories. One of our oldest writers on the subject, Sir W. Petty, states, in 1664, the landed rental of England at eight millions. In the reports upon this subject, published by the Board of Agriculture, and particularly in one drawn up by a person of the name of Middleton, the number of acres of cultivated land is stated to be 40,000,000. To assign an average value of this land must, doubtless, be done upon vague grounds: it had been stated, however, at the average rate of 15*s.* per acre. He supposed the average rent to be 12*s.* 6*d.* per acre, which would give us 25,000,000 *l.* a-year, only five millions more than the general estimate of land in the year 1778. In this, as well as every other denomination, he should propose that every thing under 60 *l.* a-year should be exempted, and that modifications up to 200 *l.* should be admitted.

For the sake of greater clearness, he meant to recapitulate what he had previously detailed.

	£
The land rental, after deducting one-fifth, he estimated at	20,000,000
The tenant's rental of land, deducting two-thirds of the rack-rent, he took at	6,000,000
The amount of tythes, deducting one-fifth	4,000,000
The produce of mines, canal navigation, &c. deducting one-fifth	3,000,000
The rental of houses, deducting one-fifth	5,000,000
The profits of professions	2,000,000
The rental of Scotland, taking it at one eighth of that of England	5,000,000
The income of persons resident in Great Britain, drawn from possessions beyond the seas	5,000,000
The amount of annuities from the public funds, after deducting one-fifth for exemptions and modifications	12,000,000
The profits on the capital employed in our foreign commerce	12,000,000
The profits employed on the capital in domestic trade, and the profits of skill and industry	28,000,000
In all	£.102,000,000

Upon this sum a tax of ten per cent. was likely to produce 10,000,000 *l.* a year, and this was the sum likely to result from the measure. Gentlemen would recollect that the assessed taxes were assigned

assigned to the payment of that part of the sum raised for the service of last year, which was not made a permanent debt, and of course this new tax upon income would be substituted in the room of those assessed taxes, and would be made applicable to the same purpose; and one great advantage of this plan would be, that the object for which the assessed taxes were designed would be sooner accomplished, and the public thereby more speedily relieved. The assessed taxes were mortgaged for two years, and, in the plan of the assessment, persons with an income of above 200 *l.* a year were charged at the rate of one tenth of their income.

He should propose the tax to take place on the 5th of April, and he should propose of course that the assessed taxes should be repealed at the same time. In this way the sum to be drawn from this resource for the service of the year was 10,700,000 *l.* but from this sum there would be to be paid the interest of the 8,000,000 *l.* charged upon the assessed taxes, together with the sum charged on the consolidated fund for the deficiency of these taxes the last year, as well as for the interest thereon for the present year. From this sum, therefore, of 10,700,000 *l.* there was to be deducted 1,500,000 *l.* leaving a sum of 9,200,000 *l.* applicable to the ways and means of the present year. Adding this sum to the land and malt, the lottery, and the other sources which he stated on the outset, there would remain the sum of 14,000,000 *l.* to be raised by the way of loan; but of this sum he could fairly trust to the growing produce of the consolidated fund for the estimation of 4,500,000 *l.* so that but 9,500,000 *l.* would be added to the permanent debt of the country. He trusted that it would not be necessary for him to go into any detail of argument to convince the committee of the advantages of the beneficial mode adopted last session of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year. If we had proved that, at the end of the sixth year of the war, unsubdued by all the exertions and sacrifices we had made, our commerce was flourishing beyond the example of any year even of peace; if our revenues were undiminished; if new means of vigour were daily presenting themselves to our grasp; if our efforts had been crowned with the most perfect success; if the public sentiment should be firm and united in the justice and necessity of the cause in which we were embarked; if every motive to exertion continued the same, and every effort we had made in the cause was a source only of exultation and pride to the heart; if, by the efficacy of these efforts, we had now the expectation of accomplishing the great object of all our sacrifices and all our labours; if despondency was dissipated at home, and confidence created abroad, should we not persevere in a course so fairly calculated to bring us to a happy issue? Let us do justice to ourselves.

Mr. Tierney agreed with the right honourable gentleman that the decision of the house that night was not only interesting to England, but also to all Europe; it was because he agreed with him upon that, he was so desirous of delivering a few sentiments. On the supply, there was one thing which occurred to him at the first glance of the business; which was, that supposing we had only one budget in the year, and that we had heard already of the whole of the supply, it would

then, as they stood, exceed by more than two millions the sum voted for the last year. He knew that on this occasion the right honourable gentleman might say, that this year he had had better means of forming his calculations on the articles of expenditure, as well as various other events. With regard to what the right honourable gentleman had said with respect to the sinking fund, he had nothing to say against it; neither had he any thing to allege against the tax imposed in the last session of parliament upon imports and exports, which was commonly called the convoy tax. The minister assured the house they would produce 1,700,000 *l.* and he alleged that he had some regulations that would be of public utility in that particular; against none of these points had he (Mr. Tierney) any thing to urge.

Leaving therefore all these points, he came to the great one then before the house, the tax upon income. The house agreed last year to the principles laid down by the minister in his plan relative to the assessed taxes; but the house had not then the idea of going the length which he now proposed; they thought the whole measure had better have been abandoned altogether, than that it should cause the disclosure of the condition of every person in the kingdom. But the minister says, "you need not make any disclosure of your condition in life." Mr. Tierney remarked, if the disclosure was not satisfactory, the commissioner had power to increase the duty according to his discretion; and all these proceedings were to depend upon the evidence of an infamous informer. To such a proposition he could not assent. But this was not all; for, if this house agreed to that proposition now, was it too much to say upon experience, if this tax should not come up to the system, a general disclosure of all property must take place, and that too in the course of the very next year? He took the liberty last year of opposing the measure now before the committee under another name, and with a less disagreeable aspect than it bore at present.

That measure was, in appearance, less disagreeable than this: by that, a man was in some measure allowed to withdraw from luxury; but here there was nothing of the kind allowed in any shape. He opposed that measure, because he thought, and did still think, it very oppressive. This was called a tax on income: the answer was, that it was not a tax on income, but that it was the best mode of coming at property to support the state. This seems to be a bolder measure, for it puts a tenth of the property of England in requisition; a measure which the French had followed in the career of their revolutionary rapine, and which the chancellor of the exchequer had, with his eloquence, justly branded with the hardest epithets—only it is a little unfortunate that he should imitate what he took so much pains to render detestable.

Did the minister mean to say, that a person possessing an income for life only of a certain sum, and another person of the same income which he derived from the interest of his own capital, were equally rich, and could bear the same taxes? a widow, for instance, who lived only upon a pension, and a person whose capital brought him in the same money by way of interest? Certainly not, the thing was too palpable to be argued; and yet, by this plan of making income the standard

standard of wealth, these two persons would be made to pay alike. He urged that he must have it in his power to say to his constituents that, before this measure was adopted, every other resource had been applied to and exhausted. Yet he could not say that; for there were many valuable things under the church establishment, (not in the smallest degree beneficial to religion, but to swell out the pomp and pride, and imaginary greatness, of some inflated individuals) which ought to be brought in aid of the public burthens. The individuals possessing these things ought to be made to contribute their full share. The corporations also were liable in the same manner, as he should conceive. [Here a cry of *Hear! hear!*] Mr. Tierney proceeded. He did not perfectly understand what gentlemen meant by this sort of vociferation. For his part, he would not take the property of any body of men as a sacrifice to the state, altogether; but when he was told that violent hands must be laid on the property of the public, then he would tell them it ought to take another direction, and he was pointing out to them that direction. This tax was said to fall nearly equal on all sorts of property. That was not true; he would tell them a property on which it did not fall; on the property of a certain description of stock-holders, or what he called the leading London gentlemen, a description of persons extremely well known, whose patriotism was much esteemed by the chancellor of the exchequer. These gentlemen could pay off any tax, without burthening themselves; indeed, the greater the taxes were the richer they became, and they never succeeded better than when the minister succeeded in taxes. The chancellor of the exchequer had said that this plan would not cause the funds to fall, but would occasion them to rise; so, if any gentleman possessed 20,000*l.* in the funds, his fortune might improve by this duty. If you raise the stock (as a worthy alderman by his smile seemed to think you would) for instance, two per cent. he would make a large sum of money by his capital; so that, instead of taxing these gentlemen, (who by the way were the most able to bear it) you would increase their fortunes, while you ruined others beyond the power of redemption. The plan, on the contrary, to be worth any thing, should compel the monied men to take at least their share of the public burthens. He knew that these observations did not apply to the mass of stockholders, but he persisted in saying they did apply to those whom the chancellor of the exchequer always chose to favour; he meant those who were called the monied men of the city. But there was another point to be considered, for the great mass of the property of the country might change owners in the course of six, seven, eight, or nine years, which would make a great difference in the state of the country itself; for, if the rich men in the city bought the small estates of a number of gentlemen, although the estate would be the same, and the revenues the same, yet the condition of whole districts of inhabitants would be materially altered. This was a point which, although it might be beyond the comprehension of some monied men, was yet well worthy the attention of the house. He could hardly have supposed, that what was said against adding perpetual taxes, and increasing the capital of debt, instead of raising

large supplies within the year to prevent the accumulation of the debt, came from the same man, who had increased continually, for the last five years, the permanent taxes; who had, in that time also, added 150 millions to the capital of the national debt. He should also have thought, when he heard him vaunting upon the integrity and proud spirit of his country, and the desperation and perfidiousness of the enemy, that he was speaking of a minister who never degraded himself so far as to negotiate with the French republic. He said he was very far from calling his sincerity in question; but he must call in question his recollection, when he heard and saw that the chancellor of the exchequer of 1798 censured so unmercifully the chancellor of the exchequer of 1796.

The minister had been pleased to narrate, in very lofty language, what Europe would think of our proceedings: he was a representative of the people of England, not a member of the congress of Radstadt. Upon his conscience he believed that it was by peace, and peace only, the British empire could be secured. But when the people were told openly, as they were now, that this is not a war for our own honour, our own privileges, our own interest, or our own safety, but that we embarked in it for the supposed honour, the supposed privileges, the supposed interest, the supposed safety of Europe, he should be very unworthy the situation he was in, he should betray his trust, if he did not lift up his voice against a measure when such were avowed to be its objects. Whenever any measure whatever was proposed that tended to keep up the dignity of the British empire, the minister would always find him throwing aside all political differences, and supporting him. On that ground he gave him his support upon the vote of the navy estimates. It was without losing sight of that ground that he hesitated about the estimates of the army, and he then stated his reasons. Perhaps when the clauses of the bill, by which the resolutions would of course be followed up, came to be laid before the house, and the blanks came to be filled up, he should enter more at large into the subject; but he could not leave the house subject to the suspicion that he was overpowered in his judgment by the mere eloquence of the minister.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to Mr. Tierney, said, that as far as his calculations and foresight could enable him to judge, he did not expect that he should be obliged to call on parliament for a greater supply than had now been laid before them in the enumeration of the ways and means. He wished it however to be understood, that by this assertion he did not preclude himself from calling for a further sum, should unforeseen circumstances or emergencies make it necessary; neither was it to preclude him from calling for a vote of credit.

The resolutions were then read and agreed to, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

December the 4th, on the motion for bringing up the report of the committee of ways and means of the preceding day, Sir John Sinclair recommended a call of the house; and the motion was further opposed by Mr. Hobhouse. He said his mind was deeply struck, in the first instance, by reflecting how frequently the principal schemes of the right honourable gentleman were known to prove abortive. In the

shop

shop tax, and in the watch tax, he had obstinately persisted. Both, however, he was afterwards compelled to relinquish; and although the watch tax had been repealed, it had given a mortal blow to the trade. To the scheme of the assessed taxes last year, the right hon. gentleman was as fondly and firmly wedded. But he now finds, and confesses, that the resources he expected from them had failed, and that they by no means had come up to his full expectations. Whether it were advantageous for the country that the necessary supplies for the service of the year should be raised within the year, and whether the funding system should be in part or wholly abandoned, he was not now to determine. His objections to the funding system were very great, it involved great inconveniences, and in his mind it would have been for the interest of the country that it had never been adopted. It had been, if not the parent, at least the fosterer of many unnecessary wars, which wars might have been prevented, if the supplies necessary for carrying them on had been called for and raised within the year; for, if the people were made to feel, on the breaking out of a war, the full pressure of the burthens which it was likely to create, they would not be so easily deluded as they were now.

Great also were the evils that resulted from the endeavour to raise the supplies within the year, and strong, consequently, were his objections to such a system. It was a system that went directly to oppress and annihilate the middling ranks of society; it would compel them to relinquish the situation which they were wont to fill in the country, and to forego the moderate comforts to which they had been used. In a word, they must cease to form a distinct class in the community, where two orders only could henceforward be discovered; that of the eminently wealthy, and of the miserably indigent. On the comparative evils of the two systems, he could not well balance his mind; but, on the ground which he had urged in rejecting them, he thought himself justified in opposing the bringing up of the report. He should never consent either to see income made the sole criterion of taxation, or the expenditure of property exclusively taxed, which only tended to screen the avaricious, or to favour the indolent. To tax income indiscriminately would be a flagrant injustice; for one man may possess a fixed estate of one thousand pounds per annum, and another a similar income, but from variable means. The most unquestionable mode of taxation would be that which would affect the full and joint result of all three, of property, of income, and expenditure. The opinion he entertained upon this subject was ably expressed by an eminent writer on political œconomy (Sir James Stuart). As the passage that contained it was very short, he might be permitted to read it. "As to the pure profits on trade, although they might appear to be income, yet I consider them merely as stock, and therefore they ought not to be taxed. They may be said to resemble the annual shoots of a tree, which increase the mass, but are very different from the fruits and seed." Thus the tax now proposed would not only weaken the tree, but, if adopted and persisted in, would finally impel us to cut down the tree, that we might more easily get at the fruit. This he felt to be an insuperable objection to the principle of

the tax; nor did he ground his objection upon the idea that it was a violation of the public faith. While money remained in the funds, the dividend must be paid without any diminution; but when it was in the pocket of the stockholder, then it became liable to taxation—but not before, without a violation of the public faith. But the most flagrant injustice of all, that marked the face of this proposition, was, that the man who possessed 200*l.* per annum should be equally compelled to pay his ten per cent. as the man who rioted in the enjoyment of 40,000*l.* yearly income!

These were but a few of the objections that pressed upon his mind against the measure in question; but for the present he would rest here, only requesting, before he concluded, to be allowed to say a word on the uses for which this bold attempt had been embarked in. Was it not the continuance of this just and necessary war? On the propriety of these epithets his opinion was long since expressed to the house, and he would again repeat it, and say, that the origin of the war was on our part an act of aggression; that many opportunities had since occurred for bringing it to a conclusion, but that they were either lost or converted to no wise use. We were, therefore, still blindly to carry on the war, and to persevere in carrying on the war, and that on a more extensive and expensive scale than before. We were not only to subsidise foreign powers, but we were also to send over bodies of our troops to co-operate in their military expeditions.

Mr. C. W. Taylor, Mr. Jones, and Sir F. Burdett, expressed themselves also against the bill; which was defended by Mr. Buxton.

The resolutions were then read, agreed to, and a bill ordered to be brought in in pursuance of them.

As the resolutions form the most material parts of the Income Tax, it appears proper to insert them here.

RESOLVED,

That so much of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting to his Majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war," as charges any person with an additional duty in proportion to the amount of the rates or duties to which, prior to the 5th day of April 1798, such person was assessed according to any assessment made in pursuance of any act of parliament in force at the time of passing the said act of the last session, be repealed.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, there be charged annually, during a term to be limited, the several rates and duties following upon all income arising from property in Great Britain belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, although not resident in Great Britain, and upon all income of every person residing in Great Britain, and of every body politic or corporate, or company, fraternity, or society of persons (whether corporate or not corporate) in Great Britain, whether any such income shall arise from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, wheresoever the same shall be situate, in Great Britain or elsewhere, or from any kind of personal property, or other property whatever, or from any profession, office, employment, trade, or vocation: that is to say,

One one-hundred and twentieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 60*l.* per annum, and shall be under 65*l.* per annum,

One

One ninety-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 65*l.* but shall be under 70*l.*

One seventieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 70*l.* but shall be under 75*l.*

One sixty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 75*l.* but shall be under 80*l.*

One sixtieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 80*l.* but shall be under 85*l.*

One fifty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 85*l.* but shall be under 90*l.*

One fiftieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 90*l.* but shall be under 95*l.*

One forty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 95*l.* but shall be under 100*l.*

One fortieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 100*l.* but shall be under 105*l.*

One thirty-eighth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 105*l.* but shall be under 110*l.*

One thirty-sixth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 110*l.* but shall be under 115*l.*

One thirty-fourth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 115*l.* but shall be under 120*l.*

One thirty-second part of such income, if the same shall amount to 120*l.* but shall be under 125*l.*

One thirtieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 125*l.* but shall be under 130*l.*

One twenty-eighth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 130*l.* but shall be under 135*l.*

One twenty-sixth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 135*l.* but shall be under 140*l.*

One twenty-fourth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 140*l.* but shall be under 145*l.*

One twentieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 150*l.* but shall be under 155*l.*

One nineteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 155*l.* but shall be under 160*l.*

One eighteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 160*l.* but shall be under 165*l.*

One seventeenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 165*l.* but shall be under 170*l.*

One sixteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 170*l.* but shall be under 175*l.*

One fifteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 175*l.* but shall be under 180*l.*

One fourteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 180*l.* but shall be under 185*l.*

One thirteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 185*l.* but shall be under 190*l.*

One twelfth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 190*l.* but shall be under 195*l.*

One eleventh part of such income, if the same shall amount to 195*l.* but shall be under 200*l.*

And one tenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 200*l.* and upwards.

On the 10th of December, while the income bill remained yet in agitation, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer informed the committee, that he had bargained for the limited sum of three millions as a loan, and reserved the remainder till after Christmas. The following were the terms of the bargain: the 3 per cents. consols were at 52¼; the reduced at 51¾. For every 100*l.* in money, then, was to be given 53*l.* consols, and a proportion of seven-eights of a hundred pounds in the reduced, amounting to 87*l.*

87*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* the value of which in money was 46*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.* The payments were to be made before the month of February, in four instalments; and, as the public service did not require prompt payment, there would be no discount. In lieu of the discount, then, there would be a bonus to the contractor of 13*s.* 4*d.* making the whole of what he received 99*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* less by about ¼th than the market price. Since that period stocks had risen, and the premium on the loan was now 2½ per cent. Thus it would appear, that the reasons for postponing the bargain for the whole loan, at the present period, were founded in prudence. He moved, that this sum of three millions be raised by way of annuities; which was agreed to.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Pitt moved that the report of the income tax be now taken into further consideration.

Sir John Sinclair, after enumerating the different ways resorted to for raising the supplies, said, he knew of none of such tried efficacy and safety as that of the funding system. To this was owing the great splendour of this country; for it was by it we had been enabled to check the ambitious projects of our enemies: but we were now told that the funding system was exhausted, and that it is become impossible to raise large sums of money upon that system, but upon very disadvantageous terms to the public. We were told also, that the plan now before the house was nothing but the charge of the salvage of the property of every human being in the kingdom; that nothing could answer this purpose, but that of raising a large sum of money within the year. In examining the propriety of raising large supplies within the year, a question naturally arose, especially upon such a measure as that which was now before the house, whether the legislature ought or ought not to repeal the assessed taxes adopted last year, and form a new mode upon the old basis? That property, some how or other, ought to be the object of taxation, was manifest. The question would then be, whether the tax ought to be on capital or on income? or, rather, whether they should not be both blended together? He thought, that, if these very extraordinary contributions were to be levied, there ought to be half per cent. upon the capital, and five per cent. only upon income. For his own part, he could not conceive any thing more improper than the plan of making income alone the subject of taxation.

The house would recollect the very able and elaborate speech of the right honourable gentleman in opening this business. He dwelt a great deal on the antiquated notions of Davenant, and the mere guesses of some modern authors, concerning the amount of the income of the people of this country. Suppose the calculation he made was right, that the income of the people of this country was 100 millions, yet it was worth while to examine whether they could afford to pay away one-tenth of that income; for, it should be remembered that this tenth was in addition to all the other taxes which they paid already, and those which they would be called upon to pay.

The next point of objection which occurred to him was, that this measure would cause emigration. If the people of this country were under the necessity of making a disclosure of their property or

or income, and paying severely for that property or income, he was afraid that the consequence of such a system would be much emigration.

Mr. Simeon began by declaring, he should lay aside what had been said rather to raise the passions than to enable the house to form a dispassionate judgment of the measure. The state of the question was, Whether it would be wise to raise the necessary supplies by loans? whether the assessed-tax bill should be continued? or, whether the supplies should be by the mode now proposed? With respect to the funding system, he should be sorry to see it carried to such a length that gentlemen should be able to say we could not borrow any more: the true policy was, to stop before we reached that point; to look forward with sagacity, and to say, we will have recourse to other means. He thought the credit of the country far from being exhausted, though it must be admitted that national credit, like that of an individual, had its limits; and, as the hopes of the enemy were principally placed upon the failure of this resource, he thought it were better not to stretch it to the last shilling The question, then, was, Whether the assessed-tax bill should be continued? Upon this subject he had not heard any one contend that it ought to be. In the last session of parliament he had certainly opposed it, and he had done so from a conviction that it would be destructive of its own end; yet he should rejoice that it had been laid on, if it had ripened and matured the public mind to any other measure which it was necessary to bring forward; and, indeed, he was not satisfied in his own mind that it had not been produced from a depth of wisdom, in order to see what would be the effect of it: though, therefore, he had opposed it, yet, in a political point of view, he should think it was wise, if it was necessary to bring the public mind to the consideration of some other measure. The next question was, Whether this was the proper plan to be adopted? He knew of no other that had been suggested, except the idea which had been stated by the honourable baronet upon property; and here he could not avoid wishing that the honourable member had pursued that idea further, because it would have shown the impossibility of raising one shilling upon property. There were many professional gentlemen who had a splendid income, who had no property, who would escape the payment of a just contribution to our exigencies. He wanted to know whether the honourable baronet would have chosen property in the funds to be taxed? If so, what price, he should be glad to be informed, would he fix for the three per cent. consols? The idea of taxing it was unjust in the highest degree, inasmuch as it might be the ruin of the holder, by compelling him to sell out to an immense disadvantage. The case was quite different upon income. There was an idea that the church and corporation lands might be resorted to: such a proposition he hoped never to hear thrown out; for, upon what principle could the corporation lands be taken? Why were corporations established? To distribute local justice; and which they did administer as regularly, and as well, as it was administered in Westminster-hall; and he believed there was no complaint upon that subject in any part of the kingdom. What had the church lands done? Was it meant to imitate the example of France, who had seized all church property?

property? Were not the clergy the depositaries of the religion and morality of the country? If the means by which that body was supported were taken away, the body itself must of course fall; and anarchy, confusion, infidelity, and atheism, must ensue. The honourable gentleman here entered into a view of the scale proposed for laying a tax on income. It was not the tax that was hard; it was in the cause of the tax—that cause was the war; and until we had peace the hardship must continue. To obtain peace we had done every thing that a great and a dignified nation could consent to do. Compare the hardship of the tax with the hardships endured upon the continent; compare them with those resulting to the countries a prey to the miseries of warfare; compare them to the hardships endured by the inhabitants of Switzerland or Holland; compare them with those recently delivered places which have experienced the friendship of the French. The honourable baronet seemed to fear that the articles of life would be raised so high, that a spirit of emigration would be produced. It should be recollected, that persons of sixty pounds a year would not be at all injured by the tax; and as the honourable baronet had not shown that the price of labour would be affected, he might allay his fears respecting the emigration of the laborious class. For his own part, he had no apprehension that persons of 200l. a year would emigrate. In debating this bill, he was concerned to hear invidious terms made use of, and an idea thrown out, as if the measure was in the nature of the inquisition. This inquisition was to consist of commissioners who would be the most respectable persons, and not be chosen by the crown, but by the grand juries. But the surveyor, it seemed, was to be considered as a spy; by the same rule might the attorney and solicitor general be considered as spies, because they instituted informations against those who misconducted themselves.

He next spoke as to the views of the French. The people of this country knew that they designed to destroy our government, overturn the monarchy, and drive the king from his throne. Besides, the country was now better able to pay the tax than it was. So rapid and great had been the increase of our commerce, that we had not shipping enough to do the business. He approved of the bill.

Mr. M. A. Taylor said, that if he thought this measure would produce all the advantages which his learned friend who had just spoken had said it would produce, he should be one of the first to approve of it. As this was a measure which deeply affected the principles of the constitution of England, he wished it to be gravely and candidly argued, and that no topics of declamation against the tyranny of France, or on the danger of French principles, should mingle in the discussion. He gave notice last session of parliament that he should early in this move for a repeal of the assessed-tax bill, but was prevented by the information he received from the minister himself that he intended to do it. The minister had stated, there were many instances of the assessed-tax bill being shamefully and scandalously evaded. He knew many instances of it himself. This he lamented as much as he held it to be criminal; for, however he might oppose any measure while it was in that house, yet, after it had received the sanction of the legislature, he considered

considered himself, in conscience as well as duty, bound to obey it. The evasion to which he alluded was the more glaring, as it was practised by those who pretended to be ready to give their last guinea for the support of the war. The first objection he had to urge against a tax on income was, that it would cause a general disclosure of property. How was this money collected? By the common tax collector. Secresy in such a case was absolutely impossible. After showing at great length the impossibility of concealing income, he entered into another objection. The genius of the constitution of England was, that a man's property was sacred. It was upon the strength of that principle, that every man's house was called his castle, in this country; it was from that principle that the excise laws had always been held so odious in England. He knew that a tax on income had the appearance, upon a cursory view, of being an equal tax; but, to try this for a moment, he would ask, what sort of equality there was between ten per cent. upon income merely, and ten per cent. upon that income which is the produce of a capital? For instance, let us suppose a gentleman of 6000*l.* a year with two daughters, and that the estate goes away at his death to some other branch in favour of male issue; what does such a man do? He saves as much money as he can to provide for his daughters at his death. Now, suppose another person of the same income exactly, but whose estate devolves upon his children; what is the case with him? Why, he may enjoy the whole of his estate during his own life, and yet leave his children better provided than the other who saves half his income during his life; and yet these two persons, being of the same income, must pay the same money under this bill, viz. 600*l.* a year each. The first great inequality which the present gradation established was, that a man of 100*l.* a year paid 2*l.* 10*s.*, and a man of 200*l.* paid 20*l.*; a man who from 190*l.* increased his income to 200*l.* paid for the last ten pounds 4*l.* 10*s.* or above 40 per cent. If he had increased his income from 185*l.* to 200*l.* he paid 5*l.* for the last 15*l.* If he increased it from 180*l.* to 200*l.* for the last 20*l.* he paid no more than 7*l.* He then proceeded to state more general objections to this measure. He considered a tax upon income as a tax upon industry, and such as would make men unwilling to labour. There was an author who had made a great noise in the world (Mr. Paine), who was prosecuted for his book, a *part of which* could not fail to be brought into his mind by the bill before the house. He was for all these reasons against the motion.

The solicitor-general said, he could by no means concur in the arguments the last speaker had urged against the bill. If, when the legislature were compelled to impose a tax, they were to wait until they found one which was perfectly popular, he was afraid they would wait long enough; for all the observations which, from his situation, he had been led to make, induced him to believe that most people were inclined to evade the payment of taxes. If, however, we were to give this learned gentleman's speech at length, we should repeat the arguments made use of by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Simeon, and others, on the ministerial side of the house. He concluded with giving his vote for the speaker's leaving the chair.

After a few words from Mr. Elli-

son

son on the odiousness of French principles, addressed to Mr. Taylor, he concluded with calling the present a hard measure, but the state of the country called for it; it should therefore be enacted as the law of the land, and not called the insolent act of any minister.

Sir Francis Baring did not rise to oppose the object of the bill. He was not, however, without his objections to several parts of the plan. He especially observed the tenor of the bill with respect to commercial objects; and there he was convinced it would be evaded, and frauds committed beyond any thing it was possible to conceive. A man may have a large income in trade, yet his property cannot be ascertained; and even could it be come at, there are occasions where it should not be touched. The industrious and enterprising should be protected; at least he should not be molested while engaged in producing a capital: when it was produced, let it then be taxed. The manufacturing and trading part of the community would be able to evade the bill still more effectually; for proofs of their annual income, they must be obliged to take stock, and every thing must be valued; it was not to be supposed but they would undervalue it, if by that means they could avoid the operation of the bill; and a very slight deviation from a true valuation was sufficient to destroy the effect of the tax altogether. These were the grounds which made him dislike the measure, and augur ill for its success.

Mr. William Smith began by prefacing what he had to observe, with professing that it was not to the principle of the measure of merely raising ten millions within the year that he had any objection; he was, on the contrary, decidedly of opinion, that it was only by raising a large sum of money within the year the finances of the country were to be preserved. This bill, professedly brought in to assess men equally, was to make no distinction between the man of certain and of fluctuating income, between the industrious and the idle; it was a sweeping bill, that must bear down all ranks and degrees of men before it. He thought the measure unjust, oppressive, and almost fraudulent. An honourable gentleman had stated, that it was precisely the same as that of last year. So far as related to raising a sum of money within the year, it was the same; the principle last year was, that all men should pay according to their means and abilities, provided the sum they paid should in no instance go beyond ten per cent. The person to be taxed declared his means enabled him to pay so much money to the assessed taxes; this was the criterion of what was to be paid. It had been said, we ought to be ready to join in putting our hands to the plough, and promoting the plan; but to this he could never assent; and his ground of objection was, that instead of bringing men equally to put their hands to the plough, it established an inequality in the system of taxation oppressive to the last degree. He would venture to ask, where, on any principle of political œconomy, it had ever been asserted in word, or imagined in thought, or by what political scale it could be considered just and honest, to tax in an equal degree industry and indolence? The principle of the plan went to this point. If it could be proved to be otherwise, then his objection would go for nothing. By this bill, a man in his bed-chamber, who received 500*l.* a year from his capital in the funds,

funds, and a shopkeeper, farmer, merchant, or any man who lived by industry and by active exertions, and made an income of 500*l.* a year, were equally taxed. Were not men of the latter description cruelly used by such a system? If the fact was true, his position was clearly made out, that industry and indolence were equally taxed. A man whose income was in the funds was not asked, whether it was in the permanent funds, or in the short annuities, or in the exchequer annuities which expire in the year 1804. Speaking with respect to the general objection to such a measure as this, the observation of Mr. Adam Smith, author of the Wealth of Nations, was to the effect that taxes should be proportioned to the fortunes of the contributors, and that when imposed on annual income they were unjust, inasmuch as it was that species of fortune which was liable to vary every year, and was in its nature arbitrary and uncertain.

It now remained to be seen what the people of England would support; they had supported a great deal, and he believed, under the present circumstances, were willing to support a deal more; but he did hope they were neither willing nor able to support this bill. He continued to observe, that as 40,000 incorrigible jacobins were supposed to be in the kingdom, the surveyors, in the discharge of their duty, might think it incumbent on them to punish these, and in their zeal might confound the innocent with the guilty. He concluded with saying, if the provisions of the bill were altered, he would be ready to agree to its principle.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was a satisfaction to him to find, that the propriety of raising a certain part of the supplies within the year had, in general, been conceded. He was thus relieved from the necessity of detaining the house with any argument upon that subject, or saying any thing in reply to one solitary antagonist by whom the principle was denied. Whatever authority might belong to that individual member, and no man had more, the worthy baronet himself seemed to rest entirely upon that authority, as he did not add a single argument in support of his position. There were some others, however, who, entering upon the consideration of the subject, with liberal professions of approbation, and a firm conviction of the necessity of great and extraordinary exertion in the cause in which we were engaged, admitting the benefits which might be derived, both in present vigour and permanent resources, from the plan of raising a great part of the supplies within the year, yet thought themselves at liberty, not after full consideration of the whole details, not after weighing maturely the regulations by which this great principle was to be carried into execution and followed up with effect, not after long and sincere endeavours to remedy what was defective, and to improve what was wrong, reluctantly to dismiss the measure as impracticable to the end proposed, but, in the first instance, hastily, peremptorily, and impatiently, had expressed a determination to shut the door against all improvement, and to oppose all further deliberation. Although agreeing in the principle, and aware, as they must be, that a measure of such magnitude and importance must depend much upon the arrangement of details, and the regulations of provisions, they seemed resolved

resolved to check all attempts to bring these points again into consideration. Confessing the necessity of great and vigorous efforts, for the salvation of the country, in which some of them now, for the first time, had tardily discovered that our safety was involved, they did not wait to reject the measure upon any ground of final and invincible objection, but they came forward to resist it in the very outset, previous to a mature examination of its details, and a sincere endeavour to correct its provisions. The honourable gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Smith) approved of the principle of raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year, but he declared himself an enemy to any plan of rendering that principle effectual by a general tax. This house would, no doubt, think this a most valuable concession of the honourable gentleman! If it were necessary for the effort which we were called upon to make; if it were essential to the firm establishment of public credit, to the future prosperity of the empire, to obtain that supply which was requisite for the vigorous prosecution of the contest; it was evident that it must be obtained by a sudden tax immediately productive. If it were impossible, by an increase of the existing taxes on consumption, by introducing evils ten times more severe than those which were imputed to this measure, it was evident that nothing could realise the principle but some extraordinary and general tax. If the honourable gentleman, as he perceived he did, admitted that such an increase of the taxes on consumption, as would produce ten millions within the year, was impracticable, it followed that there was no other mode but a tax upon property, so far as it could be discovered. We must lay the contribution, then, either upon capital or on income. The question then was, whether capital or income be the proper object of contribution? The honourable gentleman said, that capital was the criterion which ought to be adopted in the case of the commercial man; and income, where it was derived from land. Taking for granted, that the principles of the honourable gentleman were well founded, no less than three-fourths of the whole income, liable to contribution, was calculated to arise from this source. Even upon his own argument, then, he ought not to consider this measure as so incurable as to refuse going into the committee. If then he was sincere in his profession of a desire to facilitate the raising of a considerable part of the supplies within the year, why should he refuse to proceed further in a measure which was, at least, capable of embracing three-fourths of his object; and, in other parts, susceptible of alteration and improvement? If, however, what had been so universally recognised as important to be done, was to be done effectually, the great consideration on which of these leading objects it would be most advantageous to the public, and least inconvenient to the classes of contribution to impose this general and comprehensive tax; he was afraid, that to that very plan which he himself thought preferable, those objections on which he rested the desponding hope, that the country neither could nor would submit to the measure, would apply with aggravated force. Every objection, which he so long and vehemently urged against the danger of disclosure, would apply to those new theories of policy on which he would act.

act. The real dispute, then, was nothing but a matter of detail. The greater part of the honourable gentleman's speech was founded upon objections to the provisions of the bill; and many of his objections were either utterly unfounded in any thing it contained, or they were of such a nature as to admit of being corrected in the committee.

He knew very well that the bill went through a committee to get the blanks filled up, without undergoing any discussion in that stage; and that it was intended to submit it, at a future period, to the detailed examination of a committee. The honourable gentleman said, that if two persons had each 500*l.* per annum, one of whom derived his income from land, the other from industry, they ought not to be both taxed equally at 50*l.* He assumed, that each having 450*l.* a year left, the impost was unequal. To complain of this inequality, was to complain of the distribution of property; it was complaining of the constitution of society. To attempt to remedy it, would be to follow the example of that daring rabble of legislators in another country, from whom the honourable gentleman borrowed some of his political principles, and which though he now reprobated he still seemed inclined to follow up. An income of 500*l.* from land might be equal to about 15,000*l.* so that a man was contented to take 3 per cent. for his capital. In funds, according to circumstances, and in the different funds, a man might have five, or even six per cent. If he laid out his capital in trade, and added too his own industry, he got from 10 to 15 per cent. Now, if the proportion was left undisturbed, what was it that formed the encouragement to lay out money in trade and manufactures, but the improved produce derived from industry? This was the incentive which enflamed enterprise, and stimulated ingenuity. To proceed beyond this was to dissolve all established principles, and overthrow the fabric of society, which time, and the progress of accumulation, had reared. With respect to the inequality between the same rate of contribution, for an annuitant and a person having permanent property, he could not but remark, that this argument came rather strangely from those gentlemen who, so often in that house, had pointed out annuities for life, even connected with laborious employments, as, by preference, the proper objects of taxation: he did not mean that sinecures alone were the objects on which they fastened, for sinecures they wished utterly to abolish, and places to which industry and labour were attached, they marked out as deserving an additional weight of taxation.

He concluded with observing, that the consequence of this tax would be, that whoever contributed a tenth of his income under this bill would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The house then divided—for the further consideration of the report, 183; against it, 17: majority, 166.

The following gentlemen voted against the re-commitment of the bill:—

Sir F. Baring,
Sir F Burdett,
J. Brogden,
Sir J. Sinclair,
B. Hobhouse,
J. Wigley,
H. C. Combe,
C. C. Western,
D. North,
G. Tierney,

G. Tierney,
W. J. Denison,
C. Grey,
J. Jekyll,
W. Plumer,
J. Nicholls,
W. Hussey,
Hon. St. A. St. John.

TELLERS.

W. Smith,
M. A. Taylor.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved on the 17th of December, that the house in a committee should resume the further consideration of the income bill.

Mr. William Smith declared that it had been assumed, by many gentlemen, that the measure was approved of by the country: but the country as yet could not know the measure; they had not had an opportunity of being acquainted with it. That day se'nnight the bill was printed, and presented to that house. The country could not have time to express any opinion as to its details, although they might approve of the principle of raising a part of the supplies within the year. The bill was not to take place until the 5th of April, a period of nearly four months distance. He had endeavoured to calculate what time would be necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the bill, and the best judgment he could form was, that it would not require more than six weeks for that purpose.

The speaker said, he was unwilling to interrupt the honourable member, but what he had said did not apply to the question, which was, that the order of the day should be read.

Mr. Pitt observed, that, as the honourable member had given the house reason to apprehend it was his intention to avail himself of its forms to impede the present measure, he could only say he must think it his duty to do the same; and the side of the house on which he stood would, he believed, equally feel that unnecessary delay would prove highly detrimental to the public benefit.

Mr. W. Smith complained that he had been misrepresented. The faculties of the right honourable gentleman for apprehension were as quick as any man's. He could consistently with the forms of the house, speak for half an hour upon every clause, if he pleased, and move amendments if he were inclined to delay the measure. If he were guilty of any dereliction of duty, it would be rather in not opposing impediments.

The speaker then put the question for the house to go into a committee; when, upon a division, there appeared for the speaker's leaving the chair, 116; against it, 3: majority, 113.

The house then resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Smith in the chair. On the motion for postponing the preamble being put,

Mr. Tierney desired to know what reason there was to suppose that the statement therein contained was well founded. [The preamble stated, that under the assessed taxes bill, people were not taxed in proportion to their income, and that frauds and evasions had been practised with success.] He thought the preamble a libel on the people of England, and could not agree to its making any part of an act of the legislature.

Lord Hawkesbury spoke a few words in support of the motion, on the ground of its being a motion of course. After a debate of considerable length, in which Mr. Buxton, Mr. W. Dundas, sir W. Pulteney, the honourable D. Ryder, Mr.

Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Jones, took a part, there was a general call for the question; which, on being put, was carried in the affirmative, that the preamble should be read, and stand part of the bill.

On the first clause, that the assessed taxes be repealed, and other duties imposed in lieu thereof,

Mr. Tierney said, he should oppose this clause, because he considered it as a great breach of faith, inasmuch as it repealed the assessed taxes, which were pledged to a certain extent to pay off the loan of fifteen millions raised for the service of last year. Those who lent their money in that loan did it upon the faith, that it would be paid off in a given time by the operation of the assessed taxes.

Mr. Pitt said, he was happy to have it in his power to relieve the honourable gentleman from any difficulties he might feel upon this subject. In the first place, if there was in reality any foundation for this objection, it could not apply to this clause, because it merely repealed the assessed taxes, and imposed other duties in their room, which other duties the house had undoubtedly the right of disposing of in any manner they pleased.

These observations led to some explanation from Mr. Tierney and Mr. Pitt, and to a few short remarks from sir Wm. Young.

The clause then received some verbal amendments, and was agreed to.

When the clause for taxing in an equal manner all persons possessed of lands, tenements, and hereditaments of life and temporary estates, and every kind of income arising from personal property, and from trades, professions, offices, employments and vocations, was read,

Mr. Wigley rose, and urged that he was averse to the clause, because the principle on which it proceeded was, that let income arise from what source it would, whether it was permanent or not, the persons possessing it paid equally. If this was merely a tax for one year, he should not have felt himself bound to object to it in so strong a manner, but would have considered it merely as an immediate contribution. The evil, he admitted, would have been less, because its duration would have been limited; but, when he clearly saw it was intended to continue some time, or rather become a *permanent* revenue, he could by no means assent to it.

After a debate of considerable length, in which Mr. Dent, the solicitor and the attorney-general, Mr. Tierney, lord Hawkesbury, sir John Anderson, Mr. Robert Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, sir G. P. Turner, and Mr. Wigley, bore a part, the chairman put the question on inserting the words "office, stipend, pension," which was carried. The question on the scale of charge, and other parts of the first clausse, were afterwards put and carried.

On the 22d of December, the house went again into a committee upon the income tax. In that part of the trade clause which gave the trader an option of returning the income of the year, or an average of the three years, Mr. H. Thornton said it was the object of the bill, if possible, that a man who had a fluctuating income should pay to the exigencies of the state in the same proportion as the person who enjoyed a stated income. To prevent evasion he proposed, that when a person had once made his election, whether he should pay according to the full amount of profit within the

preceding year, or for an average of three years, he should not be at liberty afterwards to vary the election he had made.

Mr. Alderman Combe said, that he certainly must object to that alteration, for it went to an entire departure from that principle of alleviation which he always thought that clause contained. To his mind, the greatest objection to the bill was, that uncertain and temporary income was taxed to the same amount as permanent income, and the precariousness of the income of traders was greater than that of any other class of men. He thought, therefore, the option at first given to traders of selecting the income of the last preceding year, or on the average of three years, was meant by the framers of the bill to correct, in some measure, the inequality of its operation with respect to those who must endure much hardship by it. He hoped, therefore, that the committee would permit that to remain as it stood, viz. that the option should be annual.

Mr. Thornton and the chancellor of the exchequer explained. This was not the idea, but only that an option was given to a trader, &c. to decide whether the average of three years, or the last preceding year, was the best criterion of his income; but this option was not annually to be made, but to be fixed at the commencement.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to adopt the words from the bill of last year, that the retail shop-keepers should deduct two-thirds of their rent; the remaining third it might be supposed that they would pay for their own accommodation; which was adopted.

The schedule being gone through, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that, having already opened to the house the general nature of the new clauses which it was his intention to offer, he should not now enter into any detailed explanation of them, particularly as the clauses seemed to meet the general concurrence of the committee. There was one material clause, however, which had been deferred, and which he had not yet explained; he meant the clause for granting certain modifications in the cases of children. It was his intention to move, that the modification to be granted in these instances should be carried beyond the modification allowed last year under the bill for the assessed taxes. In that act no allowance was made for children under the number of four. From four the scale rose to eight, and from eight to ten. He thought, that, in the present case, it would be preferable to grant an allowance for each child, descending so low as one. The presumption which this deduction proceeded on was, that children did make a very considerable addition to the expense of a family, and by so much diminished taxable income: It was clear, at the same time, that the expense of children was greater in the proportion to small incomes than in the higher classes of income. Upon this principle the scale of modification was regulated. He should propose, therefore, that from the lowest rate of income comprehended in this bill, 60*l.* per annum, up to 400*l.* the allowance should be five per cent. for each child; from 400*l.* up to 1000*l.* he should grant four per cent; from 1000*l.* to 5000*l.* three per cent. and, not to swell the modifications with any unnecessary distinctions, two per cent. for all above 5000*l.* The report was then ordered

ordered to be taken into further consideration on Thursday.

On the 27th of December the committee of the house was resumed, to take into consideration the report of the income bill.

Sir William Pulteney said, he had always been of opinion that the war should be carried on with the greatest vigour and effect, and that the utmost energy ought to be displayed to save, not only this country, but Europe; but, however desirous he was of supporting the war, yet, with regard to the present bill, there were many things in it which required to be distinctly understood and maturely considered. It appeared to him that the liberty of any country consisted in three points; security of life, security of personal freedom, security of property. These were the three great points in which the liberty of a nation consisted. Under the first, namely, the security of life, when he considered the power of grand juries, who, in all cases, had this point before them, except those of a military nature; and when he considered the many excellent regulations that subsisted with regard to treason, he was ready to say there was no complaint to be urged upon the first point of national liberty. With regard to the second point, namely, personal liberty, certain it was, that while the habeas-corpus act remained suspended, that was in some measure abridged, but for a temporary and particular purpose that might be submitted to. But, with regard to the third branch of national liberty, namely, security of property, he questioned whether any part would continue if the bill now before the house passed into a law; and it was upon this ground that he hoped for the attention of the house. After giving the history of taxation in England, he proceeded: Bread, for instance, had no tax; milk was not taxed; vegetables were not taxed. This mode of taxation had been found to be a great protector to the property of the country; but, when parliament had sanctioned the scheme of a minister, and allowed him to have recourse to means of taxation which gave no option to any body, it gave sanction to a new system of taxation, and which would give away much of the controuling power over taxes. It might be said, that it was extremely difficult to find out articles of consumption upon which taxes could be imposed. He was ready to acknowledge the truth of that assertion; but he was very far from wishing to abandon the system on that account. It was a great check upon executive government; it made them careful and provident of the public money, and made parliament active in examining what were the best modes of raising large sums of money. After enlarging on this objection against the tax on income, he concluded with stating this bill as dangerous in its very nature to the principles of the constitution of England, and that it attacked its vitals.

Mr. Ryder said, as far as it was regular to advert to what had occurred on a former debate, he conceived that the opposition of the honourable member was, that the measure tended to establish a species of inquisition in the country. Every objection against this bill, as to its not being optional, was applicable to the bill passed last year. He certainly did not pretend to be deeply read in the financial history of the country; but it must occur to gentlemen that poll-taxes, tenths, fifteenths, and subsidies, were le-

vied in former times, and that the same objection would apply to all those taxes; but this might be said to refer to a period when the science of finance was not properly understood. There was one tax which was coeval with the existence of the Christian religion in this country: he meant tithes, which raised from three to five millions a year, and which were not optional. And he would observe further also, that they were more liable to one of the objections of the honourable baronet, that of not making a sufficient distinction between high and low, for they made not any distinction in that particular. What would the honourable baronet say to the whole system of the poor laws of this country, which were upwards of three millions a year, not a shilling of which was optional on the party on whom it was imposed? Look at the taxes imposed since the present century. The land-tax was not optional; it made no distinction of classes; it made no difference between the poorest and the richest landholder. There were many other taxes which were not optional. A tax which had been adopted after the example of Holland, which next to this country had been the best governed in its finances, the tax upon collateral succession, was not optional. A man might, to be sure, live upon bread and water-cresses; but it would be mockery to say, that it was at his option whether to pay taxes or not, because it was impossible to support existence in that manner. Upon the whole, the consideration of this question had impressed upon his mind, that it was the only mode that could be adopted with perfect equity, and with a probable hope of reaching that great end which all had in view. He defended the bill in all its regulations.

In the course of a long debate, which it would be tedious to detail, the following gentlemen were for the bill, viz. Mr. H. Browne, lord Hawkesbury, sir James Pulteney, and Mr. H. Thornton. The following were against the bill, viz. Mr. Jones, Mr. Dent, Mr. Wm. Smith, sir Francis Baring, and Mr. Martin. Several amendments were read and agreed to.

M. Pitt said, that, from the lateness of the hour, and from the nicety of several points which still remained to be discussed, it was his opinion that the further consideration of the report should be postponed.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, on the 31st of December, that the income bill should be read a third time.

Mr. Nicholls said, he could not allow the bill to pass without giving it his negative. If it was fair that the scale should rise from 100*l.* a year to 200*l.* it was equally fair that the scale should rise from 200*l.* upwards.

Mr. Abbot said, there were some things in the bill in its original shape which occasioned some hesitation in his mind, but, in the course of the alterations it had undergone, his objections were removed. It seemed now to be the decided opinion of the people of this country, that a great part of the supplies should be raised within the year. Last year considerable progress had been made in the application of it by the assessed tax bill; and, with regard to disclosure of income, in Scotland all transactions respecting real property, and many with regard to personal property, were publicly registered. In Ireland,

Ireland, the same practice prevailed in case of real property. In the counties of York and Middlesex it existed to a considerable extent.

The attorney and the solicitor general both defended the bill; and Mr. Elliot and Mr. Tyrwhitt supported the measure as highly creditable to the spirit of the country, and as the most effectual that could be adopted to confound the hopes of the enemy.

The question was called for, and the house divided—Ayes 93; Noes 2.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed a variety of clauses, by way of riders to the bill.

On the second of January Mr. John Smith, accompanied by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Long, and a great number of members from the house of commons, brought up the income bill from the house of commons. The bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

The order of the day for the third reading of the income duty bill, (Jan. 8) being read, and the question put, the earl of Suffolk urged, that in one point of view he rather approved of the principle on which the bill had been brought forward, inasmuch as it would have the effect of preventing the nation from rashly embarking in expensive wars, by showing them the consequences; and, on this ground, it would be well for the country if the measure had been proposed at the commencement of the war.

The bill in itself he thought a measure of intolerable oppression. From landed property it professed to draw a tenth, but instead of that it drew at least a fifth. When the house considered the effect of certain taxes lately imposed upon landed property, his calculation of 20 per cent. would be easily made out. He referred, in the first instance, to the duty upon salt, which, in certain parts of the country, took at least four per cent. from the proceeds of land; that made 14 per cent. The charge of bailiffs, stewards, and other peculiar expenses which gentlemen of landed property necessarily incurred, was at least three per cent. more. By a particular provision of the bill, farms occupied by the owners were charged in an extraordinary proportion, the effect of which, if calculated, would, in addition to what he had already stated, increase the deduction to at least 20 per cent. Besides all this, there were the operations of the poor rates, which pressed with accumulated force in certain parts of the country, particularly in places where there were commons, which generally abounded with paupers.

The earl of Liverpool said, the noble earl laid much stress upon the effects of the additional salt duties. They certainly bore with considerable weight on those parts of the country where cheese was manufactured; but it was equally notorious, that the maker repaid himself by the advanced price of his cheese. Tithes had nothing to do with the present question, and the poor-rates were equally a distinct consideration. A similar argument would apply in other cases where the produce of land became peculiarly liable to the effect of taxation. He recommended to the noble earl's recollection, the large sums that were raised in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, through the medium of landed property, respecting which the then proprietors made no particular complaint, though they fell severely upon the land-holder.

By the provisions of the bill, the

most satisfactory redress was furnished for the grievance complained of. All charges falling under the head of practical improvements; all disbursements coming within the average expenses of the year; all reasonable allowances for extraordinary losses; and even a part of the regular charges incident to landed and other property, were expressly entitled to deduction from the gross amount of income.

Lord Holland opposed the bill in a very long speech. There were three points of view in which this bill was to be considered, and in which it was defended by its advocates. It was said that a measure like this fairly exposed to the people their true situation, and did not delude them; that it was a better mode of raising the supplies than by a loan imposing permanent taxes upon the public; and thirdly, which was a reason more political than financial, that it was calculated to undeceive the enemy respecting the state of our finances. With respect to the first of these he stated, that the bill itself was as great a delusion on the people of this country as ministers had ever practised in the course of their administration.

It was stated to be a repeal of the assessed tax bill; but many people were not aware that a considerable sum of money would still be collected under that very act which was now to be repealed. With respect to the point, that this mode of raising the supplies was preferable to a loan with permanent taxes—he remarked that the sums paid last year by the public amounted to about thirty-two millions. The whole income of the country was estimated at one hundred and two millions, and he thought that this statement was exaggerated. Was it to be expected, then, that the sums to be collected by this tax could be raised without encroaching more or less on the capital of individuals, and so impairing the national wealth, and enfeebling all the means of reproduction? Upon this subject he could appeal to a book of great authority; but he was afraid that the authority would be taken away, as the person who wrote the book to which he referred had now changed his opinion. [He referred to Mr. Eden's Letters to Lord Carlisle, 1779.] In that work the disadvantages arising from any large tax were stated with great force and elegance. His lordship read a passage from this work, which stated that large contributions, by encroaching upon the capital of the country, threatened to affect the produce of taxes upon consumption; to cause a defalcation of the existing revenue; and to compel the state to have recourse to new taxes to make up the deficiency. He urged nearly the same arguments that have been urged by the other members of opposition in both houses of parliament, and upon the whole concluded, that the bill was attended with so many disadvantages in its operation that he gave it his decided negative.

Lord Auckland rose, and replied to the quotation from his Letters to Lord Carlisle in 1779.

Lord Grenville said, that though he was fully satisfied that every thing that had the shadow of an argument against the bill had been completely refuted by his noble friend (lord Auckland), yet he could not help rising to remind the noble lord who had been reading lessons of propriety to the house, that he should not be himself so frequently the first to infringe those very rules which he was now so anxious to enforce.

Whenever

Whenever that noble lord (lord Holland) spoke upon any subject, he scarcely ever failed claiming a right to answer, and that not in a few words, by way of explanation, but in another long, regular and detailed speech. This was a mode of proceeding which irresistibly called for some animadversion, and the manner in which the noble lord had alluded to him was surely an unjustifiable breach of order. It was not, however, usual with him overrigorously to urge the orders of the house, especially from any selfish motives; but he owed it to the house, and the house itself was bound to see its long established rights and rules duly respected—well remembering *moribus antiquis stat Roma*.

Lord Holland rose once more to say a word or two in explanation. He retorted all the accusation of infringing the orders of the house on the secretary of state.

Lord Fauconberg said, he had first viewed the bill with a jealous eye, and therefore gave it a very minute investigation; but when he also attended to the exigencies of the state, and to the general calamities that hung over Europe, he could not but admire and commend the firm, resolute, and undismayed conduct of those who had framed the measure in question, and brought it to its present state of perfection; a measure of finance which was to convince the enemy that our resources equalled our necessities, and that the spirit of the nation, far from being repressed by it, would under its influence be stimulated to higher enterprises, and raised to a higher pitch of force than ever it essayed or attained in any known period of our history. He should therefore most cordially support the bill.

The duke of Bedford rose towards the conclusion of the debate. He entered into a long and most able detail relative to the measure then before the house, and exhorted them to weigh and consider, before they read the bill a third time, whether it was a just and rational measure. At this period of the business it cannot be expected that many new observations should be brought forward; and as our limits compel us to avoid a repetition of similar arguments, we shall only say, that the most pointed objections to the bill were placed by his grace in a very strong, and many of them in a novel point of view. He thought that a tax might be found equal to the exigency of the moment, and not liable to any of the objections which were justly advanced against this bill; he meant a tax upon successions, not merely collateral but lineal. This was not his idea, but the suggestion of a noble friend, whose abilities that house had often had occasion to witness, particularly on points of finance (the earl of Lauderdale). The duke then said he had nothing more to add than his thanks to their lordships for the indulgence they had shown him; and having done so, he immediately quitted the house.

The lord chancellor left the woolsack, not, he said, to follow the noble duke through all the detail of the bill that he had gone into, because the discussion of the particular clauses of the bill, which he had canvassed with great ingenuity, could only have been of use or advantage in that stage of the bill that the house had passed, viz. when the bill was in a committee; when alterations might have been made, if the suggestions of the noble duke had impressed the committee sufficiently

ficiently to have induced them to think them as important, and as necessary to be attended to, as the duke appeared to have thought them. He rose merely to take some notice of the general assertions of the noble duke, in which he placed so much confidence. His lordship then defended the bill upon the same grounds as the servants of the crown in the other house.

The question was at length put, and the contents had it without a division. The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

On the 11th of March, Mr. Pitt rose in the house of commons to say he had several amendments to propose to the Income Bill. In the first place, there was to be proposed an amendment, providing that the returns of income should be delivered sealed up, to be only opened by the commissioners themselves, who were to make the assessments, or by clerks duly appointed by them. Also, as to the qualification of the commissioners in certain places. Also, with respect to the power of the commercial commissioners of the city of London, who, in case their assistants did not act, were to have power to appoint further assistants. Also, to allow a moderate discount for prompt payment. And also to remove some verbal inaccuracies in the schedule, without making any alteration in the spirit or fair sense of it. And finally he should propose that day fortnight for making the returns. He then moved that it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to explain and amend the said act. Ordered.

The house being in a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up his amendments.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird pointed out some inaccuracies in the scale of assessment, such, for instance, as that with an income of 199*l.* per annum, better by about eighteen shillings than that of 200*l.* by reason of the latter being brought into a higher scale of duty than the former. He proposed to amend the whole scale on this account.

Mr. Pitt opposed it, on the ground that this minute and fractional accuracy would perplex the computations too much; an evil which the house on former discussions had agreed to avoid.

After a few words from sir James Pulteney, sir John Sinclair, and the chancellor of the exchequer, the amendments were agreed to.

The order of the day was read on the 18th of March, for the third reading of the Income Amendment Bill. Mr. Pitt moved to fill up the blanks respecting the time of making returns, with the words the 5th of April, instead of the 25th of March; which was agreed to.

The bill, having undergone all its amendments, was passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords; where also after a short discussion it was passed; and afterwards received the royal assent.

In pursuance of the plan laid down of deferring the bargain for the whole of the loan, Mr. Pitt on the 22d of February proposed a vote, that three millions be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills. His motive arose from a persuasion that a considerable advantage to the public service might be derived, by delaying for a time the negotiation of the loan. This, however, was liable to variation from circumstances, and a short period might render it advisable to conclude a bargain. His object was, to have power to conclude or defer a bargain upon that subject, as circumstances might render expedient; for which

which purpose he was now about to apply for the authority of the house. He then moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of three millions be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills;" which vote was accordingly ordered.

The next business of finance was brought forward on the 7th of June by Mr. Pitt. The resolution which he had to propose was, that the sum of 825,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to enable him to make good his engagements with Russia. He should state that as the precise sum necessary for defraying the expense of 225,000*l.* to be advanced as preparation money, and for defraying the monthly expense of 75,000*l.* for eight months, or to the end of the year. The committee was, he presumed, aware that there was an addition to this, after the conclusion of a peace by mutual consent, of 875,000*l.* per month, but the sum of 825,000*l.* was the only specific vote which in the present state of affairs it was his intention to propose. He proposed a vote of credit of three millions, to be employed in such a manner as might be best suited to the objects of his majesty, exclusive of the vote of 825,000*l.* to Russia. He concluded with moving, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of 825,000*l.* be granted to his majesty to enable him to make good his engagements with Russia.

Mr. Tierney said, no man would feel himself more happy than he should in complying with any motion to repel the inordinate ambition of France; but before he voted away the money of the country, he expected to hear the object defined which ministers had in view.

Mr. Windham supported the motion of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Tierney; when the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative.

Mr. chancellor Pitt then moved, that the sum of three millions be granted to his majesty, to enable him to make good such further engagements as his majesty might deem it expedient to enter into.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Bragge in the chair,

Mr. Pitt rose and said, some of the articles which he should bring before the committee were new, but the principal were fresh in the recollection of gentlemen. It was, however, his duty to recapitulate the supplies, and to lay before them the ways and means to which he intended to have recourse to provide for the expenditure. In the first place, with respect to the navy, gentlemen would recollect, that in stating the article of service which first presented itself, and which he had to notice last December under the head of the navy, the estimate amounted to 10,920,000*l.* The ordinaries in that branch of the service were then calculated at 693,000*l.* the extraordinaries at 729,000*l.* and the transport service at 1,300,000*l.* so that the estimate, with a small addition which afterwards took place, amounted to a sum total of 13,653,000*l.* for the year 1799. The estimate was formed before it could be judged, with precision, how far the calculation of 7*l.* per man per month would be sufficient to answer the object proposed. But it appeared, on making up the accounts to the 31st of last December, that there had been a diminution and saving of no less importance than 903,000*l.* in that article. The accounts were made out; and from the

the experience which we had already had, he was justified in stating, prospectively, that a further saving of 500,000*l.* might be expected in the course of the year. He was therefore to deduct these two sums of 903,000*l.* being a diminution of the navy debt, and of 500,000*l.* which was expected to be saved; and the total sum of the supply, to answer every exigency of this important branch of national exertion, would be 12,250,000*l.* being less by 1,403,000*l.* than the estimate for December.

The next article of supply, he observed, was the army; and he had to remark, that no alteration was to be proposed with respect to the sums voted in December, in the committee of supply on the estimates then furnished, making a total amount of 8,840,000*l.* He also stated, at that time, a vote of credit for one million would be necessary; and the extraordinaries for 1799 as not likely to exceed two millions. But with a view to employ to advantage any offensive force, as opportunities might occur, he proposed that the estimate of the army extraordinaries might be increased to two millions and a half, which would give a total sum of 12,340,000*l.*

The estimate under the head of ordnance stood in December at 1,570,000*l.*; and there was no necessity to make any alteration in it at present.

The charge for miscellaneous services, under the head of plantation estimates, remained, as it was stated in December, at 600,000*l.*

RECAPITULATION OF THE SUPPLIES.

Navy	£.13,653,000	
Deduct diminution of navy debt, and saving expected in 1799	1,403,000	
		12,250,000
Army		8,840,000
Vote of credit 1798		1,000,000
Extraordinaries, 1799		2,500,000
Ordnance, exclusive of sea service		1,570,000
Miscellaneous services		3,264,351
Deficiency of land and malt		498,000
Subsidy to Russia		825,000
National debt		200,000
		£.30,947,351
Vote of credit for 1799		£.3,000,000

The interest due to the bank, on exchequer bills and treasury bills, amounted to 565,180*l.*; but it was now 100,000*l.* less.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to notice the deficiency of ways and means; and to state the specific items, in order to enable gentlemen to form a balance between the different statements. The discount, on the prompt payment of the loan, was stated at 211,000*l.*; and that on exchequer bills, in 1798, at 300,000*l.* However, the general deficiency

deficiency of ways and means might be taken at 500,000*l.* It would be observed also, that credit was taken for the assessed taxes, the voluntary contributions, and the tax on imports and exports. The whole sum was estimated at seven millions and a half; but the produce was only seven millions, and there was consequently a deficiency of 500,000*l.* The produce of the assessed taxes was nearly four millions; and the voluntary contributions, without including India, produced two millions. The voluntary contributions from India amounted to the sum of 300,000*l.* It was not now necessary, he said, to notice the imports and exports; but there had been an increase of 520,000*l.* The next article to which he did not allude in December, but in which there was no deficiency in the general statement, was the unsatisfied services of 1797. They were formerly deducted out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and he could now state them positively at 699,000*l.* There was also another new sum to make good for certain services unsatisfied of 303,000*l.* and some small articles on the charge of the commissioner for managing the national debt, amounting to 30,000*l.* In addition to the deficiencies of land and malt, estimated at 350,000*l.* there was a further increase of 148,000*l.* making a total deficiency in that article of 498,000*l.* The subsidy to Russia was precisely fixed at 825,000*l.* and the annual addition to the sinking fund for the discharge of the national debt was 200,000*l.* The vote of credit was proposed to the amount of three millions; but, on account of the issue of the exchequer bills, he should not add that sum to the supply. The amount of the supply brought forward at Christmas was stated at 29,272,000*l.*

He next proceeded to state the articles of the ways and means. Last Christmas, he had mentioned that the growing produce of the consolidated fund was likely to be affected by many burdens and charges in arrear; and yet he was now happy to mention, that a considerable surplus was applicable to the supply. In one instance 699,000*l.* had been provided for by a vote; two quarters had been paid, and two quarters of the six, which it was supposed would remain, had actually passed. In looking at the actual produce, and making good all charges, and computing the surplus of the consolidated fund up to the latest period, he was enabled to form a very different statement from what he formerly did. He took it last December, allowing for all considerations, at 1,500,000*l.*; and there was, at present, an actual surplus of 521,000*l.* in the quarters of January and April: so that there was, in fact, an augmentation of 1,700,000*l.* beyond what he stated, on conjecture, last December.

When he was come to the income tax, he said he might at all events remark, that, whatever might ultimately happen, he should not be justified from the present circumstances in taking credit for more than seven millions and a half as the produce of that tax. The amount of an instalment on aid and contributions in 1798 was 700,000*l.* but now, as it should be at 650,000*l.* it would, when added to the seven millions and a half, give the sum of 8,150,000*l.*; but as it was liable to pay the interest of the loan of 1798 for one half year of the sum of 8,000,000*l.* a deduction for that purpose must be made from it of 240,000*l.*

240,000*l.* and also a year's interest of 5*l.* 7*s.* per cent. on eleven millions, amounting to 588,000*l.* which would leave the sum applicable to the supply at 7,300,000*l.* The first loan was for three millions, and the second for twelve. He then proceeded to a

RECAPITULATION OF THE WAYS AND MEANS.

Sugar, tobacco, and malt		£.2,750,000
Lottery		200,000
Surplus of consolidated fund in January and April 1799		521,000
Growing produce of ditto		3,229,000
Exports and imports		1,500,000
Ten per cent. on income	7,500,000	
Instalments on aid and contributions, 1798	650,000	
	8,150,000	
Deduct half-year's interest on eight millions, 1798	240,000	
Ditto one year on eleven millions at 5*l.* 7*s.* per cent.	588,000	
	828,000	7,300,000
Loan first		3,000,000
Second *		12,000,000
		£.31,000,000

He next called the attention of the committee to the circumstance, that there was no provision made for the exchequer bills to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* as he left them ultimately to be funded, and expected that they would be so on more advantageous terms. The arrangement appeared to him in every point of view more economical and prudent than in adding 3,000,000*l.* to the loan. He next stated the terms of the loan. The usual mode of receiving offers by fair and open competition had been adhered to. The proposal was made to the competitors of taking 125*l.* in the 3 per cent. consols, and 50 in the reduced, and it was accepted at the price of the day considerably less than the actual value of 100*l.* Three of the most respectable houses agreed to pay for 125*l.* in the 3 per cent. consols, 69*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.* and for the reduced 28*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, making 97*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.* which, with the benefit of the discount at 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* gave 99*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.* Instead of *bonuses*, which had been the customary practice, the present bargain had been concluded in a manner unexampled with respect to real advantage.

He had the satisfaction to state, that the interest to be provided for by new taxes was no more than 315,000*l.* The principle which he proposed to go upon, as the foundation

* 300,000*l.* besides was borrowed for Ireland.

dation of the whole system of finance, was the same which he offered to parliament last year, that there should be no loan contracted for during any year greater than what the amount of the sinking fund could pay off. By the operation of this fund, the whole of the loan that was now to be raised of fifteen millions and a half would be finally paid.

RECAPITULATION OF THE NEW TAXES.

	£.
750,000 * notes annually, at 2*d.* each, would be 62,000*l.* but, in a matter of so much uncertainty, suppose only	42,000
British sugar left for home consumption, one million seven hundred thousand cwt. at 8*d.*	56,000
Clay sugar from the British plantations, in addition to all duties, 200,000 cwt. (estimated) at 4*s.* per cwt.	40,000
British plantation sugar exported; with-hold 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. of the drawback, in addition to 4*s.* now retained on 358 cwt. East-India sugar exported, 76,000 cwt. at 6*s.* 6*d.*	62,000
Foreign plantation sugar exported, 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on 111,000 cwt.	14,000
Refined sugar exported, 4*s* per cwt. of the bounty now payable to be with-held on 196,000 cwt.	39,000
Coffee exported in 1798, exclusive of Ireland 327,000 cwt. at 4*s.*	65,000
	£.318,000

Our trade, Mr. Pitt added, had never been in a more flourishing situation. The permanent taxes of the present year exceeded what they were last year, when they amounted to the sum of 14 574,000*l.* a sum greater than was ever produced in the most flourishing times of peace. So far from the raising of the supplies within the year being a detriment to the wealth of the country, the imports of the last year were much greater than those of any former year, they amounted to twenty-five millions, whereas those of the year 1797 amounted only to twenty-one millions. A similar augmentation had taken place in the exports, both of home and foreign manufactures. The latter, in the year 1797, amounted to twenty-eight millions; the last accounts that had been made up stated their amount at 33,800,000*l.* It was only necessary to bear a pressure for a short time, and he had no hesitation in saying that we had ample means to meet this pressure. Supposing the consolidated fund to go on as it had done for some years past, and there should be no extraordinary rise in the stocks, it would in the year 1808 arrive at its maximum. The period from the present to that time would be an interval of great stress upon the country; but it would not be difficult to provide taxes for eight years. Here Mr. Pitt entered at considerable length into a detail of calculations,

* It is supposed there are notes under 40*s.* value circulating in the northern counties, to the amount of 400,000*l.* chiefly of 20*s.* each.

lations, which went to show that the whole of the national debt might be extinguished in the space of thirty-three years of peace; that, supposing the war to continue ever so long, it could be carried on without the creation of a new debt.

Mr. Tierney asked, what provision was made for paying the interest on the three millions borrowed for Ireland?

Mr. Pitt replied, that the annuities for the three millions raised for Ireland were to be provided by the Irish parliament, and that in fact it was no other charge on this country than by its increasing the amount of the capital created.

Mr. Bragge, on the 13th of June, brought up the report of the committee of supply. The resolutions were then agreed to.

Mr. Pitt, on the 24th of June, moved the following resolutions:

For the service of Ireland	£.3,000,000
Extraordinary services of the army for 1799	2,500,000
Transport service for 1799, and for the maintenance of the prisoners of war at Hull	1,307,200
To make good the sum that might be awarded under the seventh article of the American treaty	60,000
To enable his majesty to grant indemnification to lord St. Vincent and sir Charles Grey, for the decrees of the court of admiralty relative to certain captures, &c. in the West-Indies	35,000
To Mr. Ashton and others, executors of Robert Rees, broker, being the amount of the sums due from said Rees on the first payment of the loan of seven millions and a half which he had forfeited, not having made such payment	4,235

The report was ordered to be received on the following day.

The house then in a committee of supply agreed to a resolution that 34,145*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* the surplus of the sum voted for the extraordinaries of the army, 1798, should be applied to defray the expenses of 1799.

Mr. Tierney, on the 20th of June, in consequence of notice he had given, brought forward several resolutions relative to the finances of the country. The first resolution related to the national debt, and it was extracted from the report of the committee of finance. The fifteenth resolution estimated that the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain, in the year 1799, was 19,448,553*l.* The sixteenth resolution intimated, that the gross receipt of the revenue amounted in the year ending the 5th of January 1799, to 26,039,046*l.*

The twentieth resolution stated, that, supposing the war to end with the year 1799, the 3 per cents. to remain on an average at 70, and the tax on income to produce seven millions and a half per annum, the sum of 35,250,000*l.* together with the interest payable thereon, would not be redeemed before the month of November, 1808.

Upon the twenty-first resolution Mr. Tierney observed, that, supposing the war to end with the year 1800, and the same sum to be borrowed on the credit of the tax upon income for the service of that year which has been raised for the service

vice of the present year, viz. eleven millions, and to be funded in 3 per cents. at 60, the total amount of stock to be redeemed would be 53,583,000 *l.* together with the interest payable thereon; and estimating the produce of the tax on income to be 7,500,000 *l.* per annum, and calculating the 3 per cents. to remain on an average at 70, such redemption would not be completed before the month of November 1806. The probable annual expenditure during the first five years and a half of peace would therefore be upwards of thirty-three millions—exclusive of any charges to be incurred for sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, exclusive of any increase in the naval or military establishments beyond those of the last peace, and exclusive of the interest payable on the *imperial* loans.

After reading his twentieth resolution, he observed, that, if he was rightly informed, the produce of the income tax would not be six millions. If one gentleman had failed more than another, it was the minister in his estimates. He first took the income tax at ten millions, then at seven, till at last he got down to four millions and a half. But, when he heard the language held by ministers, he saw the importance of the people looking at the real state of the country. Those gentlemen forming the present administration expressed a wish to overthrow the present government of France; he therefore thought it absolutely necessary to do something that should shew the people the actual state of the finances. The result of all those resolutions was, that in seven years we had *doubled the national debt*; that we had *doubled the permanent taxes*; that by unprecedented good fortune we had seen the revenue amount to a sum beyond even the minister's most sanguine expectations; that, at the rate we were going on, we had, in this one year, to meet an out going of sixty millions; that, if peace should arrive at the end of the year 1799, the peace establishment to November 1803 must amount to 33 millions; but, if war should continue to the end of 1800, that there then must be an annual outgoing during the first six years after the peace of 33 millions. Above all, was there any man who loved the constitution, that did not feel the danger in which it must be involved from the total transfer of the property of the country? He saw the middle ranks giving up many of their comforts; he saw the upper ranks likely to be born down by new men. If ever there was a measure which went to the transfer of property, it was the tax upon income. This expenditure made men change all their former habits, or drove them to seek for an equivalent where they never dreamt of seeking one. In the present parliament, it was well known, that no seats were purchased, and no boroughs sold; but in former parliaments we knew that it had been so, and that it might be in future. There was nothing more respectable than the English merchant; but he should be sorry to see all in the house of that description. The operations of the right honourable gentleman tended to raise men suddenly. Where there were popular representations, some good might be done; but in close boroughs, which were formerly (though not in this parliament, as he had before said) sold, the purchasers would all be from the city of London.

In opposition to Mr. Tierney's

resolutions, Mr. Pitt proposed a series of his own, and moved for time to have them printed.

M. Tierney said, he had no objection to the delay proposed; his principal reason was, that, as he had been favoured with a copy of the resolutions to be moved by the right honourable gentleman, he found there was very little difference between them. The right honourable gentleman's alterations might be considered rather as additions than amendments. They had taken different points of view, but he did not think their difference of statement considerable. This being the case, he was desirous that the right honourable gentleman would agree to both sets of resolutions being entered upon the journals. He (Mr. Tierney) admitted that the right honourable gentleman's figures were accurate, and he did not find that his were considered wrong Every man must form his own opinion, and nothing could better enable them to do so than being able fairly to compare the two sets of resolutions. The rt. hon gentleman assumed different data, and drew different conclusions; particularly in the mode of viewing the amount of the national debt, as in 1793 and 1799, and the amount of the income tax: variations that necessarily gave a variation in the results. Still, however, he found all his own figures among those of the right honourable gentleman; surrounded, indeed, in such a manner that he found it difficult to recognise his own children.

On the third of July the subject was revived, when Mr. Tierney contended, that it was the last thing he should be inclined to do to say any thing to excite despondency in the people of this country; but, when he heard such extravagant notions as had been set forth by the minister respecting the prosperity of the country, he thought it right to promote a little sober reflection. After adverting to the first resolution respecting the national debt, he said, Mr. Pitt had contended, that the money which had been raised for Ireland could not be considered as a burthen upon England. He contended, that money advanced for Ireland was as much as incumbrance upon this country as the money advanced to the emperor. With respect to the sinking fund, there was no man in the house who gave Mr. Pitt more credit than he did; he always thought it the brightest feature in his character. He then asserted, that much of the prosperity of this country proceeded from the crippled state of France and Holland; and it was equally clear, that, after the war, a considerable part of our trade must revert back to those countries. In speaking of the probable expenses after a war, he had compared the first five years after the conclusion of this war to the first five years after the conclusion of last war; but Mr. Pitt had objected to that comparison, and had stated that there were charges at the conclusion of the last war which would not occur at the conclusion of the present, such as the allowance to the American loyalists: but it appeared to him that expenses of a similar nature would probably occur after the present war; for, if the nobility and clergy of France were not restored, he supposed the generosity of parliament would not leave them entirely without support. Mr. Tierney then adverted to the amended resolution which respected the amount of the tax upon income, which Mr. Pitt stated at 7,500,000*l.* (not that he himself believe

lieved it would amount even to that sum), although the act applied ten millions from this source for the service of the year. This was not the only instance in which Mr. Pitt had been mistaken: the preceding year the assessed taxes, which had been estimated at seven millions, only produced four and a half.

M. Tierney contended, that Mr. Pitt had made gross mistakes in his calculations of November last year. He had stated the profits of trade at 15 per cent. but he had been well assured that it was upon an average much less. Again, the commercial interest in London, who had espoused the principle of this tax, had led Mr. Pitt to expect the amount of income derived from commerce would be about four millions; whereas, by his subsequent statement, the amount was only stated at two millions; while the country interest, on whom the weight of the tax principally fell, would pay nearly to the amount of the sum at which they had been estimated. After adverting to the 3 per cent. stock created in 1788, Mr. Tierney observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer had argued on the supposition that he (Mr. Tierney) had calculated that the 3 per cents. would not rise above seventy in time of peace.

On the motion of Mr. Dundas, on the 12th of March, the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of the accounts presented to the house respecting the revenues arising out of the East Indies. It might appear singular, Mr. Dundas observed, that he should bring forward in 1799 that statement of the East India revenue which properly belonged to the year 1798. That statement, however, was necessary to be made before the house could properly come to the consideration of the estimates which had already been submitted, or see how far they had been realised. The committee must be acquainted with the result of former calculations, in order to make out a ground for the observations which he should have to offer. He then went to show that the present arrangement brought the view of the company's affairs within a narrow compass, and that they were divided into two parts. First, what might be properly called India accounts, as pecularly regarding the state of India itself; secondly, the home accounts as respecting particularly the company's concerns here. Under the first of these heads were to be found a financial statement of the condition of the respective places: accounts of the expenses incurred; the amount of the debts in India; a deduction of the general surplus not applicable to the payment of these debts; the sums which remained to be expended; with many other items in the estimate not necessary for his immediate purpose to specify. The first head that presented itself was that of Bengal, under which would be seen three descriptions of accounts. First, the average revenue for the last three years; second, a comparison of the estimated with the actual produce; third, the average estimate for the ensuing year.

These accounts we have abridged in a general view, as follows:—

Result of the year 1796—7 collectively.

Revenues.	Bengal	5,703,906	
	Madras	1,996,328	
	Bombay	315,937	
			8,016,171
Charges.	Bengal	3,862,942	
	Madras	2,408,492	
	Bombay	841,825	
			7,113,259
Net revenues of the three presidencies			902,912
Deduct supplies of Bencoolen, &c.			101,190
Remainder			801,722
Deduct further interest paid on debts.			
	Bengal	352,325	
	Madras	37,040	
	Bombay	37,482	
			426,847
Net surplus from the territorial revenues			374,875
Add the amount, sales, imports, certificates, &c.			381,938
Amount applicable to purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.			756,813
Amount actually advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of the China investment,			
At Bengal		1,202,394	
Madras		642,048	
Bombay		286,913	
Bencoolen		18,183	
			2,149,538
Exceeds amount applicable from revenue as before			1,392,725
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1796—7 with charges			1,877,432

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of estimates 1797—8 collectively.

Revenue.	Bengal	5,743,848	
	Madras	2,334,676	
	Bombay	319,101	
			8,397,625
Charges.	Bengal	3,893,991	
	Madras	2,482,858	
	Bombay	844,050	
			7,220,879

Net

Net estimated revenues of the three presidencies,	1,176,746
Deduct supplies of Bencoolen, &c.	85,840
Remainder	1,090,906
Deduct farther interest on the debts	576,775
Add	514,131
Estimated amount, sales, imports and certificates, &c.	500,336
Amount estimated to be applicable in 1797—8 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.	1,014,467

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	7,146,084
Amount this year	9,294,539
Increase	1,148,455
Debts transferred in the year . . .	544,402

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year	5,590,142
Amount this year	7,479,162
Interest of debt bearing interest	1,889,020
Amount of interest payable by accounts of last year	419,345
Amount of interest payable by accounts of this year	576,775
Increase of interest payable annually	157,430

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, &c. last year	8,958,669
Ditto by the present statements	10,531,145
Increase of assets	1,572,476
Deduct increase of assets from the above increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs of India is worse by	575,979

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales		6,053,401
Less than last year	2,108,908	
Difference in company's goods alone	1,434,488	
Private-trade more than last year . .	30,746	
Remaining difference in sale of Dutch goods		

Sales of company's goods estimated at	6,282,282
Actually amounted to	4,718,822
Less than estimated	1,556,060
Receipts on sale of company's goods estimated at	6,555,116
Actually amounted to	5,946,468
Receipt less than estimated	608,648
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at	196,000
Actually amounted to	115,802
Less than estimated	80,198

GENERAL RESULT.

Balance at the close of the year 1797—8 expected to be against the company	1,836,320
Actual balance in consequence of issue of bonds, of aid by loans, and of smaller payments for freight, &c. than expected, was in favour	540,646
Making the balance of cash better than estimated	2,376,966

ESTIMATES 1798—9.

Receipts for sales of company's goods	5,905,927

RESULT.

After calculating on a payment to the bank, amounting to 800,000*l.* and a large sum for freight, without reckoning an increase of capital, issue of bonds or loans, the balance against the company on 1st of March, 1799, expected to be	1,318,937

DEBTS AT HOME.

In March 1797	7,918,559
In March 1798	7,288,692
Decrease	132,069
Assets at home and afloat on the 1st of March 1797	12,476,719
Ditto on the 1st of March, 1798	13,213,370
Increase	732,597
Adding increase of assets to the above decrease of debt, the state of affairs at home appears better	1,366,322

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance in China last year in favour	279 250	
Ditto this year against	718,945	
Difference at China against		998,195
Balance at St. Helena last year	56,463	
Ditto this year	54,248	
Decrease at St. Helena		4,215
Less at China and St. Helena		1,002,410

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		2,148,455
Decrease of debts at home		631,765
Increase of debts		1,516,690
Increase of assets in India	1,572,476	
Increase of assets at home	734,557	
Deduct	2,307,033	
Balance at China and St. Helena less	1,002,410	
Net increase of assets		1,304,623
The increase of debt, or the general state of the company's concerns, was, in this view, more than at the close of the last year		212,067
Add charges of four ships from Bombay, arrived in time for insertion in the home accounts		201,153
The total then was		413,220

In speaking of the Madras estimate, he observed, that, though the net charge for the last year amounted to 412,103 *l.* this might be accounted for from a variety of causes which increased the usual charges in that quarter; they were, however, principally to be attributed to the reinforcements which circumstances made it advisable should be sent from home, and the expeditions fitted out there for our conquests in the east.

Having gone through the whole of the India accounts, as far as regarded the state of affairs abroad, and observed that from these reports it appeared, that, of the average for three years, the last was the worst, he proceeded to read the estimate of the state of affairs at home. At a future time he should have occasion, he said, to observe more at large upon this subject, and should now content himself with remarking, that the balance was in favour of the company, as far as respected the produce of their sales at home; but, upon the whole, taking a general view of the state of their affairs at home and abroad conjointly, it was worse by 413,220 *l.* than it

was as the close of the last session of parliament. He said there was a further sum of 200,000l. which did not appear on the face of these accounts; but the reason of that arose from some circumstances that attended the quickness of the passage which some of the ships had homeward There was a disputed article of a debt of a million due from the nabob of Arcot. For some time the East-India company were trustees for the payment of the debts of the nabob of Arcot to certain creditors. On the breaking out of the war, the company appropriated the whole of his revenue to the expenses of it; but all these creditors having since been annihilated by act of parliament, the nabob demanded the money so appropriated back again, as having been, while the matter was in dispute, a debt To this the company said, "No: the money expended for the purpose of the war you have no claim upon, or at best it was but a loan." Before this claim was established, it was impossible that it could come into the statement of the company's affairs; and though it appears upon the account now, it must be considered that it was no *new* debt, and, in fact, could not be included as a defalcation in the produce of the last year. So far otherwise, indeed, that, instead of being worse, the company's affairs would be six hundred thousand pounds better than last year, were not this million included.

The next point to which he called the attention of the committee was one, he said, of much importance. The trade of the company he was fully persuaded was greater than it was able to bring home to this country. If what was denominated a clandestine trade was suffered to exist, and that the produce of our settlements in the East Indies was suffered to be transported in neutral bottoms, it was a circumstance that required the united abilities of every gentleman in parliament to investigate and prevent.

He concluded by moving his first resolution, founded upon the statement which he had submitted to the committee.

Colonel Mark Wood observed, that Ceylon was not in the account like the other parts.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that it was in the account; but he begged the committee to remember, that the accounts, in general were made of estimates arising upon an average of three years, but Ceylon had not been in our possession for three years.

The resolutions were then put and carried in the usual form.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Amended Bill for the Redemption of the Land-tax. Debates on this Bill: Regulations respecting Ecclesiastical Property and Corporations. Amended Bill for Scotland. New Arrangements respecting the Militia, Volunteer and Provisional Cavalry. Debate on the Slave Trade.

OF the minor debates which took place in the course of the session but few are deserving of notice; among these, however, the new act respecting the sale of the land-tax is one of the most important, as a matter of general regulation. On the sixth of December the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the act of the last session for the sale and redemption of the land-tax should be read. The act being read accordingly, Mr. Pitt then rose and said, that, as various difficulties had occurred in executing the act of last session for the redemption of the land-tax, it was his intention now to move for leave to bring in a bill to render the said act more effectual, and to give greater facility to the execution of its provisions. This additional facility was, in the first instance, the object of the new bill. These difficulties were of various complexions. Some complained that the time granted to the proprietor, to purchase his tax, was too short; but, among the intended regulations, one of the first would be to allow an extension of the time now limited for the redemption. He likewise thought it advisable to make certain provisions for enabling persons to make contracts in sums of money for the redemption of the tax. There were also persons who possessed estates in different counties, and by the last bill such persons were enabled to charge their property in one county, in order to redeem their land-tax in another. This point, in his mind, involved no difficulty; but it still gave rise to some objections among the commissioners, which he was now desirous to remove. It was another leading object of the new bill to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and persons possessing property devised for lives and on long terms, and who had no claim to the same benefits as persons enjoying entailed estates; he doubted not but a mode might be devised of extending the advantage of the act to such persons. Some objections also had arisen respecting the inequality of assessments of different parishes; it was even supposed, and perhaps upon just grounds, that there existed some inequality in the assessments of different parishes, some of which it was alledged were now rated at more than their fair quota. That some persons had been over-rated, might be true; it was therefore his wish to allow them a *pro rata* reduction, in consideration of their being so over-rated. In such cases also where a re-assessment had taken place, he intended to propose that such persons as had redeemed their land-tax should not be liable to any additional assessment. He then concluded, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the provisions of the bill introduced last session for that purpose.

Mr.

Mr. Jones said, he was not surprised that the minister now applied for alterations upon the bill of the last session, as he had shown so much disregard to the many solicitations that had been made to him to postpone it for some little time; but *No* was the answer which he always returned to those solicitations. It might be said, that a few alterations would render the bill acceptable; but, in his opinion, no alterations could remove what was objectionable in it. We had it from high authority, that the measure had already been productive of the happiest consequences; yet the house was now told, that the bill could not go on as it stood. Indeed he felt so much, and so keenly, for the landed interest, that he could not but consider the present measure as a blow aimed at it in favour of the monied interest; nor could he help adopting the opinion and the words of an honourable member, that, between the landed and the monied interest, property was about to change hands; for the measure now proposed he had no hesitation in denominating *the child of inordinate power*.

Mr. Pitt said, that he was not more surprised at the asperity of language used by the honourable gentleman, than at the incoherency of his arguments. It appeared from what he advanced, that the honourable gentleman has as little attended to the provisions of the act, as to the beneficial effects it had produced throughout the country. After a short debate, wherein Mr. Jones argued against the bill, and Mr. Burdon for it, the motion was then put, and leave given to bring in the bill.

Mr. Pitt on the seventh of December brought up the bill, and it was read a first time.

On the question for the reading, Sir John Sinclair wished for delay. He thought a measure of so much importance to the country, and which had met with so much opposition in its origin, demanded to be seriously and deliberately discussed by that house.

Mr. Ryder thought the proposition of the honourable baronet a singular one; for this matter was amply discussed when it was before the house last year, and this was only to give a facility to carrying into effect what parliament had already approved, and so, he believed, had the great bulk of the country. He thought the wish of the house must be to interpose as little delay as possible.

Mr. Pitt said, he should propose that the bill might be read a second time the following day, and printed for the purpose of filling up the blanks. He concluded with moving that it might be printed; which was accordingly ordered.

Mr. Hobart brought up the report of the bill for explaining and amending the act for the redemption of the land-tax, on the 8th of December, and it was read a second time.

Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day, on the 13th of December, for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the said bill. The question being put, that the speaker do now leave the chair,

Mr. Jones said, it was of very little use for so helpless an individual as himself to say any thing upon this bill, after the marked, manifest, and avowed indifference of Mr. Pitt towards every thing that was said against the measure. This bill was said to be a measure to give effect to the former bill; and so, indeed, the preamble indicated.

cated. He called the bill that passed last year an unconstitutional measure. He believed he was borne out in that assertion by the best authority. He meant De Lolme on the Constitution of England; who stated, that the land-tax, if made perpetual, might be applied to the payment of a standing army. He should say no more, but leave the bill to the country to consider whether it was good or bad.

The speaker then left the chair; and after various clauses were offered by Mr. Pitt, and adopted by the committee, who went through the bill, the house being resumed, the report was received immediately, read, and ordered to be taken into further consideration on Monday.

The order of the day being read, on the 17th of December, for the further consideration of the report of the land-tax amendment bill, a great number of new clauses were added to the bill.

Mr. Pitt said, that as it was of the utmost consequence that dispatch should be used in passing the bill, he should propose the third reading of it the next day, if it should be engrossed; which was agreed to.

On reading the order of the day, on the 19th of December, upon the said bill,

Sir John Sinclair asked whether there was an account of the expenses of carrying this act into execution; or, if not, whether there was any estimate of the expenses likely to be incurred.

Mr. Pitt said, that a motion to that effect was made some time ago; the account was forthcoming; but the house must be aware, that the accounts could only be collected from the different persons throughout the country employed to carry the act into execution, and that it was impossible to obtain it yet.

The question being put, upon the third reading of the bill,

Sir John Sinclair said, that he felt the strongest repugnance to this bill when it was introduced; those objections had not been removed; that, however, it was not his intention now to detain the house with observations on the general policy of the bill; but there were some points of considerable importance, not only in this bill, but also in that which was connected with it—he meant the tax upon income; he could not suffer the opportunity to pass of making some observations; because, if the plan for the redemption of the land-tax had been established on proper principles, and had been carried properly into effect, there would have been no occasion for the present projected tax upon income. Ever since the plan for the redemption of the land-tax had been thought of, he was of opinion, that the land-tax should be sold for ready money, and it would have produced the ten millions which the minister proposed to raise by the tax upon income, and would supersede the necessity of that tax. The consequence of this measure was to make every gentleman farmer a gentleman stock-jobber; and instead of being a proprietor of land, he would become a proprietor of funds. The landed interest, he should have hoped, would have known too much to have been taken in this way; they could only gain five per cent. for their capital under this measure; whereas, by the due culture of their land, they might gain from seven to ten per cent.

Mr. Ellison said, that if a proper selection of commissioners had been made, the bill might have been

been executed without any, or but a very trifling, expense.

Mr. Pitt then produced a great number of clauses, which were read and agreed to.

After a short debate, wherein Mr. Ryder, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir W. Geary, and the speaker, took a part, the bill was passed.

This measure was soon after followed by another, for regulating the sale of the land-tax on ecclesiastical property; and on the 11th of March Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day on the bill for facilitating the redemption of the land-tax by bishops, &c. and corporate bodies. The order being read, he moved that it should be an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to amend both the acts upon the subject; which, being agreed to, and the house being in a committee,

Mr. Pitt brought up several amendments, which were agreed to. The amendments were ordered to be printed.

On the 13th of March, a clause being read to prevent any appeal taking place after a contract had been entered into, some conversation arose between sir William Pulteney and Mr. Pitt.

Sir William Pulteney put a case to show the injustice that might arise from the operation of the clause—it was that of a man who might be supposed to obtain, by improper means, the reduction of the land-tax. This person, immediately after such reduction, might enter into a contract to purchase his land-tax; and by availing himself of this contract, and of these reduced terms, he might occasion an increase in the assessments of other persons, who, in this case, would be deprived of the benefit of an appeal, merely because the person above mentioned had entered into a contract to buy up his land-tax. This, surely, would be a gross and flagrant injustice. He said, that a gentleman of his acquaintance would be a loser by the present clause to no less an amount than between 2 and 3,000*l*.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged there might be some weight in the honourable baronet's objection; but, in his opinion, it might be easily removed by the introduction of a provision to the following import, viz. that in cases where any reduction had taken place in any man's land-tax within three years before he had entered into any contract to redeem it, a power of appeal should lie against any such reduction for three years after any such contract had been entered into.

Mr. Simeon thought that, without such a modification, the clause would in several cases be extremely grievous. In corroboration of sir William Pulteney's observation, he mentioned a circumstance which had come to his knowledge, and which though he was not prepared to prove at the bar of the house, yet it was one that he could insist upon with full confidence that it was founded in truth. The circumstance he alluded to was the case of a magistrate, who, he believed, before the tax passed into a law, but yet while it was in contemplation, had contrived to get into his possession the books of the parish, which enabled him to make out a new set of books, in which he took occasion to make a considerable reduction in his own assessment in the parish where he possessed a large property, and thus had increased the assessments of the other parishoners. The old books were supposed to have been destroyed.

Mr. Ellison thought the magistrate

trate who had acted so scandalous a part, instead of being cautiously alluded to in that house, ought to be dragged before the court of king's bench. The house then divided on the clause: for it, 34; against it, 4: majority, 30.

The provision respecting appeals, suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer, was then introduced, and the other clauses gone through; after which Mr. Pitt gave notice, that, from the urgency there was of passing the bill before the holidays, and from the anxiety with which many of the parties interested in it waited to see it pass into a law, he should be obliged to move that the bill be read a third time on the morrow.

Mr. Pitt, on the 15th of March, moved the order of the day for the third reading of the said bill. The bill was then read a third time; on which

Sir William Pulteney stated several cases of individual hardship, which would be necessarily effected by some of the clauses as they now stood Public utility, he said, however pressing, could never warrant an act of injustice, and was nothing more than the principle acted upon in France, and the ground on which all her enormities were sought to be justified. As to the object of the bill, which was avowedly to aid the funds, he would never consent that the treasury of England should become a species of stock-jobbing system to raise the funds.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the bill had branched out beyond the limits to which he thought it might have been confined, and for that reason the preamble was defective; to remedy which, he proposed that the preamble should state these words: "and to explain and amend the said act." This amendment he moved, and the house agreed to it.

Sir William Pulteney entered at considerable length into objections against parts of this bill, and proposed an amendment, the object of which was to allow three months for hearing certain appeals under the provision of the former act. This amendment was set aside, to make way for another proposed by Mr. Ellison, which was, to leave out of the bill the whole of the clause for appointing by the crown seven commissioners, to judge of the value of the land-tax belonging to ecclesiastical dignitaries, and to corporations, &c. This clause he contended to be wholly unconstitutional, and, like the *Delphic oracle*, to catch both ways—and, he was sorry to say, catch where it ought not.

Sir John Sinclair seconded the motion.

Mr. Pitt defended the propriety of the clause, as a measure for the benefit, instead of the injury, of church and corporation property. This clause, and the appointment of commissioners, had no reference at all to the ordinary business of the land-tax. The amendment was then put, and negatived.

Sir W. Pulteney's amendment was then discussed, and opposed by Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Simeon took this opportunity to correct, in part, the statement he had made with respect to a magistrate. It was well known to those who knew the individual to whom he alluded. In stating what he did, he had only said he was informed that the former books of rate had been *burnt*. He had since found that they were not burnt; that they were only *cancelled*. He wished to correct the errors of his former statement; for he wished to say, not only

only what was *essentially*, but also what was *literally* true. It *did* appear that these books were *cancelled*, and that certain persons joined with that individual in that act; whether fraudulently or only erroneously, he should not say; for one of the individuals implicated in the imputation had submitted to a course which would make his character the subject of judicial examination.

The question was then put on sir Wm. Pulteney's amendment, which was negatived without a division. The bill was afterwards read a third time, and passed.

Mr. W. Dundas moved, on the third of April, for leave to bring in a bill to amend so much of the acts for the redemption of the land-tax as far as they related to Scotland, and likewise to extend the time, and to empower the proprietors of certain estates to sell a part of these estates for the purpose of redeeming the land-tax. In consequence, a bill was brought in and passed.

Some regulations were also made respecting the military force of the country, which it is necessary briefly to notice.

On the twentieth of February Mr. secretary Dundas called the attention of the house to the military force and internal defence of this country. He highly extolled the late act passed for increasing our internal strength, and the zeal of all descriptions of people in it, who had thus baffled the designs of foreign enemies and domestic traitors. His object, he said, was to provide some additional regulations, which would be highly beneficial.

The late act of parliament for raising certain militia corps was limited to the 10th of February, owing to many causes, amongst which was the late inclemency of the weather. There were many raised that had not an opportunity of meeting; and, considering how far they might extend their services, he should wish to enlarge the time to such future day as might be deemed necessary. Another point referred to the state of the militia force; it had been tripled of late years, and calculated at the number of 106,000, but they had not actually amounted to this, though such had been the estimate: the whole amount was about 250,000 men. Believing this force was fully adequate to the security of the country, he should not propose its augmentation; confident that it was not in the power of the enemy to make any serious attempt on the island where we were so happy as to live: but, as there were numbers of men wanted for the purpose of manufacture and agriculture, he should be sorry that more should be brought out of the militia than were absolutely needed. He wished to allow a discretionary power to the commanders of the regiments under the lords lieutenants of the counties, respecting the balloting for the remainder which was deficient.

The volunteer cavalry was now near 30,000. It was a force which did great honour to those who were engaged in it: they afforded the best means of defence. They were a body of men, who, from their education, were best qualified to judge; from their property, most likely to feel; and, from their habits, to have an affection for the constitution of their country. He trusted that those gentlemen, whose discipline became as much the object of praise as their zeal was of admiration, would not find our government had relaxed because the

kingdom

kingdom was become safe. Without wishing to take any further steps with regard to the provisional cavalry, he had only to move that the last act might be read, that he might afterwards bring in a bill of amendment.

This being granted, he moved for leave to bring in a bill for reducing the number of militia forces in England.

Colonel Wood was of opinion, that, instead of diminishing, it would be better to increase them to the full number of 100,000; and, as it was desirable to afford as much relief to the country as possible, a mode might be devised to allow the old and well-disciplined men in the militia regiments leave of absence for a given time, who would not only be fit for duty, but furnish that supply for industry and agriculture which the prosperous state of the country required.

Mr. Buxton approved of the reduction. As to the mode proposed by colonel Wood, he doubted the practicability of it.

Lord Sheffield doubted whether it was in the power of the crown to call forth the supplemental militia under the act; which being read, he proceeded to state, that they were to be called out only in case or danger of invasion or insurrection; and, if Ireland was threatened, it would be an argument for keeping up the full number to supply the place of those sent to the sister kingdom. He wished the country to be relieved from the burthen of providing for the families of persons serving in the militia, which in many cases amounted to 12s. on rack rents; nor did he think it necessary that the yeomanry and volunteer corps should assemble so often as formerly, as their discipline might exist without it.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, he could not conceive what was meant by 'illegality' in calling out the supplementary militia. The act gave the king the power. It was after his majesty's intention had been notified to the house by a message, that they had been called out, and it was under the authority of the house that they now served. As to the yeomanry, surely the expense of 90,000*l.* for 30,000 cavalry, at the rate of 3*l.* per man a year, for keeping up their accoutrements, &c could not be considered as an expensive bargain; and most of the volunteer corps cost nothing.

Lord Sheffield explained. He by no means meant to lop off the allowance of 3*l.* per man, nor that they should be put on any footing to exempt them from being called upon when wanted.

Mr. Burdon thought offensive measures would be more advantageous. Economy was good; but it was important that we should be prepared for offence as well as defence, and the reduction of part of the force proposed might be applied to the augmentations of the regulars, by allowing the militia to enlist into the latter.

Sir James Pulteney agreed that the importance was great of an offensive force. The bill allowed a limited number to enlist; and, though that did not succeed so well as could have been wished, the principle ought still to be followed up. He was well aware that the opposition to this measure arose from the commanders of militia regiments, from a laudable wish to retain the men who made a good appearance under their command; but he did not doubt but their feelings would give way to a higher sense of public benefit.

The safety of Ireland, and with it

it that of the empire, had perhaps been owing to the volunteer offers of the militia: but it was not fit that we should rely merely on a volunteer army; we ought to have a transportable force; and though from a battalion of 5 or 600 men many could not be spared, yet, as the regiments amount to 1200, a few might be taken from this corps without inconvenience.

Leave was given to bring in the bill for reducing the militia and regulating the provisional cavalry, which accordingly passed in the course of the session.

The old subject of the slave trade was again agitated, and with the usual success. On the 1st of March Mr. Wilberforce again introduced the subject to the house of commons, and began by observing, that it was with great pain he proceeded to the execution of the duty in which he was now engaged: not that he reluctantly bestowed any time on this great subject, which had been so fully and so frequently discussed in that house, the slave trade. So long as he was cheered under his labours by the hope of ultimate success, he had never fainted for a moment; but the recollection of the past afforded him a discouraging prospect for the future: it was now eleven years since he had first pointed out the system of wickedness and cruelty with which he was at war, to the indignant reprobation of the house and the country. For some time, though he did not attain his point, he had seemed to make some progress towards it; and in 1792 the house appeared determined that the trade should be permitted to exist only a few years longer, merely for the purpose of enabling planters to fill up vacancies in their existing gangs. But when the year 1796, that promised year of jubilee, arrived, the house had forgotten its engagement. Apparently unconscious of what had passed, it suspended the decisive blow, and in the following year it even put out of its own hands in some manner the office of ending this shameful traffic, which had subsisted by its sufferance. The colonial legislatures, not the parliament of Great-Britain, were now to determine when the slave trade should cease; and with grief he must declare he now almost despaired to see the abolition effected by a British parliament. The colonial legislatures neither could nor would enforce the system of reform, to render the further importation of slaves unnecessary, and thus by degrees make way to its termination. First, let the means be examined which were to effect this object: a law was to be enacted prescribing the quantity of food and clothing which the slaves should receive; the labour to be exacted, the nature of their habitations, the due degree of medical care, of correction, and of punishment. It was easy to draw up an act in which all these particulars should be accurately stated; but to enforce it was a very different matter: and indeed the reasonableness of it might well be questioned, as the particulars must be varied according to the infinitely varying circumstances of different plantations. But, in fact, it was useless to argue against these regulations, because they were impracticable; for would it be endured in any free country, and especially in one where the evils of slavery gave more than common sensibility of the value of liberty, that a constant scrutiny into all the particulars of domestic arrangement should be established by law? How would Englishmen bear the idea of any

any person having a right to examine into the detail of their family œconomy? It would be vain, it would be contrary to the feelings of human nature, to expect that such a system should be carried into effect. But what was the temptation held out to induce the planters to adopt it? what was the premium? In the hopes of a great reward, perhaps, they might commit a violence upon their natural feelings; but the temptation, the premium, was the very thing which they deprecated as the greatest of all evils. An *abolition* of this trade! Was it therefore to be imagined that these planters would submit to the most odious restraints, the most invidious inquisitorial regulations, for the purpose of accelerating what they most of all wished to retard and defeat? The assembly of Jamaica had spoken out, and put the point at issue out of controversy. For his own part, he respected them for so doing; they had acted more honourably in declaring their determination never to assist in abolishing the slave trade, than if they had disguised their sentiments to appear to co-operate with the house of commons. In the conclusion of their address to his majesty they declared, that, in the legislative measures which they should introduce for the benefit of their slaves, they were actuated by *motives of humanity only, and not with any view to the termination of the slave trade*. "The right of obtaining *labourers* from Africa" (for such was the softening phrase by which they were willing to conceal the evils which they resolved to perpetuate) "it secured to your majesty's subjects in this colony by several British acts of parliament, and several proclamations of your majesty's royal ancestors. They, or their predecessors, have emigrated and settled in Jamaica under the most solemn promises of this assistance; and they can never give up, or do any act that may render this essential right doubtful." These words, Mr. Wilberforce remarked, were followed by a hint, not the most decent, concerning the condition of their allegiance to the crown. All this might seem strong, but it was no more than what had been contended for by their agent, Mr. Lewell, in a preceding year. He had maintained that the slave trade ought to be continued, not to fill up the deficiencies of the existing gangs, but to bring into cultivation all the land which remained to be settled. In fact, it was for the formation of new settlements, not for the maintenance of old ones, that this traffic had been carried on for many years past; and when it was considered that we had now begun to settle on the continent of South America, there were no limits to the demand for slaves which would be required. The house might see the immense extent of it even in Jamaica itself. The whole island was said to contain 3,500,000 acres; of this 700,000 acres were actually cultivated, and three-fifths, or 2,100,000 acres, still remained to be so. Now, as Jamaica had been in the habit of importing slaves for a century past, and during that period had imported above 600,000, two or three centuries more must elapse, and near 2,000,000 slaves be imported, to satisfy the demands of this single island. It was strange that men could contemplate such a prospect with complacency. The assembly of Jamaica was not without its expedient, and a curious one it was: when some reflections were cast on their humanity for encouraging the African trade, they said that there appeared a great mistake on that subject, and, in fact, "it seemed

seemed not to be understood in Great Britain, that the inhabitants of the West-India islands had no concern in the ships trading to Africa; the African trade was purely a British trade, carried on by British subjects; in short, the planters only bought what British acts of parliament had declared to be legal objects of purchase."

Thus the office of terminating the slave trade was transferred by that house to men who declared, that, although theirs was the profit, the guilt and shame belonged to England! And could such men be expected to abolish it? Whatever stress had been laid on arguments, used by himself and others, to prove that the islands could not be injured by the abolition, this had never been the primary motive; the grand object was, to end the complicated, numerous, and extensive evils which this detested traffic produced upon the continent of Africa. He did not mean to expatiate upon, but he must remind them of, the cruel ravages which desolated the shores of an immense tract of earth. Under the special protection of a British parliament, wars were excited between nation and nation, between chieftain and chieftain: innumerable were the acts of individual depredation: the princes of the country were rendered the oppressors and destroyers of the districts which naturally looked up to them for protection; the administration of justice was corrupted; crimes were fabricated, and convictions multiplied, to increase the supply of slaves; the aged and the infant, male and female, all ranks and conditions, were affected by this wide-wasting calamity. Security was banished wherever the slave trade was known; intestine broils and deadly feuds were carefully fomented and kept alive; every appetite was stimulated, every bad passion inflamed! What a spectacle was here exhibited! Even granting (what he did not grant) that the West-Indian cultivation might suffer some injury by a humane change of system, ought we, for the sake of a few little specks as it were in the midst of a distant ocean, ought we to diffuse misery and desolation throughout an immense continent, one-fourth perhaps of the habitable globe? It had been received as an indubitable truth, that civilisation first spread itself over the coast, and thence made its way into the interior: but some gentlemen from Sierra Leone found the very reverse to be the truth; and their accounts were confirmed by those of later travellers. Upon the coast, whereon the slave trade prevailed, where the natives had been in constant habits of intercourse for 200 years with the most polished nations of Europe, from one end of it to the other, all was brutal darkness, ignorance, and barbarism. But in the interior, where the face of a European had never been seen, they were two or three centuries further advanced in civilisation. Large cities were found, beasts of burden were used, the use of letters was known, books were held in estimation. Even there, however, the fatal influence was felt of a connection with our European world, the state of society being in some degree affected, and in proportion vitiated, by the demand of slaves upon the coast. There indeed we were only known as corruptors and destroyers. In proportion to their intercourse with us, they were depraved, and exhibited a humiliating combination of all the vices of polished society with the brutalities of savage life! There was one consideration which arose out of the critical

critical situation in which this country was placed: we were engaged in a war with a nation which had cast off all regard to those sacred principles which almost all men professed to venerate; we had declared that our conduct should be a contrast to theirs; yet, to the comparative disgrace of Great Britain, it must be told, that, with whatever crimes France was blackened, and with whatever motives she had acted, she had *abolished the slave trade*—whilst we, acknowledging that it was an unjust and cruel traffic, contrary to every principle of religion and dictate of humanity, yet support it, and cleave to it; and, even when we have cast it off, return to it with more earnestness than ever. If there was an over-ruling Providence, must we not expect to feel the fatal effects of this hardened continuance in acknowledged guilt? He did not indeed expect that the intervention of Providence would be marked by hurricanes and earthquakes; but there was an established order of things, a course of events, a sure connection between vice and misery, which, through the operation of natural causes, worked the divine will, and vindicated the moral government of the Supreme Disposer of all human events. They who would look to the present state of the West-Indian islands would see a plain comment on this text: an immense island, which contained 500,000 slaves, was now in the power of those very blacks who but lately had been in a state of slavery. What but the infatuation produced by vice and selfishness could render the island of Jamaica insensible to the danger which threatened to overwhelm it? Surely the inhabitants might well wish that the abolition had passed eleven years ago; in which case, 200,000 fewer negroes would have been brought into the West-Indies to increase the inequality of the white to the black population. Yet they continued to add to the disproportion, from every man's regarding his momentary interest, and blinding himself to the fatal consequences. Would the negro leader, who but a few years ago was himself a slave, endure to see whole cargoes of his countrymen brought to an island under his eyes, and, merely on account of their colour, sold into a state of the most degrading and lasting subjection? Would he not conclude, that, by suffering this system to extend without opposition, it might in the end endanger his own authority, and reduce him and his adherents to their former wretched slavery? Mr. Wilberforce said, that he would only suggest one more argument to elucidate the unreasonableness of the house being satisfied with leaving the abolition to the colonial assemblies by means of internal regulations: take the code enacted above a century ago; many of its provisions were very humane, and the enforcement of them was committed to the king's procurer, who was more likely to carry them into execution than an equal in a land of equals, where it is invidious to assume a censorial authority. The system of the Spaniards was in several particulars still more mild and beneficent. If Grenada had its Grenadians, they also had their protector of the Indians; and the Portuguese exhibited very amiable instances of their attention to the comfort of their slaves in their directories. But had all these regulations produced any practical effects? had they rendered the slave trade unnecessary? In fact, positive laws of this kind could not alter the state of society, and the moral order of things. For himself, he had performed

formed his duty; he solemnly protested against the consequences which might follow from the continuance of the present system. He washed his hands of the blood which might be shed, both in the eastern and western world. He conjured the house to give the finishing blow to practices too long continued under their connivance: even those who steeled themselves against the claims of justice, and the feelings of humanity, must perceive that no other measure but the immediate abolition of this trade could interpose a barrier against that ruin, which, like a flood, was ready to desolate our West-Indian possessions.

The speaker then arose and moved for a committee; this being the usual practice on all questions relating to trade: to which Mr. Wilberforce acquiesced.

Sir William Young said, that he gave credit to the honourable member for the purity of his motives; but the colonies had already been much agitated by such dissensions, and he was fearful the worst consequences would ensue from so often bringing forward such a subject. He read a letter which he had received from the West Indies, stating, that the effects of the language used by certain gentlemen in that house would be to deluge the islands with blood; that the minds of slaves were already inflamed with French principles, and by French brigands. Sir William vindicated the conduct of the colonial assemblies in general, and instanced Tobago as being an island once in the possession of France, and inhabited by Frenchmen, but which had returned to the dominion of England at the commencement of the present war, in consequence of the difference of treatment to the blacks, who had been entrusted with arms, and joined their masters to drive out the French. The general assembly of St. Kitt's, composed of delegates from all the Leeward Islands, had declared their hope that the trade might finally be ended. One source of the distress of the negroes was the distresses of their masters; but the act of this assembly was calculated to make more ample provision for them. The negroes always received indulgences beyond the spirit of any legislative colonial act; for they were allowed portions of rum, &c. which no act could prescribe. With respect to the state of education amongst the slaves, the rev. Mr. Thornton had assured him, that in the island of Antigua the blacks were good Christians. But the mode of attack was now changed; once the colonial assemblies, then the overseers, were in fault: but this good effect was to be attributed to the exertions of the former. In the island of Grenada a revolt of the negroes had lately been suppressed; and therefore it was considered dangerous at once to make violent reforms. St. Vincent's equally wished to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and only the absence of its governor had occasioned any delay. He affirmed that the connection was such as subsisted between a master and a labourer, not between a planter and a slave. Dominica and Barbadoes had shown the same zeal, and, though the import to the latter island was large, the fact was, that all vessels necessarily touched there as the most westerly of the Leeward Islands, and made an entrance of their cargoes. The trade might have ill effects; but the best mode of removing them would be by a gradual abolition. The parliament of Great Britain had been truly the benefactor of the colonies by attending to the civilisation of the coast, and

and adopting progressive measures. Already we had consuls at Algiers, Tunis, &c. and the hardships of the middle passage might be mitigated by appointing them also on the coast of Africa. If a limitation of only one slave to every three tons was made, he would agree to it—in short, *to any thing* which could tend to this *gradual* termination; but not to any proposal to change suddenly all the property of the West Indies, to convert their revenues into mere life-annuities, by a measure which would operate as a foreclosure of every mortgage. With regard to Jamaica, he wished the house to reflect upon the particular situation of that island when his majesty's address reached them; to consider the value of that colony, and the loss which must arise to the parent country should all security for property be *loosened*, by the immediate abolition of the trade, and emancipation of the negroes. We ought to take into consideration the present circumstances: an army of blacks under Toussaint in a neighbouring island, and the principles of France struggling to find a way into the very heart of our colonies. It was this situation which occasioned the apparent inattention to the address of that house, which would have met with cordial co-operation at any other season. It had been alleged that slavery extinguished intellect; but an ancient author (Macrobius) had left upon record, that Zeno, and some of the greatest philosophers of Greece, were slaves. Sir William ended with opposing the motion.

Mr. Petrie declared it was his opinion, that the abolition of the African slave trade would be the scourge of Africa. Consulting his own interest as a planter, he wished it to take *place*; but as a cosmopolite he wished the continuance of the trade, out of humanity to the inhabitants of the coast.

Mr. Dent contended, that it was impossible that the slave trade could be abolished without the co-operation of the colonial legislatures. It could only be effected by regulations adopted on the spot. There was one very alarming species of slavery now existing, the practice of Irishmen binding themselves for a period of years to serve in some of the States of America: and 6,000 persons were thus annually sold into bondage. He deprecated the consequences which might arise from a considerable number of royalist negroes being sent to Jamaica on the evacuation of St. Domingo, and he feared they would unhinge the minds of our negroes, who were peaceably inclined if not inflamed by speeches made upon the subject. This house had nothing to do, but in the way of regulation to promote the abolition of the slave trade. The planters in the different islands had settled under the acts of the house, and by these were entitled to be protected. He alluded to the state of the blacks, the rules by which the property they acquired was protected, and the advantages which they enjoyed over the poor in many places—particularly in one respect, that in the acquisition of property the negroes in the islands were subject to no taxes at all.

Sir Ralph Milbank said, he considered all modifications of a system fundamentally vicious and unjust, as inconsistent with humanity, and such as ought not to be tolerated by any free nation. In its very nature this traffic was cruel and oppressive; not but that those who possessed the property for whom the trade had been permitted might be men of humanity, as he knew they were;

and he was surprised that Englishmen and freemen could hesitate in abolishing this slave trade immediately.

Mr. Sewell opposed the motion at great length: as agent for the island of Jamaica, he was called upon to say something in reply to the statement of the assembly's resolution. He confessed that they might have been irritated to find, that, after the house had agreed to the address of 1797, the honourable gentleman persevered in his endeavours to persuade parliament to come to a precipitate resolution. The acts of the assembly however evinced, that they were disposed to give effect to the recommendation of that house. With respect to the assertion of right, he understood it to refer to a claim of right. Allowing the means of cultivating those lands already, and under the faith of being able to procure them, they had settled in the islands. Their resolutions proved that they were pursuing that course which would tend to the abolition of the trade, by rendering it unnecessary. He alluded to the evacuation of St. Domingo, and said, that to coalesce with Toussaint would be to emancipate all the negroes in our islands.

Mr. Secretary Dundas regretted that he had never been able to agree with any of those persons to the full extent of their opinions, who supported the most opposite extremes upon this subject. Our possessions in the West Indies would be held by a very imperfect tenure, if it was to depend entirely upon the supply of a factitious population. He was sorry to differ from the friends he loved who were in favour of immediate abolition, which indeed could not be effected without the consent and concurrence of the colonies themselves.

If great bodies of men, whether actuated by prejudice, interest, or resentment, were pertinacious in any sentiment, it was in vain to attempt to carry any measure in opposition to that sentiment. For instance, if the colonial inhabitants were decidedly against an immediate abolition, how could this object be achieved by the simple vote of the house? We did not possess the physical means of rendering the resolution efficient: we could not prevent the islands from receiving a supply of negroes. Of this fact we had experience: it had been found, that with all the vigilance of naval and military commanders, and with the co-operation of civil and military authorities, and with the clear and active interest of the inhabitants, twenty-eight ships of war had been insufficient to prevent any communication between the islands of St. Lucie and Guadaloupe and our islands in their neighbourhood. How then could we expect that any vigilance would enable us to cut off that communication, when the dispositions of the inhabitants of the islands would lead them to favour it, for the purpose of supplying negroes? But it might be alleged, we should wipe away the stain which this traffic fixed on the national character. This might be true; but what was the argument for the abolition? Would the interest of humanity, would the advantage of the coast of Africa, be consulted by such a mode of proceeding? Certainly not: the trade would still be carried on, the supply would be attained—with this difference, that it was now conducted under the controul and regulation of the house, whereas then it would be carried on by other nations, free from all the salutary

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and humane regulations enforced by the parliament of this country. He was ready to admit that the regulating act respecting the middle passage did not go far enough in its provisions. He did not think sufficient tonnage was allowed for the number of men. With us 1½ ton was allowed for each soldier on board the transports to Jersey, for the West Indies, and a greater tonnage should be required for the number of slaves carried on board the ships in the African trade. A precipitate measure, however, would take out of our hands the means of alleviating the miseries with which the trade was attended. The address adopted in April 1797 was the last positive interference of the house upon the subject. The question now was, whether it should depart from the course it had resolved to pursue then, or whether there was any justification of such a departure in the present instance, because the colonial assemblies had shown themselves unworthy to be trusted with the execution of the wish and the system of the house. But had they shown any reluctance to carry the principle of the address into effect? Those who know the difficulty of detaching men from the opinions to which they were attached by prejudice, feeling, or views of interest, ought not to be surprised that their sentiments were not instantly changed: there might be some degree of irritation in the minds of the colonial legislatures, for which allowance should be made. He much doubted whether the honourable mover of this question, with all his integrity, possessed the same coolness on this topic which he might have on every other.

The assembly of Jamaica appeared from their language to be irritated; it was natural at such a moment for them to assert their right: notwithstanding which, however, they were taking the best mode for abolishing the trade. What were the objections to the trade? Was it not, that it created devastation in Africa, and introduced profligate and licentious persons into the islands? The assembly had decreed that no slaves above twenty-five were to be introduced, because they were desirous to have such as would secure the internal population, and prevent the necessity of constant supplies by importation. They had likewise adopted some humane regulations respecting the education, the morals, and the religion of the negroes. It was also enacted, that the number of females brought in should exceed that of males, which proved they were not intended for temporary use. These were regulations of humanity; and seeing the progress already made in it, he thought it dangerous to push forward an immediate opposition, which, after all, would now be ineffectual; but which would finally be obtained by introducing population, and improving the minds and the manners of the blacks. On these reasons he opposed the motion.

Colonel Gascoigne opposed it also as a dangerous measure; admitted the trade to be unjust, but asked whether it was the only practice which was so amongst us, tolerated on the score of policy. Impressing seamen was also an inhuman practice, and yet policy required its continuance.

Mr. Canning began by observing, that the debate of that night had afforded more novelty than he ever remembered to have heard upon the subject; not only a new set of assertions, a new train of reasoning had been adopted, but no

two gentlemen had handled the same arms in the same manner—no two speeches, no two arguments but what had been inconsistent with the other. Not that, if novelty and variety had been wanting, should he have been ashamed in going again over the path which had been so often trod; the disgrace was not in the advancement of old arguments, but in the maintenance of inveterate abuses. It was not the pride of victory that was to be sought, it was not the dexterity of contest that was to be applauded: it was an evil destructive to the happiness of human beings which was to be reformed. Two years ago a motion had been brought forward by Mr. C. Ellis, the purpose of which was to arrive gradually at the end which some gentlemen were desirous of obtaining immediately—an entire termination of the trade in slaves. It was proposed to address his majesty to recommend such measures to the colonial assemblies as should achieve the point, and this motion was adopted by the house. Nor was there any doubt of the sincerity with which it was supported by those who could exert their influence in the colonies; and as all the great West-Indian proprietors, all who had opposed the immediate abolition, concurred in this address, there was no longer any apprehension that the house would stand up for the necessity of the trade, which it was universally agreed should be terminated. Now, if the colonial assemblies showed that they would not do any such thing, we were bound by our own arguments, by every principle of fair reasoning and fair dealing, by the very acts and words which the British parliament adopted from them, to vote for the abolition by a British parliament.

The assembly of Jamaica had passed two acts; the one for increasing the salaries of the clergy, the other for laying a duty on all negro slaves imported into the island above the age of twenty-five years. These acts they had transmitted to the king, as means which they had adopted to carry into effect his majesty's recommendation. It was not necessary for them to add that they were not intended to terminate the trade, because they might have defied the ingenuity of man to discover what there was in them which could possibly tend to its termination. But the assembly was too ingenuous to leave its meaning to be traced by implication; they had spoken boldly out; they expressly had declared, "that they were not actuated with any view to the termination of the slave trade, only by humanity."

Here then the question was decided: there were but two ways by which it could be terminated: by the house, or the colonial legislature. The colonial legislature had openly avowed that they would not do it: what then remained but for the house to exercise its own power, as the only medium of putting an end to oppression and wrong?

But Mr. Dundas had said, we quite mistook the matter, we had misconstrued the words of the assembly; they were not to be taken in their direct and obvious sense. But surely those qualities which this honourable gentleman possessed himself, ought to have disinclined him to become the champion of an assembly which (if his interpretation were true) had spoken one thing and meant another; which had even misrepresented its own proceedings, averring itself to be shaping its course towards one quarter, while it was steering to another.

This would be singular, were it a matter

a matter of mere speculation; but gravely to recommend it to the house to act upon such an interpretation, to desire them to believe that the assembly were pursuing an object which they solemnly disclaimed, was a conduct quite remote from the principles of human conduct and the practices of human life.

But perhaps it was only meant, that, by raising the salaries of their clergy, and limiting the age of their new negroes, the trade must come to an end in spite of the intentions of the assembly; and its abolition would be the result, not of their concurrence, but their bad policy. Now surely this was not a fair or flattering mode of treating between the legislatures of two countries. What effect would it have upon the assembly to be told, "that we gave no credit to their professions; had no apprehensions of their ability to thwart our purposes; let them counteract as they would, they would find to their own confusion, in the end, that they had only outwitted themselves, and completed the thing which they determined not to do?" Was this the respectful manner in which we were advised to speak of the inhabitants of Jamaica? Did they not deserve, by the open upright avowal which they had made, an acknowledgment from us of their manly proceedings? Ought not our answer to be equally frank and unequivocal? This house should reply, "That they had dealt honestly by us; that we thought the trade ought not to subsist; and, had they thought the same, we would have left to them the means of ending it:—but, as they did not agree with us, and had plainly avowed their opinion, we must take our own measures, at the same time thanking them for their sincerity."

Would not this be a more honourable line of conduct than construing the words of the assembly in the very reverse meaning of their expression? Mr. Sewell, their agent, did not venture thus to represent an obvious declaration, and he might be considered as a more skilful interpreter. He knew too well the real bias and inclinations of their minds to take such a liberty with their frank avowal. But if there could be any additional light thrown upon the subject, what followed in the address was in itself the best commentary. The two passages mutually assisted each other: "The right of obtaining labourers from Africa!" The *right!* Of late years indeed we had learned to associate the word *right* with ideas very different from those it was accustomed to convey in better times. We had learned to regard the mention of right, as prefatory to bloody, destructive, and desolating doctrines, hostile to the happiness and to the freedom of mankind. Such had been the lesson inculcated by The Rights of Man. But never, even in the practical application of that pernicious doctrine, had the word been so shamefully affixed to murder, to devastation, to the invasion of public independence, to the destruction of private happiness and unpalliated injustice, to the massacre of innocent individuals, and the extermination of unoffending nations. Never before was the word *right* so prostituted and misapplied, as when the right to trade in man's blood was asserted by the enlightened government of a civilised country! It was not wonderful that the slavery of Africa should be described

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in a term consecrated to French freedom.

But this was a right *not to trade in slaves*, but *import labourers*. These were gentle words, implying the same thing. "Never mind their declarations," said their agent, "look to their acts." And what was to be found in them? A better maintenance secured for their clergy, and an act, amounting to a duty, prohibiting the importation of slaves above twenty-five years old. But this only proved the futility of every argument upon which the trade had been defended, and the impossibility of its abolition supported. First, this duty amounted to a prohibition; therefore it was possible to *prohibit*. But it would be answered: That although the importation altogether would be impossible, to limit it within certain rules, taking the age of the negroes for a rule, would be easy and practicable. How was it to be known? Would the age be ascertained in Africa? By what species of parish-register? By what testimony verbal or written? Was not the whole regulation known and felt to be nugatory? And had this been proposed by the friends of the abolition, it would have met with the scorn it merited.

To give a colour of justice, the house had often been told, that the unhappy victims who were torn from their country by our slave traders were in fact saved from a worse fate at home; for that they were convicts or prisoners of war, who, if not sold, would be put to death: nor would any be taken but such as were rescued from it by slavery. That it was from motives of kindness they were purchased; as nothing could be more barbarous than to cut off the only resource left for those miserable people condemned to torture and destruction. But the assembly of Jamaica had affirmed they would take none above twenty-five. How could they prevent any African from being made a prisoner of war after this age? Or did they mean to consign all who were above it to the dreadful fate described? The women too, they were not to be older; and as they could not be prisoners of war, their crime (the house had been often told) was *witchcraft*. How had the assembly of Jamaica discovered that the practice of this art was to be confined within the limits of twenty-five? And were the old ones to be left to their miserable destiny at home?

M. Canning said, that when the most absurd pretences were set up in defence of the most abominable practices, it was impossible not to feel indignation at such attempts to impose on one's understanding. And when he recollected how often these arguments on the justice of the trade had been forced upon the house, he could not repress some triumph in seeing them overthrown by those very proceedings upon which the cause of the trade had rested.

Such then were the regulations which were to supersede our interference for an object the parliament thought indispensable, but which the assemby neither had nor pretended to have in view. If, however, the interference of the parliament was necessary, we were told it was ineffectual. The slave trade would go on, do what we could to put a stop to it. What! was a trade carried on by British subjects, with British capitals, from British ports, not to be subject to British restrictions? not to be controled or abolished by British acts? But if the trade was not carried on by

by British traders, it would fall into the hands of foreign nations. Yet it was well known that foreign nations had almost entirely abandoned the trade, and Great Britain alone monopolised the gain and the guilt of it. Where was the law or power which could prevent us from washing out so foul a stain on our commercial character? But the islands, if not supplied by Great Britain, would smuggle for themselves. Had they then fleets? Had they a commercial and a military navy? He wished they had; for he was persuaded that no country could attain any height of prosperity without having long disused and abjured the practice of importing annual cargoes of misery and discontent; of out-numbering the civilised population of the country by crowds of savage and injured spirits, watching only the opportunity of rebellion and revenge. Away then with all idea of the incompetency of a British parliament to rescue the British name from this disgrace! Could the assembly of Jamaica prohibit the delivery of the cargo at the ports of Jamaica, and could not our parliament forbid its freight in the ships of Great Britain? If in the papers on the table a law had been found prohibiting the cultivation of any new land in the island beyond what was already cultivated, and another law limiting the importation of negroes to the amount of the annual decrease in their population, the colonial legislatures would have evinced their intention of ending the slave trade; but till these measures were adopted there could be no hope of it. Every additional acre brought into cultivation was not the continuance of the existing slave trade, but the opening of a new one. Every negro imported beyond the population necessary for keeping up the present rate of cultivation, was the victim of a trade *begun* now under an avowed conviction of its injustice, and a pretended desire to put an end to it. No man, who was not ready to subscribe to these two regulations, ought to be credited for any professions he might choose to make of a sincere wish to terminate this iniquitous commerce. Such assertions were contradicted by proofs.

One plea had been urged, which, fallacious as it was, seemed to have had too much weight with reasonable people: "That it was the interest of the proprietor to treat his slaves well; and that every person would see a sufficient security in this motive against cruelty and oppression." But the interest of the planter in the preservation and propagation of his slaves had at all times been the same; which would tend to prove, that slaves had at all times been used as well as possible; which manifestly had not been the case. The very laws on the table before us would evince what sort of evils they were intended to remedy. He was not here affirming that slaves upon our islands were cruelly treated, but he wished the house to take a view of the various circumstances which might prevent the proprietor from consulting his ultimate interest. Where he resident in the island, unincumbered with debt, looking to his estate as a permanent and improving provision, it might be so: but the absentee proprietor, who wished to lay the foundation of a fortune elsewhere; the embarrassed proprietor, who sought to discharge incumbrances; and, lastly, the overseer, anxious to realise a sum of money to purchase an estate for himself; all these might, in the nature

rule of things, be interests of a different kind from that steady and permanent interest which, contenting itself with moderate returns, would ensure mild treatment to the labourers whose work was to produce them. All these might be less solicitous about the eventual exhaustion of the soil, or of the workers of the soil, than the extent of present profit; and when the proportion of these classes to that of the resident and unembarrassed proprietors was considered, what became of the general statement; "that the interest of the owner *must* secure the good treatment of the slaves?"

But, after all, this was not the question before the house: however kindly they might be treated, few would contend that the importation from Africa was to be continued merely to furnish objects for colonial benevolence.

There remained only one argument, drawn from the circumstances of the times; an argument indeed of weight, but not bearing very happily upon the question in debate. We were cautioned to beware in these times of turbulence and innovation—we were cautioned not rashly to lay our unhallowed hands on the ancient institution of the slave trade! nor subvert a fabric reared by our ancestors, and consecrated by the lapse of ages!

On what principles we were accustomed to bestow respect on any institution which had subsisted from remote time? It was, when we perceived some shadow of departed worth or usefulness, some memorial of what had been of service or credit to mankind. Was this the case in point? Had the slave trade originally begun on any principle of public justice, or national honour, which the changes of the world alone had impaired? Had it to plead former merits, services, and glories, in behalf of its present disgrace? What were the grounds on which the plea of prescription rested, and in what cases was it usually allowed? Where some existing order of things had been so meliorated and reconciled to the feelings of mankind, (though unjust in its original institution) had so accommodated itself to the manners and prejudices and habits of a country, that the remembrance of its usurpation was lost in the experience of its utility.

Conquest was often of this nature: unjustifiable in its first introduction, it frequently had happened that the conquerors and the conquered became blended into one people, and that a system of common interest arose out of the conciliated differences of parties originally hostile. Was this analogous to the slave trade? Was it only in its onset that we could trace violence, injustice, or opposition? Were the oppressors and oppressed so reconciled to each other, that no enmity remained between them now? No! Was it then in reason to claim a prescriptive right, not to the fruits of an ancient and forgotten crime, but to a series of new violences, to a chain of fresh enormities, to cruelties, not continued, but repeated, and of which every instance inflicted a fresh calamity, and constituted a separate and substantive crime? Mr. Canning concluded by reminding the house, that the question was not, Whether the slave trade ought to be terminated? but, whether the papers upon the table contained any proofs of a disposition to terminate it on the part of the colonies? and, whether the house was justified in leaving the matter in the hands of the assembly, instead of taking the necessary measures

measures for executing their own purpose.

The secretary of war, after complimenting Mr. Canning on his wit, observed, that there were two sentiments entertained upon this question, which he should state as briefly as possible: the one, that of a short and compendious mode, recommending the immediate abolition: that the trade was in itself inhuman and unjust, and this was sufficient reason for a British parliament to attempt its termination. But this was deciding the matter upon the abstract right: as an abstract point, indeed, supposing it to be the only one, the determination was right. He apprehended, however, there was something more to be taken into consideration; convenience and expediency: and here a great variety of objects made an appearance, and the real question would be at last, by what possible mode would the least evil be incurred?

People fond of abstract rights were apt to make very important mistakes: sudden and violent remedies often created greater mischief than that which they were intended to remedy. It was not difficult to show the absurdity of this system of reversing the cause of an evil by way of cure: thus, for instance, if a man was thrown out of a high window, and had a fractured bone, a dislocated joint, it would be but an indifferent mode of cure to throw him up again: in this light did the immediate abolition of the slave trade appear to him as a remedy.

Those of the other description to which he alluded, defended the continuance of it as an advantage. It was his own opinion, that the wiser course was, to refer the amelioration of the condition of the unhappy slaves to the colonial assemblies; and after expatiating a considerable time upon it, he gave his dissent to the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer made a most eloquent speech in favour of its immediate abolition: it was a trade (he said) declared by the house to be against justice, against humanity, against religion, and against every social compact: for its abolition, the honour of the British name, by the expression of the house of parliament, stood pledged.

Was the legislature (the original of this iniquitous commerce, the cause of its continuance and answerable for all its horrors), was the legislature to remedy the evils? It was a trade carried on under our law, by our subjects, from our ports, by our capital: it could not then be difficult for us to abolish it effectually without the consent of the colonial assemblies. Some persons had thought, that however unjust or inhuman the trade might be, as it was a matter of national concern, it was not to be managed like a case between two individuals. But how could any reasonable man believe that the conduct of a nation ought to be guided without reference to the laws of nature or the divine law, any more than the affairs of an individual? The end proposed was not an abstract theory, but a practical measure: it was two-fold; the one, to stop the mischief, the other to do away the guilt: at all events the latter was practicable, and he believed the other also: but sure he was, they would never obtain any credit for intention to do away the mischief on the part of others, until they did away the guilt on the part of themselves. It had been said, that, because a thing was wrong, we should

should not adopt the contrary measure by way of remedy. Perfectly right: but this was not proposed; it was the discontinuance of an exposed, deprecated, recorded practice of injustice, rapine, and murder: not whether it should ever have been allowed, but whether it should now be deliberately repeated. Were we to ask the advice of the assemblies, we must continue these nefarious practices — continue to tear those helpless victims of misery from their native land, and from their families. But it was not intended to send the negroes back to Africa: it was not proposed "to throw any of those wretches who had their bones fractured and their limbs dislocated up again" — it was resolved that no more "*should be thrown out of the window.*" The honourable gentleman deemed it dangerous to put an end *immediately* to this practice: he would abolish it gradually; that was, by throwing 100 to-day, 90 to-morrow, and so put an end by degrees to the breaking of men's limbs—as the custom had so long continued, that it would be unwise to act precipitately. On this point he differed essentially: positive evil could not be too soon remedied—a system of horror too speedily abolished: it was a murderous traffic, and the safety of our dominions also depended on the improvement of the condition of the negroes.

He hoped the house would agree at once to the measure proposed; or, if they would not do so, declare expressly and specifically for what purpose the trade was to be continued. He said, that the boundary should be marked for the cultivation of the land—that new land should not be cultivated by the labour of negroes; for, if this was to be allowed, there was no conjecturing where it would end; that the notion which some people entertained of their *right* to cultivate all the lands held in grants from the crown was a great error. He would no more allow the cultivation of fresh lands by the labour of newly-imported negroes, than he should assent to any new colony being established upon any newly-discovered territory. They were both equally repugnant to the spirit of the resolutions of the house, and to the terms on which even the planters pretended they had a right to the importation of negroes.

If the house (which he sincerely wished might not be the case) should negative this motion, he trusted that it would come to a clear and distinct regulation on the restraint of cultivation of fresh land in the plantations, and concluded with giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Colonel Wood thought it impossible for the British house of commons to do any thing effectual without the assent of the colonies; and upon that ground, though he detested the slave trade, he opposed the motion.—Ayes, 54; Noes, 84.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Retrospect of the State of Europe in 1798. *Revolution of Switzerland. Discontent of the Subject Classes against the old Governments. Protection given to the Peasantry. Vices of the old Governments. Complaints and Petitions of the Pays-de-Vaud. Court of High Commission in the Pays-de-Vaud. Dispositions of the Canton of Berne towards France. Violations of the Neutrality on the Part of Switzerland. Acknowledgement of the French Republic by the Swiss Confederation. Reclamations of the Pays-de-Vaud. Interference of the French Government. Insurrection of the Pays-de-Vaud. Preparations for a Revolution in the Canton of Basil. Incorporation of Mulhausen into the French Republic. Meeting of the Diet of the Swiss Cantons at Arau. Insurrection at Arau. Entry of the French Army into the Pays-de-Vaud and the Countries of the former Bishopric of Basil. Revolution in the Canton of Basil. Convocation of the Deputies of the Communes of the Canton of Berne. Resolutions and Proclamations of that Assembly. Circular Letter of the French Commissary respecting the Proclamation. Dispositions of divers Cantons to a Change of Government. Reflections on the French Commissary's Proclamations. Disposition of the French Directory with Respect to Switzerland. Fatal Effects of Divisions in the Swiss Cantons. Constitution for Switzerland formed by the Chancellor of Basil, and amended at Paris. Negotiations between the Canton of Berne and the French General. Revolution at Schaffhausen. Armistice granted to the Canton of Berne. Indecision of the Government of Berne. Arrival of Reinforcements to the Swiss and French Armies. Propositions of the French General to the Canton of Berne rejected.*

rejected. Commencement of Hostilities. Further Prolongation of the Armistice. Truce broken. Soleure and Fribourg taken by the French. Disorders among the Swiss Troops. Provisionary Government at Berne. Negotiations rejected by the French General. March of the French Troops towards Berne. Valour of the Swiss Troops. Entry of the French into Berne. Massacre of their Officers by the Swiss Troops. Depredations of the French Soldiery in the Country, and of the French Generals in Berne. Revolutions of the Cantons of Zurich and Lucerne. Refusal of the lesser Cantons to accept the Constitution. Contributions levied on the Aristocracy of Berne. Hostages sent to the Fortress of Huninguen. Meeting of Deputies from the Swiss Cantons at Arau. Formation of the Legislative Body. Nomination of Directors. Insurrection in the Canton of Lucerne. Invasion of the Canton of Zurich by the Troops of the lesser Cantons. Severe Contests between the French and Swiss Armies. Acceptance of the Constitution by the lesser Cantons. Insurrections in the Vallais. Despotic Conduct of the French Directory. Embassy of Rapinat in Switzerland. Violences committed by the French Commissary at Zurich. Independent Conduct of the Swiss Government. Powers given to Rapinat by the French Directory. Changes in the Swiss Government made by the French Commissary. Disavowal of Rapinat's Conduct by the French Directory. Compliance of the Helvetic Government with the Projects of the Directory. Election of Ochs to the Helvetic Directory. Colonel Laharpe named Director. Remonstrances with the French Directory with Respect to their Conduct in Switzerland. Cessation of French Tyranny in Switzerland. Treaty concluded.

WHILST the papal see was delivered over to the secular arm of reformation, and a government, under the name of the Roman republic, arose on the ruins of the temporal power of the church, the little republic of Switzerland, hitherto deemed the most prudent, if not the most liberal dispensers of liberty in Europe, were fated to undergo a similar change. Although the revolution of Switzerland might have been eventually operated by similar instruments with that of Rome, the French arms would have found more valorous and formidable resistance from the hardy native of the mountains than the luxuriant inhabitant of the Italian plains, had not the spirit of innovation introduced itself, not only among the governed, whose discontents were not dissembled, but also been abetted and entertained by portions of the rulers themselves. It was scarcely to be expected

expected that a country so long and intimately connected with France, by its position, by perpetual alliance, by commerce, and partly by language, should escape the influence of the principles of its revolution, when states far more remote and distinct were strongly imbued with their spirit. But previously to the epocha of the French revolution, various parts of the confederation had been the seat of civil discord and popular murmurs. In some cantons the indignant spirit of the subject had led him to revolt against what he deemed the oppressive administration of the ruler; in others, the distinctions which exist in society, and which form the different classes of privileged and unprivileged individuals, were strangely and inversely distributed. The French revolution, declaring the principle of equality, found a wide predisposition amongst the subjects of the Swiss confederacy to embrace the cause, and as strong a resistance on the part of the governors, who were deeply interested in opposing the progress of an opinion so immediately subversive of authority. Conscious that with such a system no brotherhood could be cherished, many of the leading cantons put themselves in a state of watchfulness, bordering on hostility, against the principles established by the French national assembly, and also against those whose admiration led them to the imprudent avowal or propagation of the doctrines which resulted from those principles. But, with so powerful a sanction, the frowns of power were ineffectual to calm the murmurs of discontent; and claims, which fear or policy had hitherto shut up in silence, were now produced, with confidence that they would be admitted from the sentiment of fear, if not of justice.

Amongst those who were most active in demanding a review of their grievances where the inhabitants of the French part of the canton of Berne, known by the name of the Pays-de-Vaud. The nobles and the higher classes of this province had long transmitted to their children an hereditary hatred of the government of Berne, arising not so much from any sense of individual oppression, or from general suffering under a despotic administration, as from that sentiment of humiliation which is felt by generous minds when subjected to the dominion of persons for whose talents or rank in society they feel only contempt. This disaffection was not concealed: historians and travellers have recorded the fact. Nor is it singular that the desire of change should operate on the titled and the rich, whilst they viewed their political existence depending on the will of a self-elected sovereign, and their provinces subjected to the administration of an emissary of those whom they considered as usurpers of their rights.

But, however strongly the sensibility of the subject-inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud was excited by this political degradation, they were compelled to submit, or brood over their grievances, real or imaginary, in silence. They were incapable of procuring redress by force, and the sovereign burghers of Berne were too firmly seated on their curule thrones to heed the remonstrances of impotent claimants or to listen to the murmurs of discontent. Partial insurrections against the governments of certain cantons had often taken place in Switzerland. These disorders had sometimes

times been suppressed and punished with the interposition of the neighbouring cantons, where the danger was not excessive; but when these insurrections wore the serious characters of rebellion or revolt, the whole confederation marched against the conspiracy. France before the revolution had even lent its aid to the suppression of those domestic quarrels, and had become the executioner of the insulted sovereign; so that, whatever was the degree of oppression, or whatever the desire of resistance, redress was become hopeless, and change impossible.

But, although the hand of those Swiss governments weighed heavy on the political offenders who examined with too scrutinising an eye into the doctrine of popular rights, or who ventured upon the commission of overt acts, such as murmuring against certain privileges of the sovereign, by which these complainants thought themselves personally aggrieved, in the disposal and profits arising from their industry; yet, where passive and unremitting obedience sat easy on the mind of the subject, no masters were more kind and gentle. The persevering and laborious activity of the peasant had tamed the soil where it was stubborn, and brought to its highest perfection that which was susceptible of culture; and this industry, guided by œconomy, had spread not only ease and comfort, but even wealth and abundance, over the land. On this peaceable class of subjects the eye of the Swiss magistrate had shone with peculiar complacency, and in some cantons, particularly that of Berne, had given room for a sort of social compact against the inquisitive and encroaching spirit of the inhabitants of towns, such as artisans and manufacturers, whose knowledge or means of information, contrasted with the ignorance of the peasant, gave umbrage to his ally the burgher. It was the policy of the latter to maintain the spirit of rivalry between these subject-classes; and so successfully was this system followed in the principal cantons, that the ignorant but favourite peasant was taught to refuse all alliance with the more cultivated inhabitant of towns; and the merchant, who added to the wealth of the husbandman by the purchase and exchange of his produce, was regarded also as an object of inferiority and contempt.

But, if this reciprocity of affection existed in some cantons between the peasant and burgher, in others, where interest was the ruling passion of the governors, their power and avarice weighed more heavy on the industry and personal freedom of the peasant. The governments of the cantons were, for the most part, very dissimilar; but all writers agree in the existence of vexatious and oppressive abuses in all. The despotism of their institutions; the abuses of elections to sovereign councils; the daily and encroaching spirit of authority; the overgrown influence of patrician families; the striking inequality which prevailed, even on this basis, of aristocratical power; the monopoly of places of profit to the exclusion of worth and talent; the undefined limits of pro-consular administration; the want of encouragement to the arts and sciences; the neglect of education amongst those who were destined to rule, the void of which was filled up by idleness, arrogance, ignorance, and dissipation—are so many features,

features, presented by writers of different characters and discordant sentiments, to fill up the picture of this vaunted region of happiness and liberty.

These defects had long been the subject of animadversion previous to the event of the French revolution, and remonstrances had been made by the inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud against certain oppressive measures of their sovereigns, the burghers of Berne, which they had promised but neglected to redress, the petitioners having no other resource than in the justice of their cause. But no sooner had the revolution given an apparent form and substance to the principles on which it was founded, than these supplicants laid aside the tone of petition and complaint, and began to hesitate whether the redress which they had so ardently sought, and to which they had bounded their wishes, was an object worthy of their acceptance. But if the Swiss governments meditated any change in their constitution previous to the French revolution, this event pregnant with mischief to established governments in general, made them more circumspect in the indulgence of their liberality; and no change was effected, except by the canton of Berne, which granted, in case of vacancy, the admission of two families of the Pays-de-Vaud to the dignity of burgher, with certain restrictions, of which one was the remission of any solid benefits for the space of half a century. However great this concession might have been deemed by the sovereign, the benefit was too confined and remote to be an object of public gratitude: but, as such a symptom of relaxation had discovered itself, hopes were entertained by the discontented, that their reclamations would eventually be considered and redressed.

However modest might have been their demands when their hopes of redress were founded on the justice of their cause, the projects of independence which they now entertained and avowed awakened the vigilance of the governors to a peremptory refusal of seditious and revolutionary pretensions. But to have rejected such pretensions without further animadversion might be an encouragement for future application; "the snake was scotched, not killed;" and an occasion was eagerly sought, when for some overt act, since petition for redress was no crime, the indignation of government might be let loose on the offenders, and chastisement for present offences might legalise punishment for the past. The time was too big with events to suffer such occasions to be long delayed; and the celebration of the anniversary of the 14th of July, 1791 (when meetings of the friends to the French revolution in the Pays-de-Vaud took place at Ouchy and Rolle, small towns on the lake of Geneva), was the occasion, or the pretext, for the establishment of a high commission, composed of two senators and two of the great council of Berne, at Lausanne, to try the offenders who had been present at these assemblies. It does not appear, from the most minute and detailed examination of the numerous papers and volumes to which these meetings, and the labours of the high commissaries, have given birth (since from these incidents we must date the decline and fall of the Swiss governments), that any of these disorders or acts of sedition took place, with which those who were arraigned before the high tribunal have been accused; and the sentence pronounced

ced against Muller de la Mothe, qualified by the tribunal as "magistrate of the city of Lausanne, and our vassal," and which condemned him to twenty-five years solitary imprisonment in the dungeons of Arbourg, states as the primary charge, "that he had left the sovereign ignorant of the dangerous projects entertained against the constitution, with which he had been for some time acquainted." The same sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment, which was pronounced against Rosset, states his repeated denial of any knowledge of hostile intention against the government of the country in the meeting of the 14th of July, as an aggravation of the crime for which he was about to be punished. The sentence against these unfortunate vassals was literally put into execution on the 3d of May, 1792, and others of their fellow subjects felt in different modes the effects of the indignation of their governors: some were condemned for ten years to drag the carts which the criminals employ in cleansing the streets of Berne; others, for the same term, to a punishment scarcely less infamous, that of being chained among the blues to hard labour; some were imprisoned for a shorter time, many dismissed from their employments civil and religious, some banished the country for a certain period, and others for life.

In this proscription several of the nobles of the Pays-de-Vaud were involved; but none was more signalised by the vengeance of the tribunal than general Laharpe, the seigneur of Yeus, who, escaping from its fury, was condemned to be beheaded, and his family reduced to misery by the confiscation of his estates. The severity of this high commission, which was held forth by the government as a measure purely comminatory, acquired it the title of the revolutionary tribunal, which name was likewise given to those which were eighteen months after erected in France. If the celebration of a festival, which, whatever were the secret intentions of the guests, (and no doubt their dispositions were not less hostile at that period than at former times to the abuses of their government,) has been signalised by no external act of disobedience or sedition, since the charges on that head were utterly disproved; if a meeting of this sort, publicly advertised, where admittance was refused to none, and where, if in the effusion of their joy they pledged the liberty of the French, and success to the labours of the constituent assembly, they poured out also libations to the prosperity of the Helvetic confederation, and that of the canton of Berne, was punished with so little moderation, the malcontents had certainly little to expect from a repetition of their reclamations, since the intention even of making them was imputed as a crime. This severity having reestablished tranquillity within, since those who had not been attainted by the commission had sought their safety in flight—some across the Atlantic, and others in France—the confederacy found fresh causes for inquietude in the conduct of their allies the French, whose new system of government accorded but ill with the spirit or letter of their ancient treaties. Hence the revolt of the regiment of Château-vieux, the disarming of the regiment of Ernst at Marseilles, the projected dismemberment of the regiment of Steine at Lyons, and the dismissal by the legislative body of the Swiss guard at Paris, under pretences, whethe

ill or well founded, that the presence of mercenary troops in the kingdom was incompatible with the principles of the new constitution, and that the citizens themselves were competent to its defence.

Notwithstanding these events, and others of which the Swiss confederation complained as infractions of their ancient treaties, the semblance of alliance was still kept up by means of the conciliatory spirit of the French minister, M. Barthelemy, who had the address to sow such a measure of dissension among the members of the Helvetic body, particularly those of Berne and Zurich, as prevented the open declaration of hostilities with France; nor were there wanting among the members of each government certain individuals, who, more bold or intriguing than the rest, espoused the cause of the French revolution. But, although the continuation of the neutrality was decided on by the confederation, the appearance of a less conciliatory spirit presented itself in the canton of Berne; which, in order to oppose the aggression of the French in Geneva, or to join in the invasion of France in concurrence with the allied powers of the North, who at that period had penetrated into Champagne, marched an army of 15,000 men to the frontiers of France.

The retreat of the coalesced armies of Prussia and Austria is held forth as the cause which determined the recall of the Swiss troops from Geneva, and from the frontiers, by those who assert, that, had the invasion in the north of France been successful, (of which no doubt was then entertained, as well as of the consequent restoration of monarchy, since Swiss senators had even solicited and obtained important military employments on the restoration,) the countries bordering on the Jura, and the Lake, belonging to France, long coveted by Berne, were stipulated as the reward of the services to be rendered by the canton; and that the menace of the French on Geneva was a comminatory measure, to insure the neutrality of its magistracy, and that of its ally the government of Berne, whose fidelity was more than suspected during the invasion of Savoy. The advocates for the Swiss governments, on the contrary, attributed the deliverance of Geneva to the moderation of the French general, who is stated to have acted in disobedience to the orders he had received.

Whatever were the causes of these preparations for hostilities at that period, the Swiss cantons experienced no more alarms of invasion during the dreadful reign of terror which soon after subjugated France. That horrible régime was little calculated to conciliate the affection of any party who had the slightest regard to order or justice; yet it found partisans in the Swiss senators, some of whom entered into direct correspondence with the tyrants who then governed France; whilst others gave more than protection to the committees of emigrants, who were equally diligent in promoting the subversion of the French republic. Thus the faults of individuals were visited on the whole commonwealth: and the French made it an additional charge against the Swiss, that those members of the government of Berne whose attachment to the former régime of France was on no occasion concealed, and whose personal interest was connected with its return, indulged themselves more than once in acts of friendship to-

wards the coalesced princes: such was the assistance lent to the Piedmontese troops when they retreated across the lake of Geneva, on the invasion of Savoy; and still more the zealous aid granted them when they traversed the territory of the Vallais, under the direction of an officer in the Swiss service, to fall on the French in the Haut-Faussigny, at that period when the treason of Dumourier had rendered doubtful, for a season, the existence of the French republic. The courage of the French troops defeated the enterprise; and the Piedmontese were compelled to traverse a second time the neutral territory, without let or molestation. The notoriety of the violation led the government of Berne to punish the officer to whose command the safe conduct of the expedition had been entrusted; he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment within the limits of a bailiwick of fifteen leagues square. But the principal in the project is said by the French to have been rewarded with distinguished marks of gratitude by the power he had intended to serve; and they add, that his elevation to the dignity of senator, which immediately followed, indicated the measure of approbation bestowed on his conduct.

In extenuation of the blame which has been imputed by the French to most of the governments of Switzerland, with respect to the hospitality given to emigrants, and the persecution raised against those of the same nation who professed opposite sentiments, it may be urged, that the principle of self-defence in many cases imperiously demanded such a conduct; that no positive law or article of treaty prevented them from granting protection to fugitives; and that the exclusion of French principles, since the liberty of the press did not exist in Switzerland, would be best effected by shutting the frontier against those who entertained them. It may likewise be alleged, that although, together with the French patriots inhabiting the cantons, the French embassador was expelled from the place of his usual residence at Soleure, the existence of the French republic, admitted by various powers of Europe, was not yet acknowledged by the Swiss cantons; by whom, consequently, no other than the ancient treaties were judged binding.

This persuasion lasted till the retreat of the coalesced troops across the Rhine. The peace with Prussia, and the conquest of Holland, gave force to the hitherto vain negotiations, and humble remonstrances, of M. Barthelemy. On these events he quitted his retreat at Baden, and fixed his residence at Basil, where his character was recognised, as well as the existence of the French republic; which acknowledgment soon after took place throughout the confederation. The intercourse between the French and Swiss governments, from that period to the treaty of Campo Formio, was little else than reclamations on the part of the former against the protection granted to the French emigrants, who were compelled to quit a country where they had found a hospitable asylum; and reluctant apologies, on the part of the latter, for the errors into which they had been betrayed. In this interval great changes had also taken place in the disposition of the governments of various leading cantons towards France. Basil had been the centre of commercial negotiation during the war, and the channel by which the coin of France flowed

flowed throughout Switzerland. The inhabitants of the canton of Zurich were amongst the most forward of the confederation; the manufacturing villagers on the Lake had renewed their resistance against what they deemed the oppression of the burghers; and their cause had been warmly, though secretly, espoused by other classes of their fellow subjects. At Berne, the vacancies which had taken place in the government during the last ten years were filled up; and the admission of a third part of new members neutralised in a great measure the harshness of the former government, and gave a general cast of moderation to their proceedings, and even of friendship towards the French.

But the spirit of innovation which the government of Berne had endeavoured to crush was recovered from the pressure and the reclamations which had been made at the beginning of the French revolution, when the principles by which it had been effected were considered only as the transient dreams of a new-fangled philosophy, were reiterated with redoubled vigour when the conquest of the countries in Italy adjoining to France had given them a local stability. The petitions which the remonstrants had made in 1790 were again produced in a more detailed and systematic form; and as the circumstances had brought the parties to a nearer level, a greater attention was paid to the justice of the reclamation than the government had hitherto deigned to bestow. The partisans of the French revolution had founded their system on "the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of man." The Swiss founded their claims on titles less metaphysical, and which they judged less liable to contest, such as written treaties and charters, prescribing and confirming privileges of which they had been unjustly deprived. Although the subject part of most of the cantons had reclamations more or less founded to make, the former petitioners of the Pays-de-Vaud were the first, as soon as they judged the political temperature more favourable, to appear on the scene. It was asserted by them that the inhabitants of this country had enjoyed from time immemorial the benefits of a free constitution, maintained untouched by their provincial states, and respected by their princes until the year 1530; that the sovereignty was vested by their prerogatives in those states, and that the princes of the house of Savoy were little else than nominal protectors; that when the cantons of Berne and Fribourg succeeded, by the treaties of St. Julien and Payerne, in 1530, to the rights of the duke of Savoy, and the bishop of Lausanne, they came in possession only of such rights as were held by their predecessors. They insisted that as the Pays-de-Vaud, in yielding to this cession, obtained a previous and formal confirmation of its privileges, and never renounced the constitution which they enjoyed at the epocha of those treaties; that as they had never been formally deprived of this constitution by decrees either of the governments of those cantons, or by any judiciary sentence; the inhabitants were authorised to claim the re-establishment of the constitution under which their ancestors lived at those epochas; to insist on the previous assembly of the states, their only lawful representatives, and demand the fulfilment of the guarantee promised two centuries since by

France, and to which that country was bound by formal treaties yet subsisting.

In support of these petitions, the claimants referred to nineteen charters confirming their ancient rights, (the originals of many of which were produced, with the petition presented to the councils of Berne by the commune of Morges in 1790,) and cited also eleven other documents, taken from the history of their country, to strengthen the evidence. Having adduced their proofs in favour of their reclamations, they proceeded to exhibit a long list of charges against their present governors the burghers of Berne and Fribourg, stating that the constitution of the Pays-de-Vaud had first been violated by the illegal abolition of its rights, in which the states had neither co-operated nor assented, and since, by the injunction made to the communes to present no collective petitions; by penalties decreed against those who should reclaim their ancient rights; and by the arbitrary measures adopted by the government of Berne attacking, restraining, and even annihilating, the rights of property in the communes, and those of simple individuals. They maintained that the government of Berne rendered no account of the public monies, covering with the shade of mystery both the receipt and expenditure; that arbitrary contributions were extorted from them under the most frivolous pretences; and that the revenues of the state were concentred in Berne, where they were for the most part divided among the patrician families, whose luxuries were supported at the expense of the people. They alleged, that the inhabitants of the canton were divided into two castes essentially distinct; that of the burghers of Berne, who held exclusively all places of administration, possessed all the prerogatives of sovereignty, and who are in the sole enjoyment of all the honours and benefits resulting from it; whilst the second class, which comprehended the whole nation, was deprived of every share in the government, excluded without distinction from all places of trust, treated as aliens, and forced to brood over their wrongs in respectful silence.

The high court of commission instituted to try the offenders who had celebrated the anniversary of the French revolution in 1790 was a new source of complaint and reclamation. This procedure of the burghers of Berne was represented by the petitioners, who had now erected themselves into a jury of accusation, as an invasion of the country by a mercenary army, and an act of the blackest perfidy; the creation of a revolutionary tribunal, the arrest and carrying off the citizens by an armed force, confining them in state prisons, depriving them of their natural judges, and proceeding arbitrarily against them, was said to be a manifest violation of their national rights, and destructive of every remaining vestige of their national liberty. It was added, that the punishment which was executed in consequence of this revolutionary judgment, the dishonour inflicted on the communes in the persons of their deputies, (who were forced to submit to the humiliation of publicly demanding pardon), and the contumely heaped on men distinguished for their talents, education, and principles, had consummated the servitude of the subject caste; and that, finally, the patricians of Berne, in accord with those of Fribourg, Soleure, the Vallais, and the democratical

cratical cantons, in order to preserve their usurped prerogatives, had committed the repose and existence of their subjects, in violating in the most perfidious manner the neutrality of the confederation, by leaguing themselves with the enemies of France to re-establish the former government, and share in the dismemberment of the country, by constantly refusing to acknowledge the republic, and assisting by every means in their power to those who had armed to destroy it.

As the answer to the second part of these charges has been found in the imperious circumstances of the times, which demanded the use of extraordinary means against all sort of innovation, so the reply to the former part has been no less peremptory, by the declaration that the treaties to which the petitioners allude never existed, and that the rights of which they demanded the restoration were imaginary; that the charters were fabricated for the occasion; and that the ancient sovereignty of the states of the Pays-de-Vaud was a fabulous and chimerical supposition; that, when Berne made the conquest of this country, no capitulation was offered, or accepted; that greater privileges were bestowed after the conquest than the country had enjoyed before; that the abolition of the states composed of the privileged orders, and of the deputies only of fourteen towns, was a benefit to the country, since they only met to impose taxes; and that the guarantee claimed from France of their privileges was illusory, since, in the renunciation by Philibert in 1564, not a word of guarantee is mentioned in the treaty.

That the liberties enjoyed by the people under the ancient states were circumscribed, may readily be supposed, since the modern theories of government by representation were at that time almost unknown; yet the government of the states, confined as was the representation, was a government essentially different from that of bailiffs, and the sovereignty exercised by the dukes of Savoy much less arbitrary than that exercised by the council of Berne. Of the treaties and charters which have been regarded as fables, the originals were produced; and in the treaty of Lausanne, made the 30th of October, 1564, by which Emanuel Philibert ceded his rights to the cantons of Berne, with an express reserve of the privileges of the Pays-de-Vaud, France became also the guarantee of this treaty; and this engagement, contracted the 26th of April, 1565, was cited in a subsequent treaty made by Francis the First, the 10th of November, 1582, by which the Pays-de-Vaud was admitted into the perpetual alliance; all which treaties were confirmed by the treaty of Soleure, made the 28th of May, 1777.

The French government (which was probably in secret unison with the complainants) no sooner found itself relieved from the weight of its contest with the house of Austria, than it turned its attention to the reclamations made by the Pays-de-Vaud, as a good pretext for avenging former affronts, and gratifying its present lust of dominion. The directory had begun their political hostilities, by ordering Mengaud, their agent extraordinary, to signify to the senate of Berne the act of the French executive government, enjoining the dismissal of the English embassador from Switzerland. This injunction threw the senate into great embarrassment; but while two of the council were

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sent to Paris to negotitate with the directory, the embassador relieved their perplexity by voluntarily withdrawing himself; and the deputation, after the residence of a month, was ordered to quit Paris. This step was soon after followed by another act, 17th of December, 1797, ordering the minister of foreign affairs to make a report on the petition of the inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud. The report, which was of course favourable to the reclamation, was the groundwork of another act, published twelve days after the former, making the governors of Berne and Fribourg personally responsible for the individual safety and property of the inhabitants of that country, who had made reclamations to the French republic for the execution of their ancient treaties. This menacing declaration was made in consequence of a senatorial commission sent by the council of Berne into the Pays-de-Vaud, to inquire into the causes of the discontents, and enjoining the inhabitants to renew their oath of allegiance. Thus protected by the French government, the communes of the Pays-de-Vaud presented their respective petitions to the council of Berne, some for the restoration of their ancient constitutions, others for relief from certain taxes, others for the redemption of the feudal rights—all indicating a desire of a change of measures, though differing in the means and extent of the reformation. To allay this spirit of discontent, finding that promises and exhortations to obedience were of no avail, the sovereign council decreed, that the oath of allegiance should be anministered. By some the oath was taken, and rejected by others. But whatever might have been the emotions of affection excited by the appearance of a commission from Berne, and proclamations of indulgence and protection, the approach of a French army towards the Swiss frontiers dissipated the confidence of the commissaries, who returned to Berne; but not till they had witnessed the inutility of their operations, in seeing the insurrection against their authority take place in a part of the country remote from foreign assistance; the inhabitants of Vevay having taken possession of the castle of Chillon, and released the state prisoners who were there confined.

Whilst the insurrection was preparing in the south, the northern cantons were fast approaching to the disorganisation of their respective governments. At Basil, the minds of the inhabitants had already been tutored in the principles of revolution, from discussions which had taken place in the senate, that the patrician and oligarchical governments were usurpations on the rights of the people, and that the privilege of citizenship was the privilege of the whole. These sentiments avowed by some of the patricians themselves, a virtual abdication of their power, were well understood by their subjects of every canton, and a general but mild fermentation among the subject-classes began to take place throughout almost the whole of the confederation. The inhabitants of Mulhausen, seated in Alsace, and allied to the Swiss cantons, had already voted the re-union of their little state to the French republic; but the example of this territorial incorporation, which, from its geographical position, was suited to Mulhausen, found no advocates in Switzerland. The subject-classes of that people, though anxious for a greater extent of political and civil liberty,

liberty, were averse to any other alliance with France but such as should insure their independence, and guarantee their rights.

It was amidst this spirit of defection that the extraordinary diet of the Swiss cantons, excepting those of Basil, Glaris, and Appenzel, assembled at Arau. The circumstances in which it was convened were so far unfavourable to any combination, as every succeeding day furnished incidents to annul or change the deliberations of the former. After the debates of a month spent in contriving means to stop the revolutionary tide, the diet decreed the levy of the double contingent, amounting to twenty-six thousand men, and the renewal of the alliance, and of the federative oath. But scarcely had the deputies quitted the place of their sittings, than Arau became the centre of revolt and of civil dissension, which was increased by the indecision of troops stationed in that quarter; who, when ordered to attack the insurgents, refused for a long time to obey their officers, and, forming themselves into committees, threatened to attack the fortress of Arbourg; nor was the insurrection appeased till the government had taken more violent and coercive measures. This spirit of revolt against the regency of Berne was not confined to this province, or to the Pays-de-Vaud The levy of the militia met with obstacles in various quarters of the German part of the canton, not more from the indisposition of the inhabitants to take arms in a cause which they judged indefensible, or to which they were otherwise averse, than from the protection given to their disobedience by the commissary of the French directory, who demanded, in a peremptory tone, the release of those whom the government had arrested for sedition; and who, on the refusal of the council to comply with his orders, intimated to the members, that they should be individually responsible for the safety and property of those who were, according to the style of his mandate, the objects of their vexation, and of the benevolence of the directory.

But during the sittings of this federative assembly, an army of 15,000 men, under the command of general Menard, had approached the frontier of Switzerland, near Geneva. This army had been preceded by a smaller force, sent into the former bishopric of Bale (incorporated, in 1792, into the French republic, under the name of the department of Mont Terrible) to take possession of the adjoining countries of Erguel and Munsterthal; the sovereignty of which belonged to the former bishopric, and consequently devolved to the French. Both of these armies amounted scarcely to half the number of men which the canton of Berne had at its disposition, and was otherwise ill provided with the means of offence; but the insurgents, having become in a certain measure masters of the country, sent a deputation to general Menard to enter with his troops, while they began to plant the trees of liberty, to expel the bailiffs, and organise a provisionary government. On a second formal invitation, the French army passed the frontier, and entered into Switzerland The command of the Swiss troops assembled in that quarter, between Berne and the Pays-de-Vaud, had been committed to colonel Weiss, a member of the great council. This officer, who had been the ally of every prevailing party, tamely revolutionary, and

and philosophically aristocratical, discovered from the first moment of his mission a total inadequacy to the task he had undertaken. His metaphysical argumentations with the insurgents, to induce them to return to their allegiance, served only to increase the revolt; and his retreat from the Pays-de-Vaud, on the approach of the French, rendered the insurrection general.

The canton of Basil had also at this period completed its revolution. The inhabitants of the communes had assembled, and presented to the regency a declaration, demanding a representative constitution, and a national convention. The peasantry also published a manifesto, in which they demanded a redress of grievances. The hesitation or delay of the regency to answer their petitions led the inhabitants of the communes to march in a body to Basil, and take possession of the arsenal. A few days after the peasantry broke out into open insurrection, and destroyed the castle of the bailiff of Wallenbourg, against the severity of whose administration numberless complaints had been made. These expeditive measures led the regency to be more prompt in its decisions: the grand council declared, on the 20th of January, that it adhered to the petitions which had been presented by their subjects; a formal act of abdication was passed, and sent to the different cantons; the tree of liberty was planted, at which ceremony the whole of the regency attended; and a committee of deputies was named to organise the new constitution.

An amelioration of the lot of the peasantry took place also at Zurich, the government of which published an amnesty for past offences, set at liberty the prisoners who had been sentenced to imprisonment in consequence of the revolt two years before, returned the fines which had been levied, and gave a freer liberty to the communes of the canton. The council of Berne, seeing the storm of revolution gathering around them from almost every quarter, finding their authority rejected by part of their subjects, spurned at by others, and sunk in the minds of the whole, came to the prudent determination of acceding to the general will, and to this end convoked a general deputation from the communes of the canton to take part in their deliberations. The result of these deliberations was a proclamation issued in the joint names of the council and the deputies from the canton, declaring their resolution, freely expressed, and without constraint, to unite by the closest ties the government with the whole people, and make such changes in the constitution of the canton as the good of the country should require, and as should be conformable to the spirit and circumstances of the times. This preamble was followed by various articles, amongst which it was resolved, that, in the space of a month, a commission should be established, to propose the plan of a more perfect constitution, of which an equal representation of the people should be the basis; that all places in the administration and public employments should be accessible to every citizen; that salaries should be paid according to the services and respective merits of each, and that the rest of the public revenues should be applied to the exigencies of the state; that a constitution on this plan should be proposed, in the space of twelve months, to the approbation or refusal of the people; and that a commission should be instituted, in the mean time,

time, for the preservation of order and tranquillity, and for other operations of government.

This proclamation, whilst it comprehended the widest wishes of the most zealous friends to reform, stated also the firm resolve of the council and the deputation to defend their liberties and their independence, and make such changes for the amelioration of their constitution as they should judge necessary, without any foreign intervention. But the delay of a year gave umbrage to many, who still doubted the sincerity of the members of the old government. This proclamation was sent to the French directory, while a deputation was dispatched to the French commissary at Basil, to notify to him the proceedings of the assembly. But however satisfactory the proclamation and the articles might have been to those to whom they were addressed, they corresponded with neither the views nor wishes of the French directory. In a note remitted to the deputation of the council of Berne, which had been sent to Basil, the commissary of the French directory, approving of the basis of the resolution, insisted that the existing government should abdicate*; that a provisionary organisation should take place, into which none of the magistrates known for their attachment to the old system, should be admitted; that the liberty of the press should be established; and that reparation should be made to those who had been persecuted for their political opinions. In a subsequent and circular letter addressed to the Swiss nation, the same commissary assured them that France had no project of invading their country, but only of overthrowing their vicious and corrupted governments, to substitute others more conformable to its own system and that of other representative republics. The remainder of this diplomatic proclamation was filled up with expressions of contumely and contempt towards the members of the existing government, and with an invitation to the Swiss to give his memorial the most active circulation.

During this diplomatic correspondence of the government of Berne with the executive directory, the regencies of the cantons of Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Soleure, and Fribourg, issued proclamations, containing similar dispositions with those of Berne. The desire or acquiescence in a general reform throughout the confederation was every where indicated, both on the part of the governors and the people; and as the example had already been given by the canton of Basil, a revolution would, probably, have been generally effected without convulsion or disorder. The government of Berne had humbled itself beneath the expectation, and almost beneath the wish, of those, who, smarting under its severity, or envying its power, felt the honour of their country committed by the insolent mandate of a foreign emissary. But if this mandate excited indignation in the breasts of those who had been most earnest in promoting the reform, it became intolerable to those who were the immediate objects of the insult. If it even be admitted that the French government had the right of intervention in the guarantee of the liberties of the Pays-de-Vaud, the extension of that intervention to the internal concerns of the canton of Berne, or to any other part of

* Nothing could be more iniquitous, nor, indeed, more impolitic, than this interference. If there were any truth and justice in the complaints of the French, that other nations interfered in their domestic arrangements, they surely rendered themselves equally criminal in imitating such an example.

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Switzerland, was an act of usurpation and tyranny. But the French directory had worked up their minds to other projects. Motives of vengeance against a power whose hostile dispositions to the French republic had scarcely ever been dissembled, were strengthened by others more personal. They had waded too deep in despotism to be checked in their career of ambition by constitutional obstacles; and the convenience of committing a deed by which they might add to their influence or their rapacity, was now become the standard of moral and political rectitude. Enriched with the spoils, and inebriated with the power, which the conquest of Italy had given them, the directory looked with ferocious contempt on every resistance to their mandates, wherever superiority of force had given them the means of absolute controul; and having taken a dictatorial advantage of the irruption made on the constitutional government of their own country by the events of the infamous eighteenth of Fructidor, they felt themselves too independent of every other authority to demand a concurrence in their measures, or explain the motives of their conduct. But, arbitrary and unprincipled as might be the conduct of the directory, they would have thrown out their menaces with more reserve, had not their will, sufficiently prompt to mischief, been spurred on to action by other motives. The only intervention which had hitherto been required from the French government, by any class of the discontented in Switzerland, had been the fulfilment of that part of the treaties which guaranteed the privileges of the Pays-de-Vaud. No community, provincial assembly, or popular society, had carried their pretensions higher; nor was the actual invasion of their country by the French a measure to which they had deemed it necessary to have recourse: much less had they conjectured that the French government, in extending its arm for their emancipation, would not withdraw it till, by means of arbitrary mandates and forced contributions, it should hold the fruits of general rapine and plunder in its grasp. But the enemies of the independence of Switzerland were not those only without the frontiers; hostile to its cause were the intemperate divisions which took place in the regencies on the breaking up of the old organisation; but more fatal still were the insulated communications which took place between the directory and the cantons stipulating in their own name. Switzerland, united, might have spoken with a firm and commanding tone; but, disjointed and centrifugal, it had no refuge but in despair or submission.

Of those cantons which became the immediate auxiliaries of the French directory, Basil holds the foremost rank. This canton, from its proximity to France, had imbibed a larger portion of revolutionary spirit; but the mass of its government, though it comprehended a few men of liberal minds and enlightened understandings, was made up of immoveable adherents to the old exclusive system, and of light-headed partisans to the French revolution, under all its different phases. Of this latter class, Ochs, the chancellor of Basil, was the chief. The want of energy in this senator's character was filled up by intrigue and presumption. The narrowness of his fortune, and the pomp which he affected to display, had sometimes led him to acts of despicable meanness. His vanity was as unbounded as his knowledge

was

was limited; and the independence of his country was but a slight sacrifice to his ambition, provided he held the first post on its ruins. This man had been for some time in direct correspondence with the directory, as soon as he discovered that the views of its members were turned towards Switzerland. As he was himself a member of those oligarchies, he was well acquainted with their vices; and as he was known to be a partisan of the French revolution, he had acquired a considerable influence with a certain class of the discontented. A revolution in his own canton was too limited an object for his ambition. He aspired to the character of an universal reformer; and as his talent for intrigue and his vanity were well known to the directory, they accepted, without hesitation, the offers of devotedness which he made. Previous to the sittings of the diet, he had formed the plan of a constitution, which he submitted at Paris to the directory, by whom, after certain corrections, it was approved.

The constitution, thus amended, was destined to serve as the basis of the future government of Switzerland, and its unconditional acceptance was to be regarded as the test of republican civism. The proclamation, therefore, and the articles of reform, which were promulgated by the re-union of the council and senate of Berne with the deputies from the communes, the tenor of which proclamation, with slight exceptions easily to be amended, met with the concurrence of every moderate partisan of reform and independence, was in direct hostility to the views both of Ochs and the directory. Hence the diplomatic insult of the French commissary insisting, as a preliminary measure, that the leading members of the regency of Berne should be rendered incapable of future service, since neither the independence of the country, nor a constitution of the choice of its representatives, had the concurrence or permission of Ochs and the French directory.

Although a majority of the members of the government of Berne were led to adopt a system of reform, and make the sacrifice of their interest to peace, the whole of the council, and the mass of the people, were filled with indignation on receiving this directorial mandate. This emotion, promoted by the adherents to the old system, was however suspended by the consideration of the horrors of war amongst a divided people, and by the interposition of the canton of Basil, which, though under directorial influence, sent deputies to the French general to offer their mediation, and that of two other cantons, between the government of Berne and the French government. The head-quarters of the French army in possession of the Pays-de-Vaud were at Payerne, and but at a short distance from that of Berne, stationed at Morat. General Brune, who had succeeded Menard, dispatched a message to the council of Berne, inviting the government to considerations of amity and peace. This message, the tenor of which was confirmed on the return of a deputation to Brune, renewed the general desire of conciliatory measures: but, as nothing precise had been determined in this interview, two other members were dispatched as negotiators, to offer anew the terms contained in the proclamation, on condition that the French should evacuate the Pays-de-Vaud, and retire at a certain distance from the frontiers.

The French general pleading, that

that he was not able to accede to these conditions without the permission of his government, granted a truce of fifteen days, in order to signify the propositions of the deputies of Berne, and receive the instructions of the directory; but the deputation which had been sent to Basil to confer with the French commissary, having penetrated the designs of his government, made known to their constituents their opinion, that the only means of avoiding hostilities were the immediate execution of the articles of the proclamation, the abdication of the regency, and the creation of a provisionary government.

During the truce both armies received reinforcements. The regencies of the cantons, save Basil and Schauffhausen, which had completed their revolutions, sent their contingents, but so slow and incomplete, and so encumbered with instructions, as to show that they had little hope of success, or that they took but slight interest in the cause. Thus abandoned, the government of Berne was left to sustain, almost alone, the whole force of the enemy, and defend likewise the neighbouring cantons of Fribourg and Soleure, which were also open to attack. As the term of the armistice, which was to expire on the 1st of March, drew nearer, the debates of the council became more indecisive. Four days previous to the term of the armistice the council gave unlimited power to general D'Erlach to attack; which order, two days after, was rescinded, a message in the interval having been received from Brune, that he had received his full instructions from the directory, and was ready to enter into negotiation.

Two members of the council were dispatched to Payerne, to hear and to treat. The ultimatum of the directory enjoined the dismission of the militia of Berne, the immediate creation of a provisionary government on a different basis from that existing, the convocation of the primary assemblies at the end of a month, the adoption of the principles of popular representation and equality of rights, as the basis of the constitution to be established; the unity of the Helvetic republic, after the forms and modes to be hereafter agreed on between the cantons and their allies; the release of those confined for political opinions; and the resignation of the powers of the existing government into the hands of the provisionary government about to be formed. On these conditions, and on the immediate withdrawing of the Swiss troops, he engaged to proceed no further, to keep only posts of observation, and to evacuate Switzerland altogether as soon as the constitution could be put in motion. These propositions were refused on the part of the deputation, who gave notice to the avant posts of the army of Berne, on returning from the French general, that the attack was to take place the following day. The council of Berne, at the same time that it rescinded the orders given to general D'Erlach on the day previous to the cessation of the armistice, had also voted the abdication of their authority, the formation of a provisionary government, and the mission of a new deputation to the French general. The disbanding of the Swiss army, which Brune insisted on as the condition of peace, was not assented to, and renewed orders for attack at ten in the morning were transmitted to the different divisions of the Swiss army. In the course of the day

day fresh orders arrived from the council of war to suspend hostilities, in consequence of renewed negotiation with the French general, who granted a further truce of thirty hours: but, previous to the expiration of the first armistice, hostilities had begun at the castle of Dornach, near the limits of the cantons of Soleure and Basil, on the refusal of the Swiss to leave the French in possession of part of a bridge, which, it was pretended, they had a right to guard. The French made themselves masters not only of the bridge, but also of the castle, but discontinued their operations on receiving advice of the renewal of the armistice from the French commissary at Basil, who had negotiated at the same time, but in vain, with the canton, for the passage of six thousand men across the neutral territory. But this suspension was but of short duration. The contending parties were too much animated against each other not to seize the first pretext of coming to a speedier decision than that of prolonged negotiations. The council of Berne was nearly equally divided; but the army was in possession and under the command of those members of the government who had been the unshaken defenders of the old system, and who had every thing to lose by submission. The French general also, whose reinforcements had given him a decided superiority, and who had the means of commanding by force the terms which his opponents refused to grant to negotiations, had no motive for further delay. The truce of thirty hours, which would have ended on the morning of the third of March, and which had been granted, according to the official dispatches, that reparation might be made for injuries received, and to which it seems no attention had been paid, was broken. Of this infraction both parties, as is usual in similar cases, accuse each other; but the question is of little moment, since recourse to arms on both sides had become inevitable. The hostilities which had been suspended at the castle of Dornach on the morning of the first of March were renewed the following day, when the village of Lagnau, an important post that covered Soleure, was attacked and taken by Schawenbourg. The city of Soleure, on the menacing and brutal summons of the French general, opened its gates without resistance. The following day the senate was dissolved, and a provisionary government of eleven members was instituted, (amongst whom were three members of the old regency,) of which five were sent by Schawenbourg as hostages to the fortress of Huninguen. Whilst the French army was marching to the attack of Soleure, a division of the army of Brune summoned Fribourg to surrender. The magistracy acceded to the summons on condition that time was given for the evacuation of the place by the troops of the canton of Berne. The time having elapsed, the magistrates intimated to general Pigeau, the French commander, that they were no longer masters of the place, being under the control of the Berne soldiery and the peasantry, amounting to five or six thousand men. An attack was immediately ordered; and the town, after a short resistance, was entered by the French on one side, while the soldiers and peasantry, taking with them the cannon and stores of the arsenal, escaped on the other, and joined the main army posted on the river Sensen. The regency was

deposed, and a provisionary government, composed of citizens chosen by the sections, was named in its stead.

The surrender of Soleure and Fribourg, on opposite points of the line of attack, made the French masters both of the right and left of the Swiss army, and compelled the Swiss generals to change their positions, and concentre their forces, to cover Berne. This retreat was operated without loss on the side of the Swiss, but the same distrust and divisions which had infected the councils began also to pervade the army. The two following days, passed by the French in a state of inaction, might have rendered them masters of Berne, had they known the insubordination and indiscipline of the opposing army. The left wing, which covered Berne on the south, towards Fribourg, revolted the day after the surrender of this latter place, and marched to Berne, where they massacred their commanding officers, and, having chosen others, returned to their post. Considerable portions of the right wing, which, retreating from Soleure, covered Berne towards the north, disbanded, and returned to their homes. The troops composing the centre, posted at Nidau on the lake of Bienne, assembling tumultuously, were likewise about to make their officers the victims of their fury, accusing them of incapacity or of treason; and the soldiers, shaking off their authority on their retreat, exercise their own judgement with respect to the measures to be adopted, and the military arrangements and positions to be taken. The contingents from the cantons continued to form the rear guard, or rather, with more prudence than zeal in the common cause, kept carefully out of the way of either attack or defence.

As the danger grew more menacing, the measures of the government of Berne became more fluctuating and incoherent. The order given for the levy of the people in mass, a measure of most dangerous tendency at a moment when sedition and revolt flew from rank to rank, amidst an hitherto obedient and organised army, was followed by the entire dissolution of the regency, the election of a provisionary government, and the disbanding of the troops. This measure, under their present circumstances, was wise and humane, since every hope of effective resistance had ceased, not only from the superiority of the enemy, but from the revolt and desertion which had taken place in their own army. As the change of government and the disbanding of the army were held out as the terms of pacification, the first act of the provisionary government was the notification of these measures to the French general; but these terms had been offered when the Swiss lines were yet unbroken, and when resistance wore an aspect more formidable. Brune was well acquainted with the disorders that reigned both in the army and the senate, and now insisted, in addition to the disbanding of the troops (on which condition, according to his former proposition, he was to withdraw his forces), that Berne should receive a French garrison. This arbitrary requisition, which was deemed a demand of almost unconditional submission, once more excited general indignation and orders were given for further resistance at a moment when resistance became almost an act of desperation.

The

The line of defence now occupied by the Swiss was a half circle to the north and south west, at eight or ten miles distance from Berne, from Schalnen, and Frauenbrun, on the road of Soleure and Berne to Gemmingen, Laupen, and Neuenech, villages on the river Sensen, leading from Berne to Fribourg. Considerably weakened by desertion and indiscipline, the effective force opposed to the French did not amount to half the number; but the positions taken by the Swiss were capable of strong defence. The attack on the whole line began early on the morning of the fifth. The army under Brune marched in three columns towards these posts; but the principal force of both armies was united at Neuenech. The combat lasted several hours, with varied success; the Swiss, inferior in number and discipline, were animated by heroic and desperate courage, and yielded the field of battle not until they had made a dreadful carnage of the assailants, and strewed it also not thinly with their own dead. At the same time the posts to the north of Berne, under the command of general d'Erlach, were attacked by Schawenbourg at Schalnen. Dislodged from thence, the Swiss retreated to Frauenbrun, where they made strong resistance, nor left the ground till obliged to yield to triple numbers; when they formed again, and sustained another attack at Urtenen. Forced from Urtenen, they retreated in good order, and took possession of a formidable and advantageous post near the heights of Altmerchingen, where, defended by a chain of rocks on their right, a forest of pine and a boggy ground on their left, obstructing the road with felled trees, and placing strong palisadoes in the front, they stopped for a while the rapid pursuit of the French army. Here another desperate combat ensued; nor were the Swiss dislodged, till, after making considerable havock of the assailants, they found themselves nearly surrounded.

Thus overpowered by numbers, they fled at last in disorder from this position, which they had so well defended, leaving their artillery behind them, and formed a fifth time on the heights before Berne. Here the battle was renewed with the same obstinate courage, and with more dreadful execution, as the French had to contend with the fury of the disorganised multitude, among whom were women and children, who fell the useless victims of ineffective resistance. The capitulation of the provisionary government put an end to further hostilities, and saved Berne from the horrors of an assault.

The entry of Schawenbourg's army into Berne put an end to further resistance on every other point. The post of Gemmingen, weakened by a detachment sent to strengthen that of Neuenech, was taken possession of by a column of the army of general Brune, the remainder of the Swiss troops who defended it, together with the remainder of the Swiss army in that quarter, having retreated in disorder, on hearing of the capitulation of Berne. Furious at their defeat, the Swiss soldiery turned their rage on their own officers, some of whom, and among others their two adjutant-generals, they massacred on the spot. The country to the south of Berne, whatever might be the fate of war in defending the capital, had been judged inaccessible to the invaders. Thither the chiefs, on the approach of the French army, and some time previous to the commencement of

hostilities, had sent arms, artillery, and a considerable quantity of money; and thither, after the last struggle, they turned their steps, in hopes of rallying their scattered troops, and forming points of resistance. But, to whatever cause it may be attributed, the fidelity and affection of the soldier and the peasant were every where converted into acts of hatred and murder. M. de Steiguer, the ex-avoyer of Berne, who, in resigning his office to the provisionary government, had gone to share the danger of the combat with general D'Erlach, escaped the fury of his countrymen, and, traversing the lake of Thun and the mountains of Underwalden, reached the emperor's dominions in safety; but the general, whose bravery merited a different fate, having been recognised in his flight, was seized on by the peasants, and, after suffering every excess of ignominy whilst they were dragging him back a prisoner to Berne, was, together with his aide-du-camp, most inhumanly butchered on the road.

Berne, now in possession of the French army, was protected by the presence of the officers from any extraordinary excesses; but the country around was subjected to the devastation of the soldiery, and principally those under the command of Schawenbourg, who were guilty of variety of outrage. Some of these plunderers were shot by order of general Brune; but a greater number were killed by the peasantry in the commission of the theft. Many instances of atrocity are likewise recorded, of brutal violences perpetrated on women, of whom numbers fell in the field of battle. But this transient pillage was lost in the hostile appropriation which afterwards took place of the public treasure, the public stores, the arsenal, the cannon, and other property belonging to the state. The proclamation issued by Brune, from Payerne, to the people of Berne, had given them the assurance that the object of his mission was the deliverance of their country from the tyranny of their oligarchy; and that their persons, property, and political independence, placed under the guarantee of the French republic, should rest in perfect security. The oligarchy was dispersed, their army was disbanded or destroyed; but the public wealth, which belonged to the regenerated people, since the French came in the character of deliverers, was not on that account more sacred or secure. The submission of Berne to the French army indisposed the governments of the other cantons still more to the observance of their oath taken at the diet of Arau. Apologies were sent by some to the French commissaries and general, for having furnished their contingents. In others, such as Zurich, the councils who still prudently held the reins under the name of provisionary government, waiting the result of the contest with the magistracy of Berne, resigned them into the hands of the deputies of the people. The influence as well of the clergy as of the aristocracy of Lucerne, who also kept possession of the government under the provisionary title which had been generally adopted, had hitherto outweighed that of the French interest. The fear of seeing their canton occupied by French troops, which was the evil most deprecated by all the cantons, and a few words of menace and exhortation from the French commissary, led the provisionary government to enter into treaty; and, on the promise of the French

French general, that the acceptance of the new constitution should be the condition of peace, the government laid aside its provisional forces, the tree of liberty was planted, and the primary assemblies named their representatives to the national meeting, which was about to take place, of deputies from the different cantons and subject states. But this spirit of fraternity, which pervaded the plains, had not made much progress amongst the mountains of Switzerland. Whilst, from motives of different kinds, the citizens of the larger cantons were sending their representatives to form a general assembly, the centre of the power and the unity of the Helvetic republic, deputies from the little canton of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, and Glaris, assembled at Brunnen, resolved to maintain their present governments, and invited the neighbouring cantons of Appenzel and St. Gall to join in the confederacy. A declaration of their sentiments was sent to general Brune, stating, that their constitution had been for many ages a democracy founded on the sovereignty of the people and the rights of man; that they possessed nothing but their religion, their liberty, and their flocks, which they hoped the French nation would permit them to enjoy in peace; promising, on their side, that they would never take arms against it. The answer returned by Brune, assuring them of the continuance of the friendship of the French, and that their country should not be visited by the French troops, desiring only their assent to the new constitution in return, occasioned the meeting of another congress at Brunnen, where it was decided that their present government should be defended against whatever attack should be made. Meanwhile, Brune was recalled from Switzerland, and the command of the army entrusted to Schawenbourg. Hitherto Mengaud and Brune had been the sole agents, on the part of the French, for the civil and military affairs of the fraternising cantons; but, as the scene of conquest or affection enlarged, commissaries and agents of the executive directory were scattered through the country with profusion. The treaty made by the other cantons, on the surrender of Berne, had hitherto circumscribed the exactions of the French emissaries in their organisation of plunder. The arsenal of Berne had been emptied into the fortress of Huninguen, and a long procession of waggons had conveyed the amount of the public treasury into the French coffers. Mengaud, the former commissary, had filled up the part allotted to him by insolent menace, and Le Carlier was sent with more substantial orders. On his arrival, a contribution of fifteen millions of livres was levied on the members of the late governments. The loss of their bailiwicks, their salaries, and their power, was deemed a punishment too gentle for their political transgressions; and, as the offence was not confined to the cantons in possession of the French arms, the purses of the oligarchs of Zurich and Lucerne were comprehended in the proscription. A milder contribution, which had at first been exacted, was paid with scrupulous exactness; but this new demand having caused remonstrances with respect to the possibility of raising so immense a sum, several of the seditious senators of Berne were arrested by order of Le Carlier, and transferred as hostages to the citadel of Huninguen.

While the French emissaries were

fulfilling the commissions of their employers at Berne, the cantons, who had accepted the proffered constitution, sent their deputies to form a legislative assembly at Arau. The disposition to independence, which this assembly betrayed in its opening, was ill accordant with the views and politics of the cabinet of the Luxembourg. The impressions of gratitude towards the French government, in aiding them to make their revolution, were considerably weakened by the mode in which the assistance was administered; and the sentiments of the legislature were not dissembled, when Ochs, the artificer of the revolution, the leading counsel in Swiss politics at Paris, was excluded from the list in the nomination of directors. Nor was this indignity confined to his person alone; the constitution which he had framed was treated with similar disrespect. Considering its insulated acceptance at the time it was proposed rather as a point of union and a pledge of peace, than as the undisputed basis of their future government, the assembly ordered a commission to pass it in revision, and present such changes and modifications as should be judged expedient. Of the elevation of Ochs to the dignity of director no doubt had been entertained; and, had his election been deemed insecure, the same mandate that enforced the acceptance of the constitution might have ensured this point also. But the members of the Helvetic legislature were in no disposition to compliment the French directory with any portion of their liberties on a matter so important; nor were they less indignant at the usurpations and exactions of which the invasion of their country had been made the pretence.

The vengeance of the directory against this act of disaffection was delayed, from the consideration that an immediate interposition to amend the choice of the assembly would be hazarding too much in the present conjuncture. The constitution had not as yet been universally accepted; the little cantons not only refused it for themselves, but were inclined to dispute the right of choice in their neighbours. The clergy of the catholic cantons of Lucerne and Zug, after due examination, had declared that it contained nothing hostile to the catholic and apostolic religion; but the less enlightened or more conscientious pastors of the mountains had discovered variety of heretical and damning matter, and warned their flocks against the contamination. The invitation made to the regencies of those cantons, by general Brune, when they signified to him their opposition to any change, justified the measures which they took against its introduction; but the attack made on the canton of Zurich, and the aid given to the peasants of the canton of Lucerne, who had risen in insurrection against the inhabitants of the city, on account of their acceptance, furnished a pretence to the French for further rapacity and invasion. Lucerne was evacuated on the approach of the French by the peasants, and the troops of the little cantons, who carried away with them whatever they found of provisions, arms, ammunition, and artillery; but the resistance made by the divisions on the side of the lake of Zurich gave the French more serious occupation. The army of the united cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, and Glaris, was made up of those hardy mountaineers, whose ancestors had here-

heretofore presented so formidable a rampart to the tyranny of the house of Austria; nor did the courage which was displayed against the French on this occasion belye their descendants. Led on by experienced officers, and united by the same sentiment of resistance against what they deemed the invasion of their rights and liberties, the Swiss fought every where with desperate courage and marked address. In the various battles which took place on the frontiers of those cantons, the French lost upwards of two thousand men; but against a superiority of numbers, which every day increased, longer resistance was ineffectual. The chiefs offered terms of capitulation, to which Schawenbourg acceded; and the constitution was accepted, on condition that no contributions should be levied, and that no French troops should enter the territory of the cantons.

This resistance to the French was not confined to the little cantons. The inhabitants of the Upper Vallais, who, in conformity to circumstances, had made choice of a provisionary government, having received succours in arms and ammunition from those cantons, poured down from their mountains, took possession of Sion, and arrested the members of the temporary government. This insurrection, with others of less moment that took place in different quarters, being entirely appeased, and the French directory having nothing further to dread from resistance, began to reflect on the means of avenging the insult offered to their authority, in the rejection of Ochs by the legislative assembly. The remonstrances of the Helvetic embassador, against the spoliations which were daily taking place, had been treated with inattention, and his person with disrespect; the representations which he made officially of the insolent depredations of the French emissaries had been answered by denials of the fact, or approbations of the deed. This ceremony was observed till their plan of usurpation was matured, and an agent appointed more fitted to carry their designs into execution than those who had hitherto been entrusted with their orders. Mengaud and Le Carlier were recalled, and Rapinat appeared on the scene. Rapinat was the brother-in-law of the director Rewbell. Hitherto Berne had been the chief theatre of fiscal vexation. The mandate of extortion on the late patricians had been but slowly obeyed. In order to enforce the payment, new hostages from Lucerne were transferred to the fortress of Huningnen. The seals of Rapinat were placed on all the public coffers of the cantons. The constituted authorities, after the most urgent representations made in vain to the French directory and Schawenbourg, affixed the national seals on the side of those of Rapinat, to prevent the consummation of the pillage. Rapinat tears off the wax, and addresses a letter to the Helvetic directory, expressed in terms the most outrageous and insulting, in which he instructs them that their utmost power is bounded to the right of petition and remonstrance, but that any opposition to the operations or orders of the French government would meet with its due punishment. The correspondence of Mengaud with the abbot of Engelberg, when he insinuated to the commissary the surrender of authority over subjects who had been raised into opulence by his paternal protection, and who had

had enjoyed the substantial blessings of liberty under his benignant administration, was also brutal and insolent; but the abbot was left in the enjoyment of dispensing his bounties. Rapinat appears; the levy of near a million sterling on the convents of Switzerland was rigorously executed; the monastic treasures vanish; and the famous abbey of Einfidlen, from its active opposition against the principles and progress of the French, was levelled with the ground.

But though Switzerland had drunk deep of the cup of ignominy, the vengeance of the directory was not to be satiated while the dregs remained untasted. Hitherto the punishment of aristocratical offences had been the pretext for the extortions of avarice. Resistance against the mandates of despotism had been marked by fines, imprisonments, and carnage. The oligarchies had disappeared, and an equal and homogeneous administration united the last of the rebellious cantons. The sovereignty of the Helvetic republic was seated in the universality of the people, and confided to representatives freely chosen, and magistrates and officers duly elected; and the constitution of the French directory was admitted as the basis of their future government. But the sovereignty thus consolidated, and solemnly recognised, to which all were taught to look with reverence, was no object of respect to the original framers, when the freedom and independence they boasted to have created were found in opposition to their more sovereign will. Rapinat's strides in confiscation, which even Mengaud, in a letter from Basil addressed to the Helvetic directory, styled "abuse of power, and depredation;" his dictatorial mandates and threats of military execution, instead of exciting fear, or prompting to repentance and submission, had served only to awaken general abhorrence; and, so riveted was this feeling of indignation, that the condescending letter by which the members of the French directory instructed their brethren, the directors of the Helvetic republic, that the report that Ochs had lost their confidence was calumnious, and that he was still in the full enjoyment of their favour, as the person to whom Switzerland was peculiarly indebted for its regeneration, was passed by without honourable mention.

The dull apprehensions of the regenerated Helvetians were not yet awake to these multiplied hints; or, if they understood them, they were too stubborn to bend their new independence to the will of a foreign power, and dishonour their country by the choice of a supreme magistrate whom they despised as a sycophant, or regarded as a traitor. This opinion respecting the object of the favour of the cabinet of the Luxembourg was not dissembled, since the Swiss directory published a declaration in answer to the invectives with which the disappointed candidate had filled the public papers, representing him as a vile calumniator, perhaps in secret intelligence with the old oligarchy, and the author of the misfortunes of their country. These distinctions were not understood by the French directory, whose ideas of independence, so far as they concerned the liberties of other countries, differed from those of Helvetic legislators. Rapinat was ordered to rectify their mistakes; but it was previously necessary to clothe his orders with a due share of power for the execution. Accordingly, Schawenbourg, the herald

rald of his omnipotence, published a decree of the French directory, by which Rapinat was invested with all powers, civil, political, and financial; with undisputed supremacy over the operations of the general and the army; with authority to depose and banish from the Swiss territory all disobedient administrators, commissaries of war, and others, whose conduct was undeserving the confidence of the French government; and he was likewise enjoined to make diligent search, and bring to justice all plunderers and robbers, of whatever rank or description. The former part of this directorial mandate filled Switzerland with consternation; it was difficult to penetrate the whole of the mystery; but the latter clause was more intelligible; and, lest Rapinat should be misled in the object of his researches, the Swiss directory published a decree in aid of that part of the mandate, ordering the municipal officers of every commune, and every individual who had charges of plunder and oppression against the French, to address them to the minister of justice, clothed with the necessary formalities, that they might be laid before the commissary, and likewise be sent to Paris. Whether this fraternal proffer of assistance proceeded from contemptuous indignation, or republican simplicity, Rapinat undertook to repress their insolence, or correct their errors. The correction was rude, but it was inflicted with the hand of a master. At the nod of this creature of the French directory, the dreams of sovereignty and national independence, which the assembly had cherished as substantial blessings, dissolved and disappeared. A stroke of Rapinat's pen at once annihilated both legislative and executive powers in Switzerland. Of the Helvetic directory, two members were deposed; ministers and secretaries were swept away, and the representation of the people menaced with mutilation and ostracism. To the stupefaction which this act of pro-consular violence occasioned, succeeded a general cry of indignation from every quarter; and so unequivocally was it expressed in Paris, that the leading members of the French legislature, who had hitherto beheld, in constrained silence, the abuses of directorial power in the conquered countries, awoke these governors from their delirium of despotism, and menaced them with an inquiry into the conduct of their civil agents in Switzerland. Whether these remonstrances might have made due impression on the minds of the directors, or whether their own apprehensions were awakened by the fear of a general revolt against their tyranny in the country where it was so atrociously exercised, and universally execrated, they took advice of their better thoughts, and promised instant reparation. Ashamed, not of the tyranny, but of the ill success which attended their endeavours, they shifted the criminality of the attempt from themselves on the instrument of their orders; and, by a formal and public decree, commanded Schawenbourg to write to the Helvetic assembly, disavowing the conduct of Rapinat, and recalling him from his post. But, though foiled in endeavouring to accomplish the object they had in view by violent means, the directory did not relinquish the attempt. The French general, the constituted organ of the directory, was instructed to communicate to the council, that, although the nomination made by Rapinat of Ochs and

that he was not able to accede to these conditions without the permission of his government, granted a truce of fifteen days, in order to signify the propositions of the deputies of Berne, and receive the instructions of the directory; but the deputation which had been sent to Basil to confer with the French commissary, having penetrated the designs of his government, made known to their constituents their opinion, that the only means of avoiding hostilities were the immediate execution of the articles of the proclamation, the abdication of the regency, and the creation of a provisionary government.

During the truce both armies received reinforcements. The regencies of the cantons, save Basil and Schauffhausen, which had completed their revolutions, sent their contingents, but so slow and incomplete, and so encumbered with instructions, as to show that they had little hope of success, or that they took but slight interest in the cause. Thus abandoned, the government of Berne was left to sustain, almost alone, the whole force of the enemy, and defend likewise the neighbouring cantons of Fribourg and Soleure, which were also open to attack. As the term of the armistice, which was to expire on the 1st of March, drew nearer, the debates of the council became more indecisive. Four days previous to the term of the armistice the council gave unlimited power to general D'Erlach to attack; which order, two days after, was rescinded, a message in the interval having been received from Brune, that he had received his full instructions from the directory, and was ready to enter into negotiation.

Two members of the council were dispatched to Payerne, to hear and to treat. The ultimatum of the directory enjoined the dismission of the militia of Berne, the immediate creation of a provisionary government on a different basis from that existing, the convocation of the primary assemblies at the end of a month, the adoption of the principles of popular representation and equality of rights, as the basis of the constitution to be established; the unity of the Helvetic republic, after the forms and modes to be hereafter agreed on between the cantons and their allies; the release of those confined for political opinions; and the resignation of the powers of the existing government into the hands of the provisionary government about to be formed. On these conditions, and on the immediate withdrawing of the Swiss troops, he engaged to proceed no further, to keep only posts of observation, and to evacuate Switzerland altogether as soon as the constitution sould be put in motion. These propositions were refused on the part of the deputation, who gave notice to the avant posts of the army of Berne, on returning from the French general, that the attack was to take place the following day. The council of Berne, at the same time that it rescinded the orders given to general D'Erlach on the day previous to the cessation of the armistice, had also voted the abdication of their authority, the formation of a provisionary government, and the mission of a new deputation to the French general. The disbanding of the Swiss army, which Brune insisted on as the condition of peace, was not assented to, and renewed orders for attack at ten in the morning were transmitted to the different divisions of the Swiss army. In the course of the day

day fresh orders arrived from the council of war to suspend hostilities, in consequence of renewed negotiation with the French general, who granted a further truce of thirty hours: but, previous to the expiration of the first armistice, hostilities had begun at the castle of Dornach, near the limits of the cantons of Soleure and Basil, on the refusal of the Swiss to leave the French in possession of part of a bridge, which, it was pretended, they had a right to guard. The French made themselves masters not only of the bridge, but also of the castle, but discontinued their operations on receiving advice of the renewal of the armistice from the French commissary at Basil, who had negotiated at the same time, but in vain, with the canton, for the passage of six thousand men across the neutral territory. But this suspension was but of short duration. The contending parties were too much animated against each other not to seize the first pretext of coming to a speedier decision than that of prolonged negotiations. The council of Berne was nearly equally divided; but the army was in possession and under the command of those members of the government who had been the unshaken defenders of the old system, and who had every thing to lose by submission. The French general also, whose reinforcements had given him a decided superiority, and who had the means of commanding by force the terms which his opponents refused to grant to negotiations, had no motive for further delay. The truce of thirty hours, which would have ended on the morning of the third of March, and which had been granted, according to the official dispatches, that reparation might be made for injuries received, and to which it seems no attention had been paid, was broken. Of this infraction both parties, as is usual in similar cases, accuse each other; but the question is of little moment, since recourse to arms on both sides had become inevitable. The hostilities which had been suspended at the castle of Dornach on the morning of the first of March were renewed the following day, when the village of Lagnan, an important post that covered Soleure, was attacked and taken by Schawenbourg. The city of Soleure, on the menacing and brutal summons of the French general, opened its gates without resistance. The following day the senate was dissolved, and a provisionary government of eleven members was instituted, (amongst whom were three members of the old regency,) of which five were sent by Schawenbourg as hostages to the fortress of Huninguen. Whilst the French army was marching to the attack of Soleure, a division of the army of Brune summoned Fribourg to surrender. The magistracy acceded to the summons on condition that time was given for the evacuation of the place by the troops of the canton of Berne. The time having elapsed, the magistrates intimated to general Pigeau, the French commander, that they were no longer masters of the place, being under the control of the Berne soldiery and the peasantry, amounting to five or six thousand men. An attack was immediately ordered; and the town, after a short resistance, was entered by the French on one side, while the soldiers and peasantry, taking with them the cannon and stores of the arsenal, escaped on the other, and joined the main army posted on the river Sensen. The regency was

deposed, and a provisionary government, composed of Britishers chosen by the sections, was named in its stead.

The surrender of Soleure and Fribourg, on opposite points of the line of attack, made the French masters both of the right and left of the Swiss army, and compelled the Swiss generals to change their positions, and concentre their forces, to cover Berne. This retreat was operated without loss on the side of the Swiss, but the same distrust and divisions which had infected the councils began also to pervade the army. The two following days, passed by the French in a state of inaction, might have rendered them masters of Berne, had they known the insubordination and indiscipline of the opposing army. The left wing, which covered Berne on the south, towards Fribourg, revolted the day after the surrender of this latter place, and marched to Berne, where they massacred their commanding officers, and, having chosen others, returned to their post. Considerable portions of the right wing, which, retreating from Soleure, to covered Berne towards the north, disbanded, and returned to their homes. The troops composing the centre, posted at Nidau on the lake of Bienne, assembling tumultuously, were likewise about to make their officers the victims of their fury, accusing them of incapacity or of treason; and the soldiers, shaking off their authority on their retreat, exercise their own judgement with respect to the measures to be adopted, and the military arrangements and positions to be taken. The contingents from the cantons continued to form the rear guard, or rather, with more prudence than zeal in the common cause, kept carefully out of the way of either attack or defence.

As the danger grew more menacing, the measures of the government of Berne became more fluctuating and incoherent. The order given for the levy of the people in mass, a measure of most dangerous tendency at a moment when sedition and revolt flew from rank to rank, amidst an hitherto obedient and organised army, was followed by the entire dissolution of the regency, the election of a provisionary government, and the disbanding of the troops. This measure, under their present circumstances, was wise and humane, since every hope of effective resistance had ceased, not only from the superiority of the enemy, but from the revolt and desertion which had taken place in their own army. As the change of government and the disbanding of the army were held out as the terms of pacification, the first act of the provisionary government was the notification of these measures to the French general; but these terms had been offered when the Swiss lines were yet unbroken, and when resistance wore an aspect more formidable. Bronie was well acquainted with the disorders that reigned both in the army and the senate, and now insisted, in addition to the disbanding of the troops (on which condition, according to his former proposition, he was to withdraw his forces), that Berne should receive a French garrison. This arbitrary requisition, which was deemed a demand of almost unconditional subjugation, once more excited general indignation; and orders were given for further resistance at a moment when resistance became almost an act of desperation.

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The line of defence now occupied by the Swiss was a half circle to the north and south west, at eight or ten miles distance from Berne, from Schuhinen, and Fraumbrun, on the road of Soleure and Berne to Gemmingen, Laupen, and Neuenech, villages on the river Sensen, leading from Berne to Fribourg. Considerably weakened by desertion and indiscipline, the effective force opposed to the French did not amount to half the number; but the positions taken by the Swiss were capable of strong defence. The attack on the whole line began early on the morning of the fifth. The army under Brune marched in three columns towards these posts; but the principal force of both armies was united at Neuenech. The combat lasted several hours, with varied success; the Swiss, inferior in number and discipline, were animated by heroic and desperate courage, and yielded the field of battle not until they had made a dreadful carnage of the assailants, and strewed it also not thinly with their own dead. At the same time the posts to the north of Berne, under the command of general d'Erlach, were attacked by Schawenbourg at Schuhinen. Dislodged from thence, the Swiss retreated to Fraumbrun, where they made strong resistance, nor left the ground till obliged to yield to triple numbers; when they formed again, and sustained another attack at Uttenen. Forced from Uttenen, they retreated in good order, and took possession of a formidable and advantageous post near the heights of Altmerchingen, where, defended by a chain of rocks on their right, a forest of pine and a boggy ground on their left, obstructing the road with felled trees, and placing strong palisadoes in the front, they stopped for a while the rapid pursuit of the French army. Here another desperate combat ensued; nor were the Swiss dislodged, till, after making considerable havock of the assailants, they found themselves nearly surrounded.

Thus overpowered by numbers, they fled at last in disorder from this position, which they had so well defended, leaving their artillery behind them, and formed a fifth time on the heights before Berne. Here the battle was renewed with the same obstinate courage, and with more dreadful execution, as the French had to contend with the fury of the disorganised multitude, among whom were women and children, who fell the useless victims of ineffective resistance. The capitulation of the provisionary government put an end to further hostilities, and saved Berne from the horrors of an assault.

The entry of Schawenbourg's army into Berne put an end to further resistance on every other point. The post of Gemmingen, weakened by a detachment sent to strengthen that of Neuenech, was taken possession of by a column of the army of general Brune, the remainder of the Swiss troops who defended it, together with the remainder of the Swiss army in that quarter, having retreated in disorder, on hearing of the capitulation of Berne. Furious at their defeat, the Swiss soldiery turned their rage on their own officers; some of whom, had among others their two adjutant-generals, they massacred on the spot. The country to the south of Berne, whatever might be the fate of war in defending the capital, had been judged inaccessible to the invaders. Thither the chiefs, on the approach of the French army, and some time previous to the commencement of

in the Swiss arsenals should render the execution of this part of the treaty illusory, the French engaged to return whatever cannon, mortars, and pieces of artillery had been taken away during the war, on condition that the Swiss would be at the expense of the conveyance. The remaining articles of the treaty consisted of internal arrangements respecting the construction of roads and canals, the import of salt, and judicial procedures; and ended with the promise of a commercial treaty on the most advantageous conditions for both republics.

CHAP. VI.

Retrospect continued. Reflexions on the Constitutions given by the French Government to the new Republics. State of the Helvetian Republic. Revolution in the Government of Holland. Consequences of the Revolution. Formation of a Constitution by the new Government. Acceptance of the Constitution by the People. Geneva. Arguments in Favour of and against its Incorporation into the French Republic. Incorporation of Geneva. Articles of the Treaty. Congress of Radstadt. Reflexions on the Propriety of convoking a Congress. Claims of the French to the Right Side of the Rhine. Good Understanding between France, Prussia, and Austria. Opposition of the Deputation. Estimate of the Value of the Country demanded. The Perseverance of the French in their Demands. Concession of the Left Side of the Rhine to the French. Project of Indemnities acceded to. Mode of Secularisation. New Propositions made by the French. Reflexions on the Conduct of the French. Formation of a new Coalition against France. Opposition of the Imperial Minister to the Claims of the French. Concessions of the French. Embarrassment of the Deputation of the Empire. State of the Negotiations at Radstadt. Domestic Situation of France. Seizure of English Merchandise. Laws respecting neutral Vessels. State of the Departments. Extension of the Criminal Laws. Military Commissions. Constitutional and Jacobin Clubs shut up. Elections to the Legislative Body. Proclamation of the Directory against the Jacobin Party. Proposal of preventing the Nomination of Jacobins. Bill of Exclusion. Debates on the Subject. Exclusion of the Jacobins in Paris and the Departments. Election of a new Director. Reflexions on the Expedition of Egypt. Preparations at Toulon, and Nature of the Armament. Conquest of Malta. Conditions of the Surrender. Escape of the French from the English Fleet. Arrival in Egypt. Entrance into Alexandria. Situation of the French at Alexandria. Distressing March through the Desert. Arrival at Rosetta. March along the Nile. Battle of the Pyramids. Entrance into Cairo. Pursuit of Murad Bey into Upper Egypt—of Ibrahim Bey towards Syria. Administration of Lower Egypt. Defeat and Capture of the French Fleet by Admiral Nelson. Situation of the French Army in Egypt. Formation of a National Institute in Egypt. Assembly

Assembly of Chiefs at Cairo. Celebration of the Anniversary of the French Republic in Egypt. Insurrection at Cairo. Reflexions on the Invasion of Egypt.

OF the new republics which had sprung up in Europe under the forming hand of the French, Switzerland was not the only one fated to feel the rude corrections of the parent. The supple spirit of the Italians had yielded without resistance to the alternately severe and gentle admonitions of their masters. The regenerated people of Lombardy and Rome had accepted without hesitation the forms of government which the conquerors had imposed, with murmurs indeed, and regrets at the price which had been paid; and the Genoese, whose gratitude was not less proportionally taxed, and who had taken their rank among the renovated states, under the title of the Ligurian Republic, had, at the close of the past year, received, for the basis of their future government, the constitution which had been duly made and provided. But the Dutch, however near their other political connections with the French, had hitherto kept themselves free from this rage of constitutional instruction. They had happily paid their tribute of deliverance at a time when those who held the French government under the title of Committees of Public Safety had not yet practised the directorial system of tyranny and avarice; and the Dutch had so wisely regulated their affairs, even under the severe pressure of commercial calamity, that their credit remained respectable, and the public tranquillity undisturbed.

Holland having taken the precedence of the various states that had undergone a revolutionary change, and having become a republic before their splendid conquest had inspired the French with the rage of republicanising Europe, the Dutch had been suffered to make their constitutional campaigns without foreign interference, and to arrange the forms of their government in the mode most agreeable to the will of the people. This act of sovereignty had been exercised without controul, in the rejection of the plan which, after a series of long and laborious discussions, had been offered to the nation, and a commission was ordered to prepare another more conformable to the principles of republican indivisibility and popular representation. The French directory had hitherto been too much occupied in forming republics on the other side of the Alps to enter with much detail into the operations of the Batavian councils; but, relieved from the weight and cares of continental warfare, and having crushed all opposing factions at home, they turned at length their eyes for a moment on the first offspring of revolutionary conquest. A suspicion had for some time prevailed, that the obstinacy with which certain members of the Dutch convention contended for the strict observance of the regulations which had been imposed on the first national assembly by the states-general, and the ancient modes of federative organisation, arose from a secret desire of forming the state on nearly the same model, and even of looking with no great aversion to the return of a more limited stadtholderian government. This suspicion had been strengthened by the defeat of the Dutch fleet in the autumn, which was attributed to treason in the

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members of the reigning party, by those who had no other hopes of overthrowing the influence which they had acquired from their talents, but by holding them up to the people as unworthy their confidence, and hostile to their interests.

National misfortunes are in most cases irresistible arguments with the vulgar, and the people were not indisposed for a change when the French directory issued their mandate for a revolution. The execution of this mandate was entrusted to Charles La Croix, whose talents and dispositions were well known to his employers for the fulfilment of any commission which would be acknowledged neither by integrity nor wisdom. On his arrival at the Hague, he found a potent germ of dissaffection to the existing authorities in the assembly, which soon grew up to a formidable opposition under his direction. The plan of operations concerted with the Dutch general Daendels, who was an original mover, and the principal agent in this revolution, was put into execution the 22d of January 1799. During the preceding night the posts were doubled, the Dutch garrison put under arms, and the public places filled with troops. Certain deputies had received during the night notice to meet early in the morning, when they proceeded, to the number of fifty, with the president Middelrigh at their head, and attended by the troops, to the hall of the assembly, where they found the general officers of the Dutch, and French troops in waiting. The deputies, on their entrance into the anti-chamber of the hall, found two officers who suffered such to pass as were not on the list of exclusion. Those whose names were inscribed, to the number of twenty-one, were consigned to a separate apartment, under the care of the soldiery. The six members of the commission of foreign affairs, Bikker, Hahn, Queysen, De Bevere, Jordens, and Givers, who was considered as the soul of the new aristocracy, had already been put under arrest.

The assembly thus purged, formed itself into a secret committee, and, after a short debate, pronounced the definitive exclusion of the deputies who were proscribed. This act of violence was followed by the abolition of the primary regulations by which their operations had hitherto been restrained. A commission was named to present a report for the establishment of a provisionary executive directory, another composed of seven members to compile a constitution, and others to concert with the French general the means of preserving the public tranquillity. The excluded deputies, amongst whom were men of the first talents, and whose attachment to republican principles had been invariable throughout the revolution, were at first permitted to retire to their own houses; but as this lenient measure was deemed a reflection on the conduct of the French directory with respect to the proscribed members of the French legislature on the eighteenth of Fructidor preceding, this permission was afterwards rescinded, and the sentence of exclusion was enlarged to that of imprisonment. The act of exclusion was far from having a general assent of the assembly; but as it was vain to protest against measures directed by revolutionary despotism and military force, those members who felt the dishonour done to their character, or who were affected by the injustice committed against colleagues whose patriotism they acknowledged, and whose integrity they revered,

vered, withdrew themselves from the convention, declaring that they considered themselves no longer as legislators; covering their indignation at this act of tyranny with the impossibility of dispensing themselves from the oath they had taken to observe the primary regulation.

The remainder of the assembly had less of this dignified, but unavailing opposition, and strong in the force by which they were surrounded from the protection offered to their proceedings by the military, and the assurances given by La Croix, who, making his appearance before the revolutionists, declared that the French directory would applaud their efforts, and support them with the whole of its power, proceeded to fill the vacancies by the supplementaries, after making them undergo an ordeal to prove the purity of their opinions. The assembly assuming the name of the Constituent Assembly of the Batavian People, elected a provisionary executive directory, composed of five members, and broke all the provincial divisions and administrations established under the convention, a constitution founded on principles deemed more popular than those which formed the basis of that which was about to be presented when this revolution took place, and against which a formal protestation had been previously made by forty members of the convention when it was offered to the primary assemblies for their consideration. An oath was exacted from each voter of unalterable hatred to the stadtholdership, aristocracy, federalism, and anarchy. The people, wearied with continual agitations, and having nothing to object against the project which was formed on the model of the French constitution, except the means by which it was obtained, accepted it as the best remedy against further convulsions; and Holland sunk for a while into the state of a dependent province, under the protection of La Croix, the revolutionary delegate of the French directory.

It was not only over the new republics which the French government had contributed to form that the members of the directory threw the shield of its omnipotence;—Switzerland, which had undergone all the horrors of their protection, still preserved its territorial independence; but the republic of Geneva, after various struggles, sunk into the mighty vortex. The question of its incorporation had frequently been the subject of discussion at various periods of the revolution; and France, at an epocha when its own liberties were most endangered, has been accused of hostile intentions against its independence. Assurances had been given by the French agents, and also by the convention, that no attempt should be made against it; and the arbitrary dispositions announced by the executive government in the summer of 1796 had been checked by the more generous and equitable spirit of the legislative authorities. But the project, though seemingly abandoned, was deferred only to a more convenient season, which the invasion of Switzerland alluringly presented. The intercourse which had taken place between France and Geneva, from the date of the conquest of Savoy, had given a considerable ascendency to the former power; and though the mass of people remained attached to the idea of territorial independence, the number was not small who began to look with indifference on the means by which they held the tenure of their liberties, whether a part of the sovereign people of Geneva, or a portion

tion of the no less sovereign people of the great republic. The agents of the French government had fostered this fraternising spirit, and made considerable progress in proselytism, by representing the benefits which would accrue from a more intimate alliance. It was stated that Geneva, relieved from a cumbrous and stormy independence, would become, as the capital of a department, the most flourishing place of the frontiers; that its inhabitants would find more easy outlets for the produce of their industry; that as a portion of a powerful state, their city would have nothing to fear hereafter from the ambition of neighbouring states, and be placed under the disagreeable necessity of asking assistance from encroaching allies; that they would lose nothing of their former liberty; but that, on the contrary, they would enjoy a still greater portion, in peace and tranquillity. From the moment of their union, it was represented, that the various parties which often distracted their little state, would cease; that those civil divisions would no longer take place, which rendered existence so much the more painful, as the confined limits of the place of contest brought the rivals continually together; and that as Geneva had of late been the theatre of contending passions, of discord, hatred, and persecution, so it would still continue, till the acrid, but chimerical independence for which it contended, was diluted in the wide spreading ocean of French freedom.

Whatever influence these representations might have had on the people, the partisans of its territorial independence were not less animated in rejecting the profferred fraternity. They asserted that the interest of both republics, as well as the morality of nations, were in uniform opposition to this measure; that the spirit of independence, and that republican sternness which the Genevese had constantly manifested for several ages, deserved to be respected by a nation which had consecrated the great principle of the sovereignty of the people; that Geneva independent, was an open and never-failing source to France both of wealth and knowledge; that its citizens, compelled for want of territory to habits of industry, had extended it to a very eminent degree; and that every class, whether merchants, manufacturers, artists, or men of letters, had at all times made the French nation the depositary of their information and their commerce. In answer to the representations held out of the protection given from the hostile attempts of other powers, it was contended that Geneva becoming a frontier town, fortified and garrisoned, subjected to requisitions, and besieged two or three times in a century, would lose its industry and commerce; that the wars in which France might be engaged would shut up exportation probably on all sides; whilst, as a neutral state, the passage was every where open; that its advantages as the capital of a French department were illusory; that the means of instruction, though not so splendid as in France, were sufficient to produce such men as Rousseau, Bonnet, and Saussure; that the moral line of rectitude was a greater consideration than the geographical line of territory; that Geneva with its independence was a monument of glory to "The Great Nation," from the respect it showed for property, and the protection it gave to weakness; and that if France persisted to press the acquisition, no resistance would be made, but walls and beggars would be the only fruit of the conquest.

However powerfully those considerations

siderations might have weighed with the adherents to the territorial independence of Geneva, the partisans for the incorporation formed the vast majority, and the union of this republic to France was pronounced by the sovereign council (15th April) after hearing the report made by the commission to whom the proposition had been sent. The treaty of union, after due discussion, between the French embassador at Geneva and a committee appointed for that purpose, was ratified by the French government, (17th May). The treaty consisted of fourteen articles, the first of which was the acceptance by the French Republic of the offer made by the citizens of Geneva, of an union with the French nation, in consequence of which the Genevese who were in France, as well as those who were in other countries, were declared Frenchmen born; those who were absent, might at any future period return to France, and enjoy all the rights annexed to the quality of French citizens, agreeably to the constitution; the French government excepting specially Mallet du Pan, D'Ivernois, and Duroveray, who, having written and committed overt acts against the French republic, were declared inadmissible to the honour of becoming French citizens. By the subsequent articles, the permission of residence was granted for three years to such of the Genevese as were unwilling to remain French citizens. The inhabitants of Geneva were exempted from all real and personal requisition during the present war, and till the general peace, and dispensed from the lodging of troops in case of cantonment, or passage, except for a thousand men in the public barracks. No research or persecution for political opinions previous to the union, excepting against the persons stipulated in the first article, were to be permitted. The communial estates were to remain the property of the Genevese, except the hôtel de ville, the library, the archives, and the buildings for the lodging of troops, which were declared inalienable. The estates belonging to companies or corporations were left at the disposition of their respective members. All public and private acts of every kind anterior to the union were to remain in full force, according to the laws of Geneva; and the export of merchandize then at Geneva, except such as was English, was to have its free circulation in France, without being subject to new duties. Tribunals, civil, criminal, and commercial, were to be established.

On the other hand, the republic of Geneva gave up all alliances which bound it to foreign countries, and melted all its particular privileges and public rights, as a sovereign, into the mass of the French nation. This city was soon after formed into the capital of a department under the name of the department of the Lake of Leman; and sufficient territory taken from the adjoining cantons was added, in order to give Geneva its share of respectability with respect to magnitude amongst the other departments of the republic.

These revolutionary operations were only interludes in the political drama acting under the direction of the French government. The negotiations at Radstadt opened a wide field for political speculation, and thither the views of the directory were principally directed.

Amongst the articles of the treaty of peace concluded with the emperor, was one that enjoined the assembly

sembly of a congress at Radstadt, composed only of plenipotentiaries of the French republic and of the German Empire, to settle the terms of a general peace between these two powers. Affairs of the utmost importance, and the interests of a great number of states, were to be decided in this assembly, on which was fixed the attention of Europe.

It had been early objected, that a congress composed of individuals of so many discordant interests, and opposite views, would only waste time in useless discussions, and involve the actors in inextricable labyrinths, who would separate at length without coming to any conclusion. It was recommended to propose to the empire a plan of general pacification, to prescribe a limited time, and to adopt or reject it without changing a single article; and it appears from the result that these ideas were not altogether unfounded. It was well known that France, which had extended its conquests into the interior of Germany, and held, as it were, the balance of Europe in its hands, adhered tenaciously to the project of making the Rhine the barrier of the republic,—a barrier which it was asserted independent of political views, seemed to be placed by nature between the two great powers of Germany and France. The completion of this plan was represented as indispensable to secure the possession of the countries which had just been united to the French territory, to establish the balance between the new and the old systems, to secure the independence of the popular governments, and lay the foundation of a solid and lasting peace.

This congress was opened by a splendid re-union of the different ministers of the states interested in the negotiation, amounting to the number of one hundred and seventy-three. The French republic was represented by Treilhard and Bonnier. Some of the northern powers were desirous of being admitted to take part in the negotiations, but all were excluded who did not form a part of the Germanic body. After some time spent in discussions respecting the extent of the powers given to a deputation of the empire, and the enlargements of those powers, the French plenipotentiaries began with demanding that the limit of the Rhine should be the basis of the treaty of peace. No secret was made of the fact, that this proposition had been assented to by the emperor in the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. The cabinet of Vienna had given the less opposition to this measure, since, as it was pretended, the whole of Bavaria beyond the Inn was to be the reward of this cession, and this latter state would receive in return a part of Suabia, and certain bishopricks in Franconia. No doubt, at length was entertained of the good understanding that existed on this point between France, Prussia, and Austria, respecting the changes that were to take place in the German Empire, and that the system of secularisations by which it was proposed to make up the respective losses had been previously agreed on between these three leading powers.

But whatever might have been the secret intentions of these powers, the deputation of the empire were not prepared to make at once so great a sacrifice. They asserted that the integrality of the empire ought to be maintained, since it served as the basis of the preliminaries at Leoben; that the acquisition of the left side of the Rhine

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was not of such importance to the French as the breaking the integrality of the Empire to the Germanic body; that if the possession of this country was not of considerable importance, the emperor, who had a greater interest in making peace, would not hesitate in agreeing to the cession; but that in depreciating those states they were not less valuable as parts of the empire, and that their loss would weigh too heavy on different powers, not to seek every means of preventing the alienation.

In order to appreciate the value of this cession, and judge of the interest of the question, it was stated, that, by giving up the left side of the Rhine, and by the indemnities, thirty-one secular and thirteen ecclesiastical states of the empire would be subjected to losses, which amounted to upwards of eleven hundred square miles, the population of which was upwards of three millions of inhabitants. France had drawn from this country since the beginning of the war, in requisitions and contributions, more than eighty millions. By its fertility and situation it was one of the first provinces in Europe.

The French ministers persisted, nevertheless, in their first propositions, from which they declared they would never depart; and, in answer to the reasons alleged by the deputation of the empire, they declared that France demanded the left side of the Rhine, not so much for the purpose of aggrandisement, as to secure to the republic a sure and determinate frontier. The deputation, still indisposed to make so large a sacrifice, hesitated for some time; but being vehemently pressed by the French ministers, began, by offering, in a note remitted the 20th of February 1799, the cession of half the territory demanded. The following day the French ministers became still more urgent, and insisted that the deputation should come to a speedy decision on the whole of the demand. These reiterated attacks gave occasion to still more warm and animated debates. Prussia, who did not hesitate to declare openly for peace, acquiesced in the cession of part of its states situated on the left side, and seemed industrious to smooth the difficulties and terminate the differences which might bring about the rupture of the negotiations. The cabinet of Vienna showed the same conciliatory disposition, and agreed likewise to the cession, though this court had most to lose. Bavaria, on the contrary, declared earnestly against those pacific dispositions, and not only refused to agree to the cession, but went so far as to propose to the other states to invite the empire, Russia, Prussia, and England, to oppose it by main force.

After long debates, multiplied sittings, and the interchange of preparatory notes, the deputation on the 12th of March finally consented to the cession of the whole of the left side, but added two notes which gave room for new debates; of which the first was a demand that France should immediately withdraw all its troops from the right side, and should form no other pretensions at the expense of the Empire. Having thus established the basis of the negotiations, the next question, and the most difficult to agitate, was the indemnities to be granted to the different states who were the most injured by the cession. These indemnities, according to the French ministers, were to be found in a plan of secularisation of the ecclesiastical estates. The deputation agreed to this general

neral principle; but when they came to the discussion of the details, the different interests clashed, and it was evident that each state, as it was easy to have been foreseen, thought only of its own aggrandisement, and of throwing the sum of damages and losses on those who were the most incapable of defending themselves. The states of the first rank did not dissemble that these losses were to fall on the secondary states, which latter shifted them off on those of inferior order. The Austrian ministers proposed the great secularisations, the ecclesiastical electors demanded to be indemnified by those of the prince-bishops, and these in their turn required the suppression of abbeys, monasteries, and prelacies of the last rank. This disposition put into motion all of the latter class who were menaced with this plan of secularisation, and who had none on whom they could throw their losses. Many, in order to soften the stroke with which they were threatened, and which they had not the power to avert, began to form a fund for their future existence, by putting to sale not only their moveables and other portable objects, but also by disposing of considerable parts of their landed property, so that, in case of the secularisation taking place, the new possessors should have the less benefit, unless a law should interfere to invalidate these fraudulent alienations.

On the second of April the deputation decided on the adoption of the principle of secularisations, with certain limitations, and establishing as the basis, that they should begin by the total secularisation of the abbeys and private prelacies: it was agreed, that if these were not sufficient to cover the balance of the losses, a part of the possessions of the prince-bishops should be taken to the amount of the sum; Austria and Prussia having declared that, in order to avoid too great a number of secularisations, they would content themselves with moderate indemnities.

When these two points, the cession of the left side of the Rhine, and the principle of secularisation, were agreed on, the deputation, of the empire, desirous of entering into the discussion, requested to be previously informed what was the total and exact amount of the losses to be indemnified, and what other pretensions the French had to state. These articles were specified in a note delivered by the French ministers, the 13th of May; the principal of which were, to render the navigation of the Rhine common to both nations; to suppress the right of tolls; to balance the custom-dues established on both sides, so that they should be nearly equal; to leave all the islands in the Rhine in the possession of the republic; to make the navigation of the rivers which empty themselves into the Rhine, and that of the great rivers of Germany, particularly the Danube, free for both nations; to retain possession of the fort of Kehl, and the territory adjoining; to demolish the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which the French kept closely besieged; and Cassal, as forming a part of the fortifications of Mentz, already given up to the republic, to remain likewise a part of its possessions.

These new propositions excited a considerable degree of alarm amongst the members of the deputation, who imagined that the sacrifices which they had already made were more than sufficient to have satisfied the most inordinate ambition. And had the French stopped

stopped at this point of the negotiation, to which the wishes of the most immoderate partisans of the republic were bounded, and concluded the peace, nothing remained to the completion of its glory: but, pushed on by that rage of domination which impels vulgar minds possessed of power, the extent of which is to be measured only by its abuse, the directory indulged themselves in the idea of imaginary omnipotence, and fancied that the terror of their menaces was equal to the force of their arms. From this period may be dated the climax of the glory of the republic; from this point she began to descend; but those who governed her destinies had neither clearness of sight to discern the signs of the times, nor sufficient address or prudence to ward off the stroke that was preparing.

In the interval of the cession of the limits of the Rhine, and these new propositions, the foundation of a new coalition was formed, which gave another tone to the hitherto submissive language of the deputation, which now displayed a disposition for making a vigorous resistance to pretensions which they regarded as exaggerated, and utterly unexpected. All their notes contained the strongest protestations, representing these new claims as the indications of the most dissatisfied and excessive ambition, destroying the limits agreed on between the two states, and threatening the well being and independence of Germany. The imperial minister, who had hitherto supported the pretensions of the French, and had had considerable influence as chief on the decisions of the deputation, fanned at first the flame of opposition to these requisitions, and afterwards discovered the most determined resistance. So extravagant were these pretensions deemed, that, though the interests of Prussia were in opposition to those of the emperor, though the king had publicly declared that he would observe the most exact neutrality, his ministers thought themselves equally obliged to protest against the new pretensions of the French plenipotentiaries.

This decided opposition from every part of the deputation roused the French directory from its dreams of omnipotence. The French plenipotentiaries were instructed to represent that these demands were not put forward, like the first, as conclusive or irrevocable; that they were in a great measure the necessary consequences of the cession of the limits of the Rhine; that the French republic thought them necessary for the preservation of the country which had been ceded; that, when the deputation should be convinced of the justice of these motives, these claims might be separately discussed, and that only such as might be found proper and equitable should be admitted. These representations were followed by a note (19th July,) in which the French ministers signified that they gave up their demand of the whole of the islands of the Rhine, and that they would agree on an equal division, so far as it was possible to make it; that the right side of the islands should belong to the empire, and the left to France; but that they insisted on all the other points, on which the safety of their frontiers principally depended.

The deputation of the empire were placed at this time in an embarrassing situation. Pressed on the one hand by the French to make a categorical answer to their demands,

they did not dissemble to themselves that the imperial minister, in the total change of the system which he had followed at the opening of the congress, seemed desirous of protracting the negotiation, and, without openly explaining the views of his cabinet, to direct those of the deputation in conformity with his own. Placed between the extravagant pretensions of the French on the one hand, and the danger of being involved in the new combinations of the imperial court on the other, the greater part of the smaller states of the empire saw no safety but in the conclusion of the peace, and began to form a party in opposition to that immediately under the influence of the chief of the deputation. These exertions to carry on the discussion were in part successful; the congress softened the language of its messages, discovered dispositions less hostile, and consented to some of the new demands of the French. The conclusum of the congress, however, was not given in, till it had again been wearied with repeated remonstrances on the part of the French ministers; it consisted of a pure and simple consent to the demolition of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. The imperial minister delayed his sanction till the 1st of September to this article, and at the same time manifested a determined opposition in his verbal conferences with the French ministers to the giving up of Cassal. He alleged that this demand was inadmissible, not only as contrary to the first basis of the treaty of peace, which made the Rhine the limits of the two powers, but moreover as highly dangerous to the safety of Germany, as France would have in the possession of Cassal a military post, both offensive and defensive, against the German empire. The count of Metternick complained at the same time of the great augmentation of the French forces on the right side; to which the others objected the necessity of taking precautions when the report of hostilities became every day more accredited.

Of the state of the negotiations at this period, an idea may be formed from the note of the French ministers of the 14th of September, in which they declare themselves satisfied with the pacific language of the deputation of the empire; but that after nine months of negotiation, words, and even good intentions, were not the only requisites for concluding peace; they represented that the deputation had recently consented to one of the most important demands, which was the demolition of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein; that a disposition was likewise shown of giving up some other points, and in short of presenting a happy prospect of being able to come to a definitive conclusion; that all the essential difficulties were reduced to three points: the retention by the French, or the restitution to the empire, of the fortresses of Kehl and Cassal; the transfer of the debts incurred by the ceded countries on the left side of the Rhine to the countries given in exchange on the right; and the application or exemption of the French laws concerning the emigrants. To bring these questions to a nearer solution, they proposed to the deputation, that, on the immediate cession of the island of St. Peter, the French republic would give up their claims to the fortresses of Kehl and Cassal; which should be demolished; that although the debts of the ceded countries should be transferred to the countries given

given in exchange on the right side of the Rhine, nevertheless all provincial and commercial obligations, excepting such as had been contracted during the war, should remain to be defrayed by the countries on the left; and that the laws respecting emigration should not be applicable to the countries of which cession had been made.

The domestic affairs of France on the opening of the year presented little that was important. The laws enacted on the 19th of Fructidor had given the directory so wide a latitude in the administration of all the affairs of the state, both civil, military, and judicial, that a decree of the executive power, whether it was in perfect correspondence with the laws which gave it birth or not, was obeyed as implicitly as if it had been formally clothed with the signet of the legislature. The liberty of the press was entirely under the direction of the government, and that of its agents; and, as imprisonment and exile, without judicial interference, were weapons entrusted to their hands, no journalist had the temerity to brave their vengeance. This power had, indeed, been limited by the law which gave it birth; but where there was no security against oppression, few had the rashness to hazard offence. The translation of articles from foreign papers was enumerated amongst the list of libels; and an order of the minister of police, which placed in one day the seals of the nation on nineteen printing-offices, gave warning to the remainder of the choice they ought to make in their correspondence.

But although France, and a great part of the rest of Europe, had become obedient to the mandates of the directory, one power had hitherto baffled all their attempts; and it was against England that all their efforts were now to be concentred. As the menacing proclamation, published at the close of the year, had produced no other effect than raising a loan on the commune of Paris, and the puerile offering of patriotic gifts to help forward the descent; and as the army of England rested peaceably on the registers of the Luxembourg; the directors, or at least such as made a speculation of power for the purpose of wealth, prefaced a message to the councils respecting the neutrality of merchant-ships, by a general seizure of the produce of English manufactures throughout Paris. The Parisians, whatever sentiments they might entertain with respect to English politics, had manifested a great attachment to English merchandise; and the shops and warehouses were filled with those prohibited articles. The importation for some time had been very considerable; and though opposed by a formal law, the agents of the executive power, and some of its members themselves, it is asserted, made a traffic of permissions on their own account. But as the quantity of these contraband articles, thus clandestinely introduced, had swollen beyond the consumption, and the commissions for its introduction were but slowly demanded, it was judged no unprofitable speculation to seize on the capital itself. The capture of this merchandise (in which, for a while, were comprehended the senatorial robes of the two councils, then making up at Lyons), amounting to an immense sum, independent of the fines for the violation of the law, shared the same fate with the patriotic offerings. All was ingulfed in the treasury of the di-

rectory, and the descent was deferred to a more convenient season.

The message of the directory respecting the neutrality of trading vessels led the councils to create a law, stating, that from that period the neutrality of the vessel should be determined by the nature of the cargo, and that those which should have on board English merchandise should be declared lawful prizes. This law, which was held forth as the death-blow to English manufactures, was considered by some as impolitic, and hostile to the neutral powers; and as so beneficial to the English navigation, that doubts were entertained of the secret influence that urged the measure: others applauded it as the means of raising up the French manufactures, which, without such prohibitions, would soon cease to exist, as they could enter into no comparison, either for cheapness or worth, with those of England.

Many of the departments of France at this period presented scenes of horrible depredation and cruelty. The pacification of the Vendée, and the strict watchfulness kept over the disaffected part of Brittany, known under the name of Chouans, had forced those who had no other means of subsistence to barbarous acts of plunder and violence, by marching in bands, attacking the inhabitants of insulated villages, and extorting money by inflicting torture. A message from the directory provoked a law, which, contrary to the humane dispositions of the criminal code in France, extended the punishment of death to robberies on the high-road, and in houses, when made with violence and infraction. The frequency of the crime certainly justified this deviation; but the judgment of the criminals by a military commission, which made part of the law, did not pass without animadversion, as giving a latitude to power inconsistent with the spirit of liberty. Since so much latitude, however, had already been given, and had not been sparingly used against offences purely of opinion, it seemed no great stretch of authority to exercise the same power against crimes subversive of the very existence of society. But though this reflection might have occurred to the councils, they felt the difference between yielding to circumstances and establishing a principle. Military commissions were naturally the most convenient instruments of arbitrary power; and it had been announced in the council, that innocent persons accused of emigration had been shot by order of military commissions in the departments. The sensation caused by this information threw so general a cloud over this mode of judiciary proceeding, that measures were taken by the directory to correct mistakes of so fatal a nature. The law extending their jurisdiction to robbers on the highway, and house-breakers, was restrained to the space of a year.

The revolution of the 18th of Fructidor, amongst other innovations, had given rise to a number of societies under the name of constitutional circles, which at that period had met with the countenance of government; since the members who composed them were for the most part the strong adherents of that revolutionary proceeding. The reign of terror in France had been organised by popular societies; but their existence, though allowed by the constitution under certain regulations, was regarded by the government with an eye of suspicion.

The jacobin party, which had met with checks of no gentle application,

plication, had remained hitherto spectators of those re-unions; but seeing that no interruption was given to these social meetings, they began themselves to assemble, and hoped to escape notice from giving their meetings the same constitutional denomination. The directory, who felt some apprehension at seeing rival brothers so near the throne, issued their decree, and the members of jacobin clubs, and constitutional circles, as their services were no longer wanted, were dissolved into the common mass of citizens.

The period was now approaching when the legislature was to undergo a partial change, conformably to the constitution, of a third part of its members. The elections of the preceding year, which had re-inforced what was deemed by the directory the royalist party in the legislature, had brought on the unconstitutional and violent measures of the 18th of Fructidor, and no great danger was apprehended that such as shared their opinions would be anxious to offer themselves as candidates for the ensuing elections. But the jacobin party, though frequently discomfited, generally abhorred, and sometimes smarting severely under the rod of government, had an energy in their perseverance which the royalists wanted. It was against this caste that the government had for some time directed the indignation of the people. The directory declared, in a proclamation, that a vast conspiracy, artfully combined, had filled the elections of the fifth year with undissembled royalists; but that the energy of legislators, faithful to their trust, had overthrown the conspirators, and confounded their projects. This year, ever watchful for occasions to destroy the republic, foreign powers, changing their instruments but not their designs, with as much audacity, and no less perfidy, had conceived a plan of another kind, which was, to introduce into the legislative body, and to raise to every office of the state, men universally execrated, and whose name alone struck dismay into the hearts of all—of the peaceable citizen and the sternest republican; that already on the lists of electors figured personages, horribly famous in revolutionary annals, who by their menaces and their projects, which they did not dissemble, inspired such terror as led numbers to look around to see where they should fly to be without the reach of their crimes.

The end of this proclamation was not only to warn the people against the choice of electors or deputies of this description, but to propose to the council means for the expulsion of such as should be elected. If the legislature, continued the directory, found the means, on the 18th of Fructidor, of expelling from its body those traitors who had been placed there four months, they will also find the means of hindering those from obtaining a seat who are unworthy to enter. It is in their hands that the power of judging of the operations of electoral assemblies rests. This power they ought to exercise in the month of Floreal next; and no doubt their justice, their attachment to the constitution, their devotedness to the republic, will mark with the seal of reprobation such elections as violence, intrigue, cabal, and the influence of conspirators, shall dictate.

Encouraged by the opinions of the directory, thus publicly manifested, the republican party entered the lists with the jacobins. Although the assemblies of most of the departments had to struggle against their

their efforts, Paris was the principal theatre of contention. The primary assemblies had returned electors of both parties, not without considerable contests, and appeals to the legislative body, which refused to enter into the subject of their remonstrances, since the validity of their operations was the only matter which they had to decide on when it came regularly before them. The electoral body, thus heterogeneously composed, assembled in the church of the Oratory, to proceed to the nomination of deputies. A schism, as might be expected, soon took place; and the minority withdrew in a body to the hall of the National Institute. Both parties proceeded to the nomination of deputies; and though the choice of both fell on a small number of the same individuals, the nomination was sufficiently discriminate to indicate the dispositions of those by whom they were elected. The directory did not dissemble its opinions with respect to these elections; and, in a message to the councils, denounced the progress of jacobinism both in the departments and in Paris, the evidences of which were to be found in the returns which the electoral assemblies had made. The message was sent to a commission, which proposed the annulling of every election the objects of which came within the description of the message, and to admit into the legislative body only such men as were commendable for their patriotism, their knowledge, and equally free from the vices of both extremes. A list of departments was at the same time produced, the elections of which it was proposed to approve, marking the exceptions which the commission thought expedient to recommend for the deliberations of the councils.

This proposition gave rise to a long and solemn discussion, in which it was contended on the one side, that the law proposed violated every principle of liberty, and was a direct attack on the sovereignty of the people, and the constitution; it was insinuated that the proposition was a suggestion of the directory; and an apprehension was declared, that if this dictatorial influence was suffered to take place, the legislative body would soon be reduced to the functions of the parliament of Paris, and be only employed to enregister the executive edicts. To this argument in favour of principle it was objected, that the proposition was only the necessary consequence of a law which conferred on the legislative body, not yet renewed, the verification of the titles of those who were newly elected. To subject the examination of those elections to no authority would be leading on from re-action to re-action, from divisions to divisions, and making the legislative body an arena for the chiefs of factions. Was it not better to prevent their entrance than give rise to another ninth of Thermidor? A single exclusion decided on by the legislative body would teach the electoral assemblies to be more prudent in their choice, to send neither royalists nor anarchists, but such only as were friends to the republic and the constitution.

This opinion was supported by others who urged the argument directly against the objects of jacobin choice. "Among the elected of the present year do we not see," they exclaimed, "those men of the year ninety-three, whose savage genius has dishonoured the revolution, and covered France with misery and ruins? Do we not see, in the number of deputies, the incendiary of Bedouin, the reporter of the atrocious law which dragged

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to the scaffold, as federalists, the friends of liberty and the republic? Will you remain idle spectators of these abominable projects? Will you not separate from the great body of of respectable citizens, legally named, the small number of those whose election has been obtained by means only of violence and intrigue?

The advocates for principle, however well founded their arguments in the abstract, were constrained to give way to a majority, with whose voices were united those of the executive power and of the people. For, whatever acts of despotism were exercised against individuals, or whatever general abuse the directory made of its authority, the dread of jacobinism overcame every other consideration. The act of exclusion was passed in form. The deputies named by the electors who withdrew to the hall of the Institute were returned; and about forty other persons named by the departments, were compelled to divest themselves of their legislative honours, and return into the mass of common citizens.

Amongst the important elections of this period was that of a director. The ascendancy of the executive power was such, that the member whose place was to be vacated, and the person destined to fill his seat, were known long before the vacancy or the election took place. François de Neufchâteau, who had been raised from the office of minister to that of director on the events of the 18th of Fructidor, was supposed to have received this honour on condition of ceding it at the epocha of the next election. The person on whom the remaining members of the directory fixed their views, was Treilhard, one of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Radstadt. This minister, a man endowed with no extraordinary talents, had been deputy to the convention, and for some time a member of the committee of public safety. As he had been distinguished neither for good nor evil, and had shown no disposition of holding opinions in opposition to those by whose sentiments he ought to be guided, the directory regarded him as an associate worthy of their choice, and the councils ratified their decision.

Whilst the French government was thus consolidating its power within, and forming around its territory a barrier of representative republics, reposing with complacent security on the advantages it had gained, and on the perpetuity of the power by which it had been effected, its ambition was turned towards distant conquests, perceiving that the boundaries of its triumphs were for the present fixed in Europe. Various have been the reasons alleged for that strange, romantic, and truly-absurd expedition, which led from France the flower of its armies, with him whose valour and wisdom had hitherto ensured victory, and given a continental peace to his country. Some have bestowed on his absence the appellation of an honourable ostracism, from the opinion that the government, jealous of the influence he had acquired, and of the ascendency which he might obtain, had given this new current to his fancied ambition; whilst others, and probably with more reason, attribute to Bonaparte himself whatever there was of good or evil in the enterprise, since he embraced it with ardour; and probably felt sufficient contempt for the opinions or power of those to whom his presence at Paris might have given umbrage.

But whatever were the secret causes

causes of the expedition into Egypt, it appeared to open a wide field for adventure. The preparations denoted a voyage of no ordinary discovery; not only the common means of conquest were put in requisition, but it seemed, from the equipment, as if the point of destination was intended to undergo a moral as well as physical change. A number of learned and scientific men were selected to accompany the expedition, and, with the usual stores of carnage and desolation, were stowed instruments of knowledge and science; air-pumps, electric machines, and printing presses, were heaped together with balls, cannon, and gunpowder: and members from the French Institute, destined to form Egyptian academies of literature, embarked with the future conquerors of beys and mamelukes. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon (20th May) with fifteen sail of the line and frigates, accompanied by more than two hundred transports. Curiosity wasted itself in conjectures at the event; and though the unusual lading of science and literature betokened a destination similar to that which took place, yet the publicity with which it was conducted, while the secret was affected to be mysteriously kept, led many to suppose that the scientific part of the expedition was a stratagem of war, and that some enterprise more effective was intended than a descent into Egypt.

The conquest of Malta, which happened three weeks after leaving Toulon, indicated the rout which Bonaparte had taken. The French fleet, on presenting itself before this important fortress (9th of June), demanded permission to enter the port; which was granted by the grand-master, on condition that two vessels only should enter at a time. This pleasantry was answered by a general landing, which took place in different parts of the island, and which was soon overrun by the invaders. The town was invested at the close of the day, but as the French had no artillery, no impression was made, except a repulse of the besieged, who prevented the approach of the enemy by a constant fire. The following day the French landed their artillery, and prepared for a regular siege; but the grand-master having demanded a suspension of hostilities, which was granted him for twenty-four hours, the town was surrendered on condition that he should receive an annual pension of three hundred thousand livres, and that the French republic should employ its influence at the congress of Radstadt to procure him a principality equal to that which he lost; that the knights of the order who were born Frenchmen, and who then resided at Malta, might return to their country, and that their residence at Malta should be considered as a residence in France; that a pension of seven hundred livres should be granted them during life; and that they should be continued in the possession of their private property, as well as the inhabitants, together with their privileges, and the exercise of their religion. So speedy a surrender, on terms thus advantageous for the grand-master, left well-founded suspicions that there existed a previous good understanding between the contracting parties, when it is remembered what a glorious defence was made by the gallant predecessors of these modern knights against the common foe of christendom; and that the government of Malta had been numbered,

numbered, since the revolution among the abettors of the coalition against France, by affording refuge to emigrants, persecuting the republicans, shutting the port against French vessels, and other acts indicative of hostile intention. But whatever were the causes or secret conditions of the surrender, the possession of the port and island was deemed an object of singular importance to the French, not only as the harbour is one of the finest and most secure of the Mediterranean, but commodious in every point of view, for the trade of the Levant, and essential towards the accomplishment of whatever plan the French government might form for extending their conquests on the neighbouring coasts of Asia or Africa. The port and fortress contained two ships of the line, a frigate, four galleys, twelve hundred pieces of cannon, fifteen thousand weight of powder, forty thousand muskets, with other warlike stores.

After leaving a garrison of three thousand men, the French army increased by sixty sail of transports, by which it had been preceded to Malta from Civita Vecchia (19th June), kept their course towards the north east, sailing by the island of Candia. The English fleet, which had sought for the French at Toulon, arrived at Malta two days after their departure; and finding the island in possession of the republican forces, admiral Nelson directed his course towards Alexandria, on the south side of the Mediterranean, supposing that the French had proceeded thither. Having waited two days before the port, the entrance of which had been forbidden by the Turks, the English, conjecturing that the French fleet had taken some other rout, went in search of them, and immediately after their departure the French fleet appeared in view about ten leagues distant from Alexandria (1st July). Bonaparte, informed by the French Consul at Alexandria of the appearance of the English, ranged his fleet in line of battle in case of their return; but proceeded, notwithstanding a heavy sea, to disembark four or five thousand of his troops, near Marabou, which he led forwards to the pillar of Pompey, without cannon or artillery. Having ranged his little army in three columns, the French general proceeded to Alexandria, which he took by assault, after putting to flight the Arabs and mamalukes who defended it, and of whom he killed about three hundred (4th July). The landing of the remainder of the French troops took place on the entrance of the transports into the old port; but the necessary soundings not having been made, the fleet anchored in the road of Aboukir.—On his entrance into the city, Bonaparte assembled the Turkish chiefs, and explained to them the motives of his visit, which he stated to be the deliverance of the country from the tyranny of the beys, equally the enemies of the Porte and the French; and having required from them an oath not to betray him, he left the greater number in the places which they occupied. Having remained three days to complete the organisation of the place, which was left under the command of general Kleber, the French army began their march across the Desert. The troops left at Alexandria, which on their entrance had taken their lodgings in the streets, having been previously forbidden, under penalty of death, by proclamation made on board every ship, from entering the houses

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or mosques of the Turks, or committing any violence on their persons, or those of their families; built huts of palm branches, without the city, to shelter themselves from the sun. Whatever elevation had been given to the feelings of the invaders from the classic consideration that they were going to march through a country proverbial not only for the fertility of its soil, but renowned as the birthplace of literature and the ancient source of science, from whence it had flowed in streams through the world, this classic enthusiasm was instantly melted as soon as the French trod the Egyptian shore. While the soldiers reposed in the streets, the men of arts and knowledge were lodged in the houses of the few Europeans resident at Alexandria; and, as the quantity of room was incommensurate with the number, a dozen were obliged to herd together in one chamber, under the heat of a torrid climate. The wretched food, and still more wretched water, they were compelled to taste,—the stings of insects, the filth and misery with which they were surrounded, presented Egypt to their imaginations and feelings more as the country labouring under the ten plagues of Pharaoh than the paradise of terrestrial delights. Of the city of Alexandria, built by the architect Dinochares, containing the library of Ptolemy, and renowned for industry, commerce, and activity, nothing was left to the gaze of the visitants but ruins, barbarism, and poverty; stupid-looking citizens, with long pipes, indolently sitting in the public places, half starved and naked children, and the forms of bare footed women, in blue serge gowns and black stuff veils, flying the approach, or turning away with precipitation whenever they met a Frenchman. The French beheld every-where monuments of antiquity, but every-where misplaced; pillars of granite, inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphics, strewed the streets, or divided by the saw, served for thresholds and benches; marble and porphyry bases and capitals, baths, and catacombs, were found in ruins, with nothing entire but a bath of black granite destined for the museum of Paris, the pillar of Pompey, and the obelisk of Cleopatra, which were yet in good preservation.

If the entrance into the country opened no inviting prospects, the march of the army across the Desert to Rosetta, completely filled up the measure of disappointment. The soldiers, unaccustomed to the burning heat of the climate, unused to traverse sandy deserts, and unobservant of the orders which had been given them, exhausted their provisions, or suffered them to spoil long before they got to the end of their journey. Of the horrors and hardships of this expedition, numerous and authentic accounts from the sufferers themselves have reached Europe; and great allowance must be made for their weakness or exaggeration, since it must be remembered that military courage is not always equal to every kind of trial. The arrival of the army at Rosetta put an end to most of its difficulties. This city, seated on the banks of the Nile, six miles from the sea, well built, and surrounded with gardens in high cultivation, and a green country interspersed with date and sycamore trees, acacias, orange-trees, pomegranates, jasmines, and a thousand other productions of the warmer climes, opened a paradisiacal scene to those who had

had visited Alexandria, and traversed the fiery wilderness. After leaving a garrison, under the command of general Menou, at Rosetta, which made no resistance to the entrance of the French, and another at Rhamania, a town situated further up the river, on the entrance of the canal of Alexandria, to which place a column of the army had marched at the same time with that to Rosetta, Bonaparte continued his march along the Nile towards Cairo, followed by a small fleet, which conveyed his ammunition, and headed by gun-boats, to chase those of the mamalukes which sometimes obstructed the navigation, dispersing, at the same time, the bands of Arabs who hung on the flanks. Hitherto no obstacle of importance had presented itself; but, on the arrival of Bonaparte near Gival, he found Murad Bey, who had assembled the whole of his forces near a village called Embabeh to oppose his further progress. The mamalukes, who formed an army of about ten thousand men, richly mounted on Arabian horses, fought with desperate courage. The action was bloody, but neither long nor doubtful. A part of the army of the mamalukes was either exterminated by the sword or drowned in the river; the rest saved themselves by flight towards Upper Egypt, where Murad Bey retreated. This battle has been named the Battle of the Pyramids, as the action took place near these stupendous monuments. The French soldiers, who found that they had no ordinary enemy to combat, from the obstinate resistance made by an inferior army unskilled in European tactics, found also the spoils of no ordinary value. Each mamaluke slain was a prize of considerable worth, as each carried with him in his march the amount of his fortune or his plunder; and the force of the army was increased with the wealth of the soldier, as a considerable number of horses and camels fell into their hands.

As this battle was fought near Cairo, the principal inhabitants, commanders, and magistrates, together with the ministers of worship, sent deputations to Bonaparte, while the populace pillaged the houses of the beys and mamalukes, their oppressors.

The army crossed the river in boats, and entered the city in triumph, the 22d of July. Bonaparte, without delay, divided his army into three parts; one of which he dispatched, under the command of general Desaix, to pursue the remainder of the mamalukes, who had fled into Upper Egypt; the second division he left at Cairo, and marched, with the third, in pursuit of Ibrahim Bey, who, with a rich caravan, had taken his flight towards Syria, too precipitately to be overtaken by the French: but this last expedition, though it failed in its principal object, occasioned the deliverance of the caravan of Mecca, and the restitution of its contents, which had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. On his return to Cairo, Bonaparte presided at the ceremony which takes place annually on the overflowing of the Nile; which having celebrated with great pomp, he employed himself in arranging the details of the administration of Lower Egypt. He sent garrisons to Damietta and Mansoura, established lazarettos at Alexandria and Damietta, to force every ship coming from suspected quarters to perform quarantine; and as the plague had discovered itself at the arrival of the French, he

he ordered the houses to be washed, the streets to be carefully swept, and the merchandise, and even garments of the inhabitants, to be exposed to the air, publishing and enforcing instructions how to avert this dreadful scourge of humanity. He ordered likewise the construction of workshops at Giza for the different services of the army, and formed an administration for coining money, publishing tables of the relative value of French and Egyptian currency, in order to facilitate commerce.

But, whilst these operations were pursued by Bonaparte in the internal part of Egypt, of which he had nearly assured the conquest, the fleet which had conducted him thither was destined to add one more to the numerous trophies with which the British navy had been so frequently crowned during the continuance of the war. It is not known with certainty what were the motives which led the French admiral Bruyes to continue so long in the road of Aboukir, exposed to the attack of an enemy equal in force, and at all times superior in nautical address and courage. But the most probable cause was the ignorance of the intentions of Bonaparte, or the fault of that general in not sending peremptory instructions. The news of his entry into Cairo had reached Alexandria nine days prevous to the appearance of the English fleet, and the French had been warned of their danger, by the appearence of an English frigate, a sufficient time to have taken refuge either at Corfu or Malta. The French admiral had drawn up his ships in order of battle as little distant from the shore as he judged it practicable and safe for his line to aproach, when, on the 1st of August, admiral Nelson appeared in sight. By one of those daring and scientific manœuvres which distinguish British naval commanders, admiral Nelson got between the French fleet and the shore with the half of his squadron, and, having placed the enemy between two fires, began the desperate attack.

The victory soon declared itself in favour of the English. The combat began between six and seven in the morning; at nine the French admiral was cut in two by a ball, and in an hour after his ship, L'Orient, of a hundred and ten guns, which had taken fire from the wadding of the English ships, blew up. Although this event decided the victory, the French continued to fight during the night till almost every captain had perished, and the approach of the morning discovered their ships lying like logs on the water, and in possession of the conqueror. Two ships of the line and two frigates only, which had suffered little from the action, escaped the general destruction, and returned to Malta with an English ship, the Leander, which they took in their passage.

This important victory, which destroyed the whole of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, insulated at once the army of Egypt, and precluded all hopes of communication and all means of supplies from France. The port of Alexandria, crowded with transports, was not without danger from the English, had the attack been made at the moment; but, too much occupied with the glory and the lustre of their recent victory, they left the French time to construct batteries, and put themselves in such a posture of defence as would have rendered the attempt too difficult for achievement.

Admiral

Admiral Nelson having disposed of his prizes, by burning such as he could not take away, left a squadron, under commodore Hood, to block up the port of Alexandria, whilst he set sail for Europe. As this blockade cut off the communication by sea with Rosetta, and the supply of Alexandria was thereby impeded, and as the caravan established in consequence of this interruption was found inadequate to the service, Bonaparte caused the canal which led from Rhamania to Alexandria, across a desert of forty miles, to be cleansed; by which means not only this city received a larger supply of water and provisions, but the artillery, which it would have been difficult to transport by land, was conveyed more expeditiously and conveniently by water to the general deposit at Gisa.

Left entirely to his own resources, Bonaparte continued with greater activity, his civil and military operations. At Belbeis and Salhaic he constructed forts and redoubts to defend himself from the attacks of the Turks on the side of Syria, and drew plans for the better defence of the port of Alexandria and the city of Cairo. He formed also a great establishment for the different mechanical arts, in which he was aided by the artists and scientific men who had accompanied the expedition, and with whom he formed a national academy, which assembled every five days. Among the objects which engaged more particularly the attention of this Institute, were the purification of saltpetre, the construction of wind and water-mills, not only for the grinding corn, as those used by the natives were either turned by the hand or by oxen, which rendered the operation both coarse and expensive, but for the purpose of raising into cisterns the water, which, lying on the ground, acquired a brackish taste. The making bread, and preparing fermented liquors, as a substitute for wine, engaged also their attention, without neglecting points of less importance, such as natural history, arts, antiquities, and other researches of science or literature.

It was not only to the assembly of the Institute that Bonaparte confided the amelioration of the state of Egypt. At his invitation, the sheicks from different provinces assembled at Cairo, where Monge and Berthollet submitted to their deliberations certain objects of political œconomy; such as questions relative to the laws of inheritance, (which had hitherto been arbitrary,) reformations with respect to the penal code, new modes of organising the divans, in different provinces, and regulations respecting the finances; which topics the assembly discussed with calmness and dignity.

As the festival of the anniversary of the institution of the French republic happened at this period, these Egyptian sages joined in the celebration, which took place at Cairo, with great pomp and solemnity. Triumphal arches and obelisks were erected with magnificent decorations; military evolutions were executed; horse and foot races, fire-works, and every amusement to which the Parisians had been accustomed at the Champ de Mars, except the ascent of balloons, of which the machinery was in possession of admiral Nelson, were presented to the gaze of the stupified Egyptians. By these courteous and politic manners Bonaparte had endeavoured to gain the esteem and confidence of his new allies, which a continuance of his victories over

their oppressors, the beys and mamalukes, seemed to confirm; since at this epocha the detachment of the army on the coast had defeated the forces sent against it by Ibrahim, who had fled towards Syria, and Desaix had fought and put to flight the troops of Murad near the pyramids of Saccara in Upper Egypt. This cordial friendship was, however, but outward seeming. Notwithstanding the professions of regard which the French had published for their ally the emperor at Constantinople, and the assurances they had held out that the invasion of Egypt and the expulsion of the beys were measures which merited or had obtained his assent, the news arrived at Cairo, that this alliance had received so little of his approbation, that he had thought fit to declare war against the invaders and the French nation. It was probably from some vague information which they received, for the firman, or declaration of war, was not yet known, that the faithful thought themselves bound to regard the French as common enemies, and to execute, as far as lay in their power, the mandates of their sovereign. The insurrection was not of long duration. The insurgents assembled in groups in the morning (21st October), and betrayed signs of an approaching sedition. The French commander of Cairo, general Dupuis, who had gone amongst them to inquire into the causes of these assemblies, was massacred, together with several soldiers. The French immediately flew to arms, and the insurgents poured in from all quarters. Every insulated Frenchman fell the victim of their fury. The house of general Caffarelli was besieged and taken. Those who had defended it were put to death, and the philosophical instruments and working shops which had been there deposited were destroyed. The French recovering from their surprise, made a strong and speedy resistance to the torrent; the cannon was pointed in every direction. The Turks and Arabs, who composed the mass of the revolt, were soon put to flight, and took refuge in their mosques, which they considered as inviolable asylums, since no Frenchman had hitherto presumed to enter those sacred places, from that regard for the religious usages of the people, which Bonaparte had never ceased to inculcate. But as these temples were now perverted from their solemn usages by the worshippers themselves, being turned into fortresses of war and offence, the French thought themselves no longer bound to treat them with their wonted respect. Bonaparte, unwilling to come to violent extremities with the multitude, summoned the insurgents to surrender their chiefs; the Turks refused the compromise, the mosques were forced by the soldiery, and all who were within perished.

This revolt, fatal to the Turks and Arabs, served only to confirm the power and influence of Bonaparte. The Egyptians had taken no part; and the Greeks, who had hitherto remained neuter, joined with the French on the day of the insurrection, and considered the event, as their release from Turkish bondage. This accession of opinion and force was deemed favourable to the further designs of the French general, who published the declaration of war made against him by the Ottoman porte, which he had then received; and having taken means to secure the continuance of tranquillity, he began to make

make preparations for the extension of his conquests, or to use the revolutionary language of the invader, "for the further deliverance and regeneration of the Eastern world."

CHAP. VII.

Retrospect continued. Political Situation of Holland. Refusal of the Legislative and Executive Powers to abandon their Functions. Remonstrances against this Measure. Revolt against the Government in Holland. Provisionary Government formed. Nomination of Constitutional Legislative and Executive Powers. State of the French Armies on the Rhine. Conference at Selz. Appearance of Hostilities between the Empire and France. State of Public Corruption in the French Republic. Laws respecting the Uniformity of Weights and Measures. Extension of the Powers of Military Commissions. Expedition of the English against Ostend. Plan of Universal Conscription for keeping up the National Force in France. Despotic Influence of the Directory over the Legislative Body. Situation of the Cisalpine Republic. Nomination of the Legislative and Executive Powers by Bonaparte. Treaty of Alliance between the Cisalpine and French Republics. Divisions in the Councils. Acceptance of the Treaty. Arbitrary Conduct of the French at Milan. Formation of a new Constitution for the Cisalpine Republic, by a Member of the French Directory. Conduct of the French Embassador at Milan. The Cisalpines accept the proposed Constitution. Negotiation with the French Directory against its Application. Revolution in the Government at Milan effected by the French. Consequences of the Revolution. Finances. Prolongation of the Powers of the Directory. Decadary Festivals. Levy of Two Hundred Thousand Men. Enterprise on Ireland. American Negotiations. Insurrection in the United Departments. Change of Government in the Cisalpine Republic effected by General Brune. Cisalpine Constitution accepted. Change of Government in the Cisalpine effected by Rivaud. State of the Helvetic Republic. Insurrection in the Canton of Underwalden. Laws on Emigration. Treaty between the Helvetic and French Governments. State of the Ligurian Republic. Changes in the Ligurian Councils effected by the French Minister. Banishment of the Disaffected and the Clergy. Refusal of the Ligurians to place a French General at the Head of their Military Forces. Ligurian National Institute. Failure of Negotiations between the Court of Portugal and the French Republic. Spain. State of the Batavian Republic. State of St. Domingo. Declaration of War by the Ottoman Porte. Entrance into the Grisons of the Austrian Troops. March of the Neapolitan Army. Declaration of War against the Kings of Naples and Sardinia. Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Formation of a Provisionary Government. Entrance of the Neapolitan Army into Rome. Defeat of the Neapolitan Army, and Evacuation of Rome. Rejection of the Armistice offered by the Neapolitan General. View of the contending Parties at the Congress of Radstadt. Propositions of the French

Ministers. Answer of the Deputation. Menacing Note of the French Ministers. Reply of the Deputation. Forcible Representations of the French Ministers. Concessions of the Deputation.

THE indisposition of the government towards jacobinism was not confined to France. The revolution which the executive directory had operated in Holland in the beginning of the year 1798, although it removed from the helm of affairs those pilots who did not govern it agreeably to their wishes, had placed others whose sentiments and conduct were still less accordant. The jacobin party had now the complete ascendency in Holland; and although the legislative administration, and the directory which had been formed under the auspices of La Croix, the French minister, were destined to remain no longer than till the constitution which they had presented had been duly accepted, they felt no disposition to give up their power; but, after having deliberated in secret committees several days on the best mode of retaining it, the assembly on the 5th of May made the object of their discussions public, by declaring, that although they were virtually dissolved by the acceptance of the constitution, yet the dangers which still continued to threaten the country had determined the members to agree that no renewal should take place that year; but that the present deputies should form themselves into a legislative body, and continue their functions together with the present directory.

This further step towards despotism met with loud reclamations from various quarters; it was urged in no measured language, that the assembly usurped a power warranted neither by the constitution, nor accordant with their repeated declarations; that the continuance of the present directory, and the self-election of their own body, were a manifest violation of the principles which they had just sworn to observe: that when the national convention of France proposed the partial renovation of the first legislative assembly, it was a proposition accepted by the people with the constitution; but that, in the present case, no appeal whatever had been made to the primary assemblies, and that the present measure was an act of the grossest violation of their rights.

The person who made the most strenuous opposition to this decision of the constituent assembly was general Daendels, who had been most instrumental in promoting the late revolution. La Croix, before whom he made these remonstrances, did not partake his indignation, and the Dutch directory gave orders for his arrest. He escaped to Paris with a passport given him by general Joubert, who then commanded in Holland, and found no difficulty in making the French directory assent to his propositions of making another revolution. Daendels thus armed returned to the Hague to justify his conduct. The Dutch directory, who had some intimation of the subject of his interviews at Paris, satisfied themselves with treating him as a disaffected person, and a rebel, and refused him the military honours due to his rank. His return was, however, hailed by the officers of the army, and the most respectable part of the citizens, who assembled to partake of a repast at his

his house; which meeting was denounced by the directory as a reunion of conspirators. The legislative body, meanwhile, seeing their existence threatened, together with that of the directory, declared in secret committees that the country was in danger; and began to make serious preparations for their personal defence, after giving orders to arrest such persons as had promoted the meeting at the house of general Daendels. Amongst this number were the ministers of state, who, feeling that the moment of their accusation was that either of their death or deliverance, erected themselves into a provisionary executive power, summoned all the principal officers of the Dutch troops before them, and took their oath of allegiance. Having secured this point, it required no great effort to gain over the soldiery, and the national guards, who had been called out by the directory. The command of the military force was entrusted to Daendels, who lost no time in surrounding both the directory, the legislative body, and the French ambassador La Croix. Two of the five directors who had disapproved the conduct of their colleagues had given in their dismission in the morning; two others, Vreede and Fingen, effected their escape. Vanlangen was the only one arrested, with two members of the legislative body. La Croix was set at liberty, and ordered to return to Paris. His secretary, Ducange, who, having more energy and talents, with an equal share of intrigue and cunning, had directed the operations of his master, was ordered to quit both the French and the Dutch territory. The government was left in the hands of the provisionary power, the members of which announced in a proclamation that they were ready to lay it down the instant that the primary assemblies, then about to be convoked, should have named a legislative body according to the forms of the constitution.

In the month of June these assemblies took place. The new legislative body, composed of a great number of members of the first national assembly, opened its sittings the thirteenth of July; and, on the tenth of August, the council of ancients nominated the five members who were to compose the executive directory.

Although peace had been made with the emperor, the French republic did not think it prudent to withdraw its troops till a general pacification had been concluded with the empire. During the sitting of the congress, France had kept a considerable number of forces both in the conquered countries of Germany, and in the new republics of Italy. By the different movements of these troops, the French government thought itself enabled, in case of necessity, to menace Germany, hasten the decision of the congress, put in execution the plans agreed on with the greater powers, or seize on favourable positions in case of a rupture. It appears, that, according to the secret articles of the treaty at Udine, the French troops were to be put in possession of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, and keep it as a guarantee till the conclusion of the peace, of which its demolition was to be one of the principal articles. An army had advanced to take possession; but the commander having refused to surrender, and, on the contrary, defending it vigorously, they were constrained to turn their attack into a blockade, the rigour of which daily increased, notwithstanding

the continued and pressing solicitations of the congress. At the same time another division having taken peaceable possession of the bridge and fort of the Rhine, opposite to Manheim, had begun its demolition; and general Hatry, in the name of the French republic, had entered Mentz and Cassal, which the imperial troops had quietly evacuated.

These measures were executed before the change had taken place in the dispositions of the court of Vienna towards France, the symptoms of which were not only discovered during the former part of the sittings of the congress, but were stated to have been little dissembled in the insult which Bernadotte, the French ambassador at that court, received some time after his arrival at Vienna, and which led him to quit that situation. This incident is said to have given rise to a conference which took place at Seltz, between François de Neufchâteau and count Cobentzel. Both parties had announced that this political interview had no relation with the affairs of the congress at Radstadt, and nothing was positively known either with regard to the object or the result of these conferences, since nothing was officially published at the time, and the two ministers separated 6th July, without any visible change taking place in the political situation of their respective powers. But time reveals most secrets; and it has since been well understood, that a vast plan, which was to change the form of the whole of Italy, had been proposed by the agent of the imperial court. In this scheme of partition, France was to have had the greater part of Piedmont, the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were to have undergone new divisions, and considerable losses of territory, of which Mantua and a certain extent of country were to fall to the lot of the emperor. The directory would not accede to these propositions, not only because such arrangements, by aggrandising the house of Austria, would have been displeasing to Prussia, but that such a dismemberment would have been too manifestly a violation of its loyalty towards the new republic.

The misunderstanding between the emperor and the French republic was at this time visibly increased, so that a rupture seemed unavoidable. Both powers began to wear the appearance of making formidable preparations, and of adopting such measures as indicated that the war, if it took place, would not be less disastrous than that which had just ended. During the summer, troops had begun to march towards Italy. A camp had been laid out near Vienna; considerable forces were advancing towards Brecia and Mantua, and the posts in the Tyrol were put in the best posture of defence. The frontier towns of the Venetian states were strongly fortified, and a considerable army was assembled between the lake of Constance and along the Rhine to the Tyrol. The French government gave orders also to recruit their forces in different points, to put the fortresses in Italy in a proper state of defence, and to send reinforcements across the Rhine, and towards the frontiers.

The war department of France had been, since the 18th of Fructidor, in the hands of Scherer, a near relation of the director Rewbell. It was not the vice of ambition alone which pervaded at this period the governing powers of the republic. The history of the invaded

vaded countries has shown that the rapacity and avarice of the French agents kept equal pace with the valour of the French armies; and that a conquered and plundered country were nearly synonymous terms. The same spirit of dilapidation and prodigality, which had so much dishonoured the cause of liberty, was not confined to the frontiers of France; but almost every department, from the directory to the lowest clerk of office, made their calculations of plunder on the purses of individuals, or the wealth of the state. In some of the offices of government, the tariff of corruption was regularly fixed, from the price of an equivocal passport, or a certificate of residence, to the expunging a name from the emigrant list. The sale of national domains had long been an allowed object of depredation; the value alone of the lead or iron that served for the construction of an abbey or a château, overpaid the money that reverted to the public treasury for the sale of the extensive territory that formed its produce; and the favoured speculator often discharged the whole of his engagement by the demolition of part of the magnificent building; or the sale of the lofty trees of the avenues that made one of its principal ornaments. In so wide a system of national depredation it is unjust not to notice that there were many honourable exceptions; but the public voice distinguished above the rest the departments of the minister of finance and of war as the great abysses that swallowed up the public fortune. While the republic was thus given up to individual plunder and corruption in some departments of office, equal negligence and apathy in the collection of the necessary supplies pervaded others. A grant of six hundred and sixteen millions had been made by the councils for the expenses of the current year. In the month of June, which formed the ninth of the French calendar, not a third part of the taxes had been collected, and a deficit of sixty millions, which the ways and means already voted could not supply, was to be filled up by new imposts.

The subject of the uniformity of weights and measures engaged at this time the attention of the legislature. For a long series of years previous to the revolution, even during the sittings of the ancient states-general in France, this subject had always made part of their deliberations; but the difficulty of finding an universal standard had prevented any changes from taking place. Since the epocha of the revolution, many scientific men had employed themselves on this object, and the bishop of Autun made a report on this subject to the constituent assembly, and the necessary researches were continued till objects of more immediate importance too much engaged the French government to leave it any leisure for due attention to this interesting object. But during the winter of this year, a congress of scientific men, from various parts of Europe, assembled at Paris to co-operate in this undertaking; and the friend of humanity in every country, whatever might be his opinion on the subject of forms or systems of government, could not behold without an emotion of pleasure the meeting of such an assembly, in whose instructions lurked no ambitious project of war and desolation; from whose debates no mother or wife beheld in sad perspective the legalised murder of a son or a husband; but from which the stores

of knowledge and industry might be enlarged, and the merchant and the philosopher derive equal advantage or pleasure. The standard proposed for the uniformity of weights and measures was built on a beautiful system, an unvarying unity, in perfect harmony with every time and place, and fitted for the use of every nation of the globe, since it was the globe itself which furnished the measure. This measure, called the *metre*, is the forty millionth part of the circumference of the earth, the measure of a meridian having been taken by a long series of laborious observations, the result of which was as sure as the operation itself was curious and admirable. On this established unity the uniformity is established; the decimal division is adopted as being the easiest in calculation, and numerical terms, borrowed from the Greek language, are incorporated into that of the French.

Notwithstanding the well-founded aversion which the legislative body entertained against the powers of military commissions, the council, on a message from the directory, enlarged them to another class, and applied them to such, who, on the appearance of the enemy, should attempt to favour by seditious cries, or any other acts whatever, the progress of their arms. This circumstance had taken place at Ostend, where, according to a preceding message, the English had made a descent with four thousand men to demolish the sluices, and had been repulsed by a very inferior number, leaving behind them fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom were one hundred and five officers. It was stated to the council that cries of invitation had been heard, and that many of the inhabitants were not unequivocal in their marks of encouragement. A law was passed to send such as were guilty of these overt acts in future before a council of war, to be punished according to the dispositions of the military code against spies and recruiters for hostile powers. This success, which was swelled by the reports into an important victory, was counterbalanced at nearly the same time by the loss of two ships of the line, one of which was taken by the English off Brest, and the other burnt in the port of L'Orient.

The probability of the renewal of the war had called the attention of the legislature to some uniform mode of raising recruits for the armies. General Jourdan made a report on this subject, which was not only a plan for the present exigencies, but presented the basis of a regular military institution. According to this project every youth in the republic was to be inscribed from the age of twenty years to that of twenty-five, distinguishing them into four respective classes; the first from twenty to twenty-one, from twenty-one to twenty-two, and upwards. If there should be wanted for actual service, the first class in order was to take the field; the second was to follow the first, and the third, fourth, and fifth in succession; but that no one should be obliged to serve beyond the age of twenty-five years. This institution was proposed as being in perfect union with the genius of a warlike people, as well as conformable to the principle of equality, since all of every rank or condition were placed on the same level. The age of military service, it was represented, was well fixed at that period of life in which their moral and physical education was finished, and before marriages or settlements in life were generally formed.

formed. It was added, that the length of the service was not excessive; that by the successive call on the several classes no one would be overburthened with the fatigue of the service; and that each young citizen, in returning home, would bring back with him a steadfast love of his country, the honour of having served it well, and strength of mind and capacity to discharge in an honourable manner those civil employments to which his inclinations might lead.

Such projects as either gave the directory the means of assuring their power, or, by reflecting honour on the nation, scattered a few rays on themselves as the encouragers of science, were welcomed by the directory with singular complacency; but terror and alarm fled through their ranks, and sedition and rebellion seemed to their imaginations to rear their hideous heads, whenever any independent or indignant member of the councils animadverted on their tyranny or opposed their measures. The marks of displeasure which some had shown against the system of dilapidation and corruption which was undermining the state, had been construed into signs of disaffection; and regrets that more œconomical measures were not pursued, were held forth as secret wishes breathed towards England and Austria. A few, nevertheless, in the councils, who were not to be daunted by power or affected by calumny, stood firm against those attacks, though their motions for general reform, or animadversions on particular acts of flagrant injustice, were always buried under the weight of a majority, whose clamorous apprehensions of trouble and division amongst the patriots stopped in the very threshold every tendency towards examination.—Such was the fate of a motion of Lucien Bonaparte, the brother of the general, to take into consideration certain operations of the directory with respect to the Cisalpine republic.

The crimes which they had already committed by the abuse of power, in subverting the governments of Switzerland and Holland, did not prevent the directory at this period from making another attempt of the same nature, and changing both the constitution and government of the Cisalpine republic. In the history of foreign occurrences of the last year it has been mentioned, that, before Bonaparte left Italy, he had moulded the Transpadane and Cispadane governments into a Cisalpine republic, to which he had joined the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia; had given them the French constitution as a provisionary guide, and named the temporary members both of the legislative and executive powers. He had observed that the nominations which he had made might possibly have been made better, and it appears that the great majority of the Cisalpines were also of this opinion. The choice of Bonaparte for the executive power of the new republic had fallen on Moscati, Paradisi, and Serbelloni, members of the former Cispadane directory. It was the representations of those chiefs, and probably from the conviction of Bonaparte himself, that the excess of popular effervescence, which had taken place at Milan, would be more destructive than useful towards the consolidation of their new government, that led him to shut up the clubs, to restrain the liberty of the press, and expunge from the list of representatives, whom he had named, forty members, whose patriotism appeared

appeared to have more of energy than prudence. Ferro, the minister of the Cisalpine police, who had given in the primitive list, was likewise removed from his office. The vacancy in the councils was filled up by Bonaparte; Containi, a wealthy inhabitant of Ferrara, was chosen a fourth director; and, on the resignation of the duke of Serbelloni, who went embassador to Paris, Alessandri of Bergamo was chosen in his stead; and Savoldi of Brescia completed the list.

Bonaparte, in quitting Italy, left the command of the army to Kilmaine, who employed himself only in his military concerns. The legislative body, thus formed, began its sittings by decreeing the liberty of the press, opening the constitutional circles, and giving so wide a range to popular opinions, that the majority of the directory were compelled to league themselves with the council of elders to check this ardour, by rejecting the intemperate and exaggerated propositions of the other house. It was during the struggle and divisions of those parties that Berthier arrived at Milan from accomplishing the revolution of Rome. Hopes were entertained that his presence would heal all divisions, as well as conciliate the differences which had taken place between the directory and the councils; but these divisions, on the contrary, became still greater from the pressing necessities of the army, which the Cisalpine republic was bound to furnish in three months, in order to quell the insurrectionary spirit which manifested itself in the different corps for want both of pay and provisions.

At this period the treaty of alliance and commerce between the French and Cisalpine republics, which had been ratified at Paris the 17th of March, and signed by the Cisalpine minister, arrived at Milan. By this treaty the Cisalpine republic engaged to take part in all the wars of the French republic, on the requisition of the French directory; and, among other clauses, to keep in the Cisalpine territory an army of twenty-five thousand French troops, towards the maintenance of which ten millions were to be paid annually; to organise a military force composed of Italians and auxiliaries, the amount of which was to be regulated every year by particular conventions, which forces were always to be under the command of French generals; to fortify different points, and keep the frontier-towns garrisoned by French and Cisalpine soldiers, in the best state of defence, with provisions for a year in each.

The Cisalpine directory transmitted this treaty to the great council with a message, in which they observed to the legislative body, that, though the treaty was a direct attack on the sovereignty of the Cisalpine people, and was otherwise very burthensome, their acceptance of it was indispensable, in order to save the republic, and shield it from greater dangers. This alarming message divided the council into three parts. The zealous patriots decided at once for its rejection; the timid were for its acceptance; and a third party proposed to send a remonstrance and a solemn declaration, stating to the French nation the situation of the Cisalpine republic, representing the immense sacrifices it had already made, and the utter impossibility of giving any further extent to its gratitude. The effervescence to which the discussion of this treaty had given rise was at its height, when the party for the rejection saw their number suddenly

suddenly swelled by those who had been most earnest for its acceptance, and beheld with no little surprise the aristocratical part of the council become at once the most earnest defenders of the rights of the people. They discovered that even those of the directors who had recommended most strenuously its acceptance themselves, had advised some members of the council to vote against it; and, fearing that plans still more hostile to their independence were forming in case of refusal, they accepted the proffered union, and declared for the treaty. Some of the zealous party, who were determined to brave all hazards, and some members also, who, though less popular, felt alike the dishonour done to their country, still obstinately refused. The council of elders at first rejected the vote of the other house; but afterwards, though with great difficulty and reluctance, gave the acceptance their sanction.

This sacrifice of national independence was insufficient to appease the anger of the French directory for the individual opposition made to their mandate. Those of the members (both of the patriotic and aristocratic parties) who had given their voices for the rejection were alike excluded from the legislative bodies. The moment was too favourable to suffer the opportunity to escape of securing those persons who had thus ventured to emit opinions of their own, and those who had been most active in resistance were put under arrest. The military authorities attributed this measure to the Cisalpine directory, and the directory retorted the charge on the military authorities. As the warrants were issued from the office of the commander of the place without any interference of the Cisalpine police, and executed by French soldiers, it was no enigma who were the original authors of this act of despotism and infamy.

But this was not the only humiliation which the Cisalpine republic was fated to undergo. As Bonaparte had formed both the legislative and executive powers, so the directory thought that with equal right they might favour them with a constitution. The constitution-maker of the directory was Reveillère Lepaux. This director, whom the credulous republicans of the convention had named to the directory as a rock of refuge against the suspected jacobinical dispositions of his colleagues, had worn for some time past his authority with as much despotism, and with as insolent pretensions, as any of his associates. Dazzled with an elevation to which he could never have hoped to soar, he regarded Europe as a map beneath his feet, and, throwing a look of fancied benignity across the Alps, lamented the distracted state of the conquered provinces who had no constitution to guard, and no competent authorities to govern them. In his garden, near the vale of Montmorency, ruminating on the happiness of well governed nations, this modern Lycurgus sketched the model of a Cisalpine constitution, and a plan of reform; which after having received the last touches of his brethren of the Luxembourg, was dispatched by an extraordinary messenger to Milan. But as the scheme had something in it original and daring, the merit of which would evaporate if exposed to any heterogeneous contact, the instructions were hermetically sealed in the private cabinet of the directory; so that even the minister of foreign affairs was left absolutely ignorant of their contents.

Trouvé

Trouvé, the agent to whom this deposit was entrusted, was then embassador at Milan; and, agreeably to his instructions, began his diplomatic career by professing sentiments of the most exalted patriotism, and sought acquaintance with the most zealous and well-instructed republicans. This intimacy had scarcely been cemented before the Milanese suspected, from the tortuosity of Trouvé's conduct, that his embassy prognosticated no good to the republic, and that he was sent rather as a messenger of discord than of peace. Their suspicions were not ill founded. In order to effect the plan of reform, it was necessary to form a party; and this was not difficult for an embassador of the French directory to effect. When this point was settled, he entered on the object of his mission, by lamenting, both in public and private, the unhappy state of the Cisalpine republic, and inveighed bitterly against the continued depredations which took place, and the deplorable situation of the finances. This was a string which harmonised with every mind, and every one echoed back what every one felt, the complaint of unceasing depredations. The discussion of the cause was carefully avoided, but that the evil existed all were agreed; and he therefore hoped that no one would object to an infallible cure. To exhibit at once his remedy, would, however, have been hazarding too much. It was necessary to have assistant operators, and discuss the means in secret. But as it was no longer necessary to dissemble all his plan, Trouvé began to assume a tone of authority, and talk loudly of the necessity of reform. A committee was chosen, called a committee of œconomy, where he presided as the organ of the French executive government. Although this pretext of œconomy had somewhat of a popular sound, the public suspected, from the composition of the committee, that something more than saving the money of the public treasury occupied its members. It was to this œconomical committee that Trouvé entrusted the greater part of his secret instructions.

Meanwhile two refractory directors, Paradisi and Moscati, were dismissed by order of the French directory, the execution of which was entrusted to general Brune. Testis, and Lamberti the minister of foreign and home affairs, were named by the same authority in their stead. The month of June arrived, when the council themselves were to exercise this constitutional right, and they were anxious to learn what share the French directory would allow them in the exercise of their functions, and whether they were to remain in any mode the representatives of the people. They passed a decree that the drawing of lots by the directory should take place in one of the halls of the council: this decree the directory refused to sign. Trouvé, who was consulted, gave ambiguous and evasive answers. The directory, who knew his opinions, proposed him as the arbitrator. The councils refused their assent, and threatened the directory with impeachment according to the tenor of the constitution. This measure, as it reflected some shades of discredit on Trouvé, roused the oracle into speech. As a private individual, he observed, he thought the legislative body had a right to order the drawing of lots to take place in the halls of the council; but, as embassador of the French directory, he would never permit

any

any other mode to be adopted than that of his own government. This dictatorial decision covered the minister with public ridicule, the councils with contempt, and the directory with detestation. In the presence of Trouvé the lots were drawn at the directorial palace. The lot fell on Contini; and Adelasio, the minister of finance, who had hitherto acted the patriot, was chosen in his stead.

As soon as the new director was installed, he became a public professer of the reform which had been projected for some time under the inspection of Trouvé and Faypoult. The report of this reform having spread into all the departments of the Cisalpine, the municipalities, the national guards, and constitutional circles, covered the tables of the councils with addresses, protesting that, having sworn to defend the constitution of the third year, that is, the French constitution, they should regard all such as traitors who should dare to reform it without the consent of the people. The legislative bodies welcomed these addresses; and the public became so indignant against the reforming party, that the directory was compelled to send a minister extraordinary to Paris to represent to the French government the situation of the Cisalpine, and the danger under which it laboured. General Lahoz, formerly aide-du-camp of general Laharpe, was named to this commission. Formed more for the camp than the cabinet, he negotiated as a soldier, rather than as a member of diplomacy. He forgot the instructions of his employers in his regard for truth; but, as a mark of great lenity, was ordered to quit Paris without molestation, and was only dismissed from the service after the reform took place, for his insolence in thinking otherwise than his employers. He was immediately succeeded by another messenger, general Brune, who, believing the safety of his army endangered by these divisions, went to Paris to represent to the government the situation of the Cisalpine republic, and to save it, if possible, from the reform with which it was about to be overwhelmed. The representations of Brune were not more successful than those of his predecessor. The more opposition the French directors found to their mode of saving the country, the more firmly they were resolved on the enterprise. The secretary of the legation soon followed the steps of the general from Paris with peremptory orders to begin the reformation, and Brune was commanded to watch over the execution of the orders of government.

The 13th of August was the day fixed for this revolution. Letters of invitation to meet at Trouvé's house in the evening were sent to such of the members of the council as were thought friendly to the operation. One hundred and sixty were excluded; many members left Milan, and about seventy only attended. The assembly was opened by the reading of the new constitution; the preamble of which stated that the Cisalpine republic, a prey to anarchy, disorder, and famine, required reformation, and that for that reason the French government thought itself entitled to make the attempt.

As the assembly was made up of the partisans of Trouvé and Faypoult, who sat as president and secretary of the meeting, the constitution was accepted by the majority present, which did not compose a fourth part of the two councils.

Twenty-

Twenty-two refused, and protested with energy against the violation. These were immediately struck out of the list of representatives. The next day all the deputies who were excluded presented themselves to the council with their cards of entrance, but they were repulsed by the French soldiery posted to guard the doors. They withdrew in presence of the indignant multitude, to whom they declared that they yielded only to force.

A revision was made amongst such as were expelled, in order to find the most unexceptionable. No one would dishonour himself so much as to become a member under Trouvé's constitution. Thus embarrassed for representatives, Trouvé made up the number with such as he could find; and the assembly remained composed of the fifty deputies who had accepted, and of obscure men, or such as were known for counter-revolutionary principles, immorality, and intrigue.

The day following, Testi and Savoldi were dismissed from the place of directors; and Sopransi and Luosi, the former a person noted for intrigue, and the latter the minister of justice, were named in their stead. An immediate and general dismissal took place, both at Milan and in the departments, of all officers and agents who had been attached to the preceding government. Alessandri, one of the directors, had beheld with dissatisfaction the proceedings of his colleagues, and in concert with general Brune had endeavoured to soften the fate of the victims of Trouvé's reformation. He placed many of them in the army, and saved by different means a number of others who would have found it difficult to have escaped persecution.

Thus ended the reformation, projected by Reveillière Lepaux at Paris, and consummated by Trouvé at Milan. An universal cry of indignation, on hearing of this act of infamy and treason, broke forth from every corner of the republic, and the people protested they would not obey a constitution which they neither knew nor sanctioned. To constrain the will of a whole nation was difficult; but as far as tyranny could spread its arms, the people for a time suffered from its pressure. The liberty of the press was again destroyed; the constitutional circles were closed; the committee of economy had made an increase of a third to the expenses of the state, already weighed down, and taxes without number were decreed to support the cause of equality and the revolution.

If the French directory treated with this severity their children, since the Cisalpine had been affectionately styled the eldest daughter of the French republic, it is scarcely to be supposed that more respect was shown to such states as they had under their protection which were alien. No topographical situation could be more unfortunate at this period for an absolute monarch than that of the king of Sardinia. His territory, bounded on every side by republics in a state of political inflammation, could not escape being scorched by their heat; and an insurrectionary spirit against his government had raged, with more or less vehemence, from the time of the formation of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics. Toward the beginning of the summer, this insurrection had taken a more serious form; but the insurgents, not being sufficiently in force to accomplish their designs, had called the *regenerated* Ligurian government

vernment to their aid. This war, between the Piedmontese and Ligurian states, had lasted with various advantages to both parties for three months, when the Cisalpine was invoked to join in the quarrel. As the intervention of this latter state would have entirely destroyed the equilibrium, and the king of Sardinia must have been compelled to receive the law from his insurgent subjects and their republican allies, he thought it more adviseable to trust to the generosity of the French government, and accordingly demanded their interference to save his states. The voice of the directory hushed these turbulent republicans into tranquillity; the Ligurian withdrew his troops, and the Cisalpine laid aside all hostile dispositions. The singularity of giving unconditional peace, and saving a struggling monarch from ruin, might have flattered the vanity of the directory, and given them an appearance of generosity which would have illumined in some measure the darkness of their political crimes; but these men were too vulgar to perceive the beauty of a splendid action, and too vitiated by power to snatch a moral embrace from glory. A king, their ally, had flown to them for assistance, by treaties they were bound to defend him, and the demonstration of their will might have formed a rampart against seditious or foreign invasion. But protection and independence were no where to be found in the vocabulary of the directorial dictionary. The bird had flown for refuge to a cage, and the gates of the citadel of Turin were opened to the French directory the 28th of June, who engaged by an article of the treaty passed on the occasion, to contribute to the maintenance of the internal tranquillity of Piedmont, to hinder any assistance being given, either directly or indirectly, to those who should harbour designs of troubling the government, to put an end to all hostilities on the part of the Ligurian republic, to hinder aggressions on that of the Cisalpine, and finally to restore the ancient order of things with harmony and peace.

The king was suffered to reign, but the French directory were masters of the country; and if this was the point they aimed at, Ligurian hostilities and insurrectionary tumults were easy means of its accomplishment. The Sardinian government did not at first wear its chains either light or gracefully; an article of the treaty enjoined a general amnesty, which supposed the release of prisoners confined for political opinions, and even overt acts. This clause was not readily complied with, and in some places insurgents who had laid down their arms were shot, and straggling French soldiers sometimes shared the same fate, mistaken, as the commander of Alexandria answered to the reclamations made against this assassination, for Piedmontese. This infraction of the treaty led to a correspondence between general Brune and the Sardinian embassador at Milan, in which the former insisted on the strict execution of the treaty, the immediate release of the prisoners, the provisioning the fortress of Turin, the placing the Sardinian troops on the peace establishment, and the recall of the commander of Alexandria. As these demands were prefaced with calling to the recollection of his Sardinian majesty, that it was on his solemn invitation that the French took charge of securing the tranquillity of his states, a regal proclamation was issued, informing the Piedmontese, who it seems did not understand the conditions of this protection, that the French were in Piedmont

mont on the faith of solemn treaties of peace and alliance, and that all hostile designs against them would be contrary to the principles of honour and the engagements contracted by the king.

While the revolution or conquest of Piedmont was preparing by this friendly interposition of the French, to which a kind of sanction had been given by the conference at Seltz, if the history of that negotiation be justly stated, the Roman government underwent a second change, conformably to the system adopted by the French directory of making the round of regeneration amongst their new republics. As the constitution had been originally given them by the French, the French commissaries, Duport and Berthollet, durst not touch this sacred ark: but as the consuls Angelucci, Reppi, Matheis, Visconti, and Pangzzy, had been found unworthy imitators of Brutus, Tarquinius, and Collatinus, and the tribunes degenerated descendants of the Gracchi; as these commissaries were assured that the republic, instead of giving laws to the world, was itself in a complete state of anarchy; that the executive power was despised, the laws unexecuted, the constitution violated, and the finances destroyed; they declared, by a proclamation, that they were resolved to pursue and punish, as guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, all the consuls, questors, ediles, and others, the authors of those disorders. A letter from these commissaries was likewise sent to the consul, accusing them of circulating reports respecting the expedition to Egypt, in which they spread opinions favourable to the English, and in disfavour of the French. And a third piece was a proclamation of the French general Macdonald, who declared the change of the consulate to be a measure highly necessary for the public good, inviting the people to obedience and respect for the constituted authorities about to be appointed, as the only means of raising the Roman republic to the rank it was destined to take amongst the nations. This proclamation of the 17th September gave, in its peroration, the measure of liberty and independence of the Roman people. "The *great* nation wills it; its will shall be executed."

That Rome had been given over to robbery and dilapidation was a point of history which no one contested, but the principals in the plunder were not the consuls and questors, on whose heads the French commissaries called the public indignation: although these might have shared occasionally in the spoils, the chiefs were, as might readily be suspected from what passed in other countries, the French themselves. It is well known that the cedules had been, during twenty-five years, the only circulation known at Rome, and in all the countries under the dominion of the pope; and notwithstanding the check given to the public credit by the treaty of Solentino, and the former extravagancies of Pius the Sixth, they had invariably preserved three-fourths of their value. Two leading causes brought them to complete annihilation. The French administration took possession of the instruments, papers, and registers, of the fabrication of the cedules, and, without any decree or other authority, made as many as they thought proper. This measure was not kept so secret, but that the news of the fabrication spread among the public. The fact alone of the instruments being in the hands of the French commissaries was sufficient to give them discredit; but the immense quantity carried to the bankers,

bankers, to convert them into money, and the appearance of a great number newly struck off, the evasive answers given to the consuls and the minister of finance, who complained to the French commission, all proved that the French had become coiners of the national money.

A law enacted the 20th of March struck out of circulation all cedules under thirty-five crowns, and it was the general persuasion that the cedules fabricated clandestinely by the French administration were of that amount or under. This operation proved destructive to the fortune of individuals, and did not augment the credit of the cedules which still remained, as there were thirty-two millions of crowns in circulation, of which the cedules of thirty-five crowns, and under, amounted to more than seven millions. The *same* commission, by another law which rendered the purchase of national domains impossible, destroyed the mortgage for this paper, and thereby prevented its extinction, since, before any convent was suppressed, and before the church lands were made national, the commission reserved for France a million of crowns on national domains, without reckoning more than two millions of confiscated estates, belonging to the families of Albani, Braschi, and others. These estates were sold for little, and without any other legal form than a private and secret contract between the French administration and the purchasers. The mode of payment also diminished the value, as they paid a third in money, and two thirds in French ordinances, which lost at that time 75 per cent. As the government could not sell without public scandal, at so low a price, and the citizens could not purchase in a manner thus advantageous, and which rendered the means of corruption so easy to its agents, no public alienation or sale could take place, and the cedules continued to sink rapidly every day. A third law proclaimed the sudden restoration of the cedules which had been thrown out of circulation; and a fourth sunk them into utter annihilation, and completed the ruin of the state. Cedules without distinction were now declared to be no longer national money, and the estimation which they were to hold in exchange for national domains was left to the will of the government, who fixed the relative value every decade.

All these laws were made and proclaimed in the name of the French republic, without any interference of the Roman government, or of the legislative body. Instead of taking example from the errors of French finance with respect to the assignats,—errors which in some measure perhaps arose from necessity,—they appeared to copy them servilely, as the best models of imitation. The royal assignats in France had been struck out of circulation; but terror at that epocha gave a value to the rest. National lands, for the purchase of which an early contract had been made, were paid for during the latter reign of assignats with little relative value, the national faith having been previously pledged; but at Rome, the French administration, after receiving a million for itself, decreed that national estates, payable in cedules, should be estimated only at their value before the war; so that a property worth twenty thousand crowns before in money, estimated at the same sum in cedules, now reduced to a fifth, was purchased only for four thousand. Careful, however, of its

own fortune, the administration decreed, that the million in reserve should be paid the full value; and thus five millions were given for one. This demand was enforced by a peremptory order, which shut up the further sale of national domains, no more religious establishments were suppressed, nor any thing further executed respecting the estates of the church.

Of these financial operations, Faypoult was the director in chief, as Dawnon had been of the legislative. These disastrous measures, and the plunder and corruption of the French and Roman agents, completed the public misery, which, together with persecutions exercised against all who showed dispositions to protest against these proceedings, excited frequent insurrections, destroyed every hope of establishing liberty or a republic, and made Rome a centre of counter-revolution. To these horrors may be attributed the various revolts which took place; revolts not of fanatics against liberty, but of indignant patriotism against oppression. The department of the Circeo, which furnished the oil of Rome, the commerce and fortune of whose inhabitants were ruined by the operations of Faypoult, took arms in despair against these public depredations. Victories over rebels and brigands were pompously proclaimed in Paris, while it was the rebels and robbers alone who remained triumphant.

As a change of governors was pretended to be a remedy of all kinds of evils, the French general, according to orders, named five new consuls; Zaccaloni and Brizzi, who were members of the senate; Rei, minister of justice; and Callisti and Piezelli. Other changes took place in consequence of the movement given to the main-spring. The senate, tribunate, and consulate, with all these changes, enjoyed less liberty than their ancestors under the most despotic of the Roman emperors. The constitution had given the French general the power of enacting laws for a certain period, and the consequence was natural—the Roman senate became the instrument only of French commissaries and soldiers, to desolate the country, and effectuate the ruin of the people.

The state of the French finances, for the restoration of which a commission had been long industriously and uselessly employed, came under the consideration of the French councils. The budget for the ensuing year, the seventh of the republic, contained ways and means for raising six hundred millions. Whatever respect the councils might otherwise entertain for the administration of the directory, the extravagance and dilapidations of its agents were increasing topics of declamation. The war department, notwithstanding former animadversions of the councils, continued, with unblushing effrontery, the official depredations. A bribe to a minister for a contract was an affair of almost public stipulation; and this rage for plunder was carried to such excess, that the directory, part of whose body were notorious sharers in the corruption, were compelled by the public voice to publish a decree, which was executed, that henceforth all contracts for the war and marine departments should be publicly announced, and given to the lowest bidder. Amongst the ways and means for raising the six hundred millions, was a tax on salt, which was stated to furnish thirty millions. This tax would have been amongst the lightest

lightest of the budget; but as it was a tax of unpopular sound, recalling the *gabelle*, and all its odious inquisition, the council, notwithstanding the influence of the directory, who had other speculations on this subject in view, rejected it. With all due complaisance, however, they at this period prolonged the power of the directory, by the law of the 10th Fructidor, over the public papers, another year. But as the cry of indignation against tyranny and corruption was scarcely tolerated in the councils, it might well be supposed how dangerous it would have been considered to disturb the peace beyond the whispers of Paris, by troubling the tranquil confidence of the departments, or informing the seat of government that despotism reigned across the frontiers as well as at home.

If the council rejected the salt-tax on account of its unpopular sound, another impost of monarchical institution was put into execution. This was the duties on the entry of provisions and merchandise into Paris. The populace, in the first days of the revolution, had exercised their sovereignty in burning some of the barriers where these duties were paid, and from that time the tax had been discontinued. It was now re-established, with considerable changes and diminutions, and was destined to make up the deficiency of the tax rejected. The long contest between Sunday and Decadi was also brought to a termination. The celebration of Decaday festivals received the sanction of the councils. In the capital of every canton the reading of a decadary bulletin, the celebration of marriages, games, and public exercises, were ordered to take place; the attending the churches was still permitted on Sunday, but dancing was prohibited; and as it was well known that with the greater part of the nation devotion and amusement were synonymous terms, it was hoped that the republican calendar would soon gain what was termed a philosophic ascendency, and that all ancient prejudices would be speedily forgotten.

Notwithstanding the promises of peace which sometimes gleamed at Radstadt, the directory felt that their pacific intentions were not believed, or were not regarded, and that the storm of war was gathering thick around their heads. The beginning of the republican year ushered in this unpleasant news to the councils, by a message in which the directory demanded two hundred thousand men, and one hundred and twenty-five millions of livres in addition to the six hundred millions already granted for the expenses of the ensuing year. Why peace had not been effected made no part of the deliberation of the councils; the millions and the men were unanimously voted.

An entreprise on Ireland had at this time ended according to the expectations of those who knew the means which were employed to effect it. To have attempted a descent with the number of men scarcely sufficient to carry a redoubt appears an instance of equal rashness and folly. It is true, that orders had been given for the sending a much larger division: but the squadron from Brest, which was to have joined that of Rochefort, was detained till a hundred thousand livres were sent from Paris for the payment of the troops. Contrary winds, and other causes, afterwards detained them, and they arrived at their destination time enough to hear

of the capture of those who had preceded them, and to share the same fate.

It was not the politics of Europe only which troubled the repose, or wounded the pride of France. The directory was destined to undergo further mortification from the stern conduct of their republican brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, whose gratitude for past favours sunk under the feeling of recent injuries. At the opening of the congress, the president declared himself in no measured terms against the general dispositions of the French government, and complained in particular of the numerous captures of American vessels, which had occasioned enormous expenses to support the claims of the injured parties before the tribunals. An embassy was nevertheless sent to represent their grievances, and, if possible, to bring the irritated government of France to sentiments of peace and moderation.

Here, as in other affairs, personal considerations outweighed the interest of the public, and the negotiation ended in a mysterious kind of intrigue, which reflected no honour on the French government; and from which it appeared, that the American commissary, who had outstaid his colleagues, was not sufficiently skilled in European political treaties to understand the hints which were plainly given him. As the French continued, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, to intercept and capture American ships, the congress enacted a law to break off every commercial relation with France or its dependencies, and to forbid the entrance of French vessels into the American ports, until the end of the settings of next congress. To this act of hostility was joined another, which passed previous to the breaking up of the legislature, by a small majority, and this was a premium for the capture of French armed ships by American vessels. A secret agent had arrived at Paris to soften and explain these hostile measures. His representations were favourably heard, and might have led to a favourable issue, had his power been more enlarged. His interviews with government were nevertheless attended with benefit to his country.

But it was not with foreign powers only that the French government had at this time to contend. A violent insurrection broke out, in the beginning of the month of October, in the newly-united departments of the Belgic provinces. For a long time a class of this people, equally turbulent and superstitious, had seen with marks of horror and indignation the progress of French innovation; which not only treated their religion, to which they were much attached, with contempt, but had laid violent hands on the priests and altars. They had hitherto been restrained by fear from too open a manifestation of their resentment; but the law concerning the levy of 200,000 men, which affected them only in common with the rest of France, was made the occasion of raising the standard of revolt. The insurrection broke out in the country round Mechlin and along the canal leading from Antwerp to Brussels; and was directed altogether against the French and those who had been employed in the service of the republic. In their attack on Mechlin, the insurgents were repulsed with great loss and those who were taken were shot in the public square. Every Frenchman or Brabanter attached to the republic, who fell into the

pow

power, shared in their turn the same fate. The houses of such as had purchased national domains were plundered, and the records of municipalities, and the places of their sittings, were burnt. The national guards of Brussels, and detachments from the garrisons of Breda, Bergen-op-zoom, and other towns, marched against the insurgents, and various obstinate and bloody contests ensued. The revolt nevertheless took a wider range. The countries around Halle and Enghien joined in the insurrection, and repulsed the republican party with considerable loss. Louvain was summoned to surrender by the peasants of the Campine, where the insurgents had established themselves, and from whence the inhabitants had fled to Brussels for refuge. Masters for a short time of the country, they erected a species of government, levied contributions, opened the churches, and continued to plunder and destroy the property of those whom they suspected of attachment to republican opinions. As the revolt increased, the insurgents formed themselves into companies, whose regular commanders delivered passports, framed military commissions, and organised the country wherever they passed. The insurrection which had raged hitherto to the east and south of Brussels gained also to the north and west. Oudenarde, the country between Tournay and Ath-Duffel, Herenthal, and Turnhout, declared for them openly. The countries as far as Luxembourg, around Liege, and in the Ardennes, were likewise in insurrection; and the regular troops in the departments became insufficient for so serious a contest. The government, alarmed at the danger, redoubled its activity, ordered detachments to march from the Rhine, and began to assemble a regular army. Brussels and the neighbouring towns were put under military law. Numerous hostages were taken from various places, and sent up to Paris, and the generals Colland and Moulins were dispatched to take the command of the armies. Against regular forces, thus numerous and formidable, the insurgents could make no effective resistance. They fought, nevertheless, with courage and obstinacy, and when defeated, after various combats and great carnage, collected themselves to the amount of six or seven thousand at Diest, of which they took possession. Here they were surrounded by the republican troops, but, by an incredible effort, made their escape across morasses which were thought impracticable, and where numbers of them were drowned. Another general action took place in the communes of Mirhout and Gheet, in which they were again defeated with considerable loss. Scattered through the country, they were successively destroyed, or dispersed by the regular troops. The insurrection, which had lasted near six weeks, and which, from the extent and character it had taken, had given serious inquietude to the government, might be said to have ended, though some time elapsed before perfect tranquillity was restored to the departments. The revolt in the Ardennes, and around Luxembourg, was likewise appeased.

While the troubles in the united departments were fomenting, which originated not more from the fanaticism and disaffection of the inhabitants than from the impolitic precipitancy of the French government, the directory, having effected a revolution in the governing powers at Rome,

turned again their paternal looks towards the Cisalpine republic. Trouvé's government had at that time lasted a month; and, according to his report, had been highly approved, not only at Milan, but throughout the departments, and attended with the most happy effects. But notwithstanding this general approbation of the people, and the injunction of the French directory, who, by a letter written the 11th of September, enjoined the embassador to convoke the primary assemblies, in order to confirm the salutary operation which had been commenced, and which convocation was to be entrusted to the French general; and though spurred on by the flattering protestations contained in the same note, that the multiplied proofs of zeal which he had manifested in every circumstance was a warrant that he would finish the work he had begun by their orders. Trouvé did not dare to hazard his new constitution so precipitately to vulgar examination, and the French general showed no alacrity in obeying the directory. It was evident, that whatever might be thought of the constitution, the change of men and measures which had been lately effected had not answered the purposes intended. Happiness and tranquillity, far from being restored to these abused and desolated countries, seemed as remote as ever, and another regeneration was thought essential. This measure at least had taken possession of the mind of general Brune, who having gone, after the revolution of Trouvé, which he had never relished, to make a military tour on the line of the Adige and the Po, no sooner heard of the recall of the French embassador, and the arrival of Fouché from Paris, than he hastened to Milan, and, with soldier-like precipitancy, without consulting either embassador (19th September), dismissed Trouvé's directors, Soprenzi, Adelasio, and Lusi, whom he replaced by Brunetti the minister of justice, and by Sinancini and Sabatti; and recalled to their legislative functions a part of those who had been expelled from the councils.

These changes, though incomplete, were represented by Trouvé as striking terror and dismay into the hearts of the people, delivered over to the fury of the most extravagant demagogues, and plunged into the deepest consternation; whilst others spoke of freedom restored, a brighter perspective of national independence opened, and confidence in the operations of government springing up throughout the departments. One solid advantage the Cisalpines gained immediately by this revolution, was that of twelve millions of livres, which the French government had obtained from the complaisance of the new directory, for extraordinary succours, and which this new event had put aside. It is not to be supposed, however, that Brune hazarded this measure without sufficient power. It appears that he had represented to the directory the evil consequences which were likely to arise from Trouvé's revolution before it had taken place; and that in consequence of these representations, and the motion made in the council by Lucien Bonaparte, the directory had furnished him with orders in opposition to those of Trouvé; but finding from Trouvé the success that had attended his operations, they confirmed these same operations by the letter above recited, of the 11th of September. That such incoherencies should take place in the councils of

of the directory was not surprising, since they acted on no principle but their own will, and were necessarily ignorant of the true situation of the country whose concerns they attempted to regulate, viewing it only through the organs of their agents, who were in general men of as much ambition and of as little knowledge as themselves: but Brune, armed with the orders of the directory, had too much contempt for civil commissaries or embassadors, and therefore, without consulting the new envoy Fouché, proceeded to an immediate epuration, and the business was accomplished before Fouché had time to exhibit the posterior instructions of the directory, which enjoined him to confirm the revolution made by Trouvé. But the general's instructions, though they permitted him to dismiss directors and legislators, did not suffer him to touch Le Reveillière's constitution. On the contrary, he urged the government to propose it to the primary assemblies for their ratification. The government yielded to his persuasion, the constitution was sent to the departments, and dispatches were forwarded to Paris, signifying its acceptance. Why a constitution rejected, when the offer was made by Trouvé, should be accepted when made by Brune, would appear strange, where it not resolved into the spirit of party, which, overlooking principles, takes advantage, particularly in times of revolution, of every circumstance that can favour its designs, or promote its aggrandisement. The chief points in this constitution (intended as a model for the future improvement of the French revolution) were the diminution of the members of the legislative body, the lessening the number of departments, an interval in the sittings of the councils of every other day, a prorogation of three months every year, the perpetual rights of the ex-directors to seats in the council of ancients, the renovation of a third of the councils every two years, the nomination to every rank in the army by the directory, who were also to have the guard of the councils at their disposition, the liberty of the press under their controul, as well as the finances, and the initiative in the enacting of laws; the salaries both of counsels and directors were also to be augmented. Brune was called back to Paris to give an account of his proceedings; and to explain by what authority, since Fouché had exhibited posterior orders, he had constituted himself a reformer of states.

Joubert, meanwhile, took possession of the command of the army in Italy. The two councils, the major part of which was composed, as well as the directory, of republicans, began to sound the abyss of the evils into which they had been plunged, to change the ministers, to place, as they imagined, more worthy and intelligent men in the administrations and tribunals, to regulate the finances, and prosecute the dilapidations of the public fortune. The legislative body and the directory, by these measures, had regained the confidence of the people; the police was organised on a new plan; and the national guards began to think themselves the defenders of a free republic, when Fouché was recalled, and the French commissary Rivaud appeared on the scene.

Rivaud was peculiarly the creature of the executive directory of France. Trouvé's mission, though

his instructions had been concealed, had been made known to the minister of foreign affairs. The revolutionary measures of the directory without the frontiers had been wrapt up in cautious mystery till they reached the place of their destination. The minister was not permitted to penetrate into these works of darkness, and, in general, was only acquainted with them by the complaints which were officially addressed to him by the sufferers. Hitherto the diplomas, at least for the embassies, had passed regularly through his office; but as he had sometimes made undue and haughty remonstrances against these extraordinary and violent measures, the knowledge of Rivaud's mission was carefully kept secret. It was necessary, however, to have the ministerial signature to the diplomas; but in order to conceal the object for which they were intended, and to avoid further ministerial impertinences, the directory took their signatures, and filled the vacancies, that is the nomination of their agents, themselves.

One of these blank diplomas was filled up with the name of Rivaud; who, armed with the wrath and thunders of the directory, arrived at Milan, and Joubert escaped to Turin. All was arranged. It was in vain for the directory to make any defence; in vain for the councils to declare all such traitors to their country who should abandon their places; in vain for the patriots to devote themselves in support of the councils: the whole was decided. The directory and minister of police were put under the safeguard of French bayonets; the guard of the legislative body disarmed, and left to the disposition of the soldiers of Rivaud; the representatives of the people were made prisoners of war; and the best friends of their country either fugitive or arrested.

Sopranzi, Adelasio, and Lasi, who had been placed by Trouvé, and expelled by Brune, once more seated themselves on the ruins of the republic; and persecution, disorder, and misery, were again organised at Milan. Trouvé's reformers again took possession of the councils, from whence the patriotic party were again driven. Maraschalchi, a senator of Bologna, and Franchi, an intriguing and hypocritical member of the councils, filled up the other two places in the executive directory.

In Switzerland, the firmness of the director Laharpe, together with the general clamour of indignation against the atrocities committed by the agents of the French government, had tamed the fury of its despotism so far as regarded the Helvetic republic. The legislative and executive authorities in that country, freed from this degrading yoke, had begun to apply whatever palliatives were in their power to the wound which was yet too deep entirely to cure. The finances had been left by the French in almost an helpless situation; nevertheless, the measures which the legislature had adopted were fitted to keep the state in motion, though its progress was necessarily slow and incumbered. The public coffers of those cantons which had not been pillaged offered some temporary succour, but this supply was very insufficient to defray even the expenditure which was indispensable. Among the articles of expense which weighed most heavy on the state, was that of the internal administration. This was one of the numerous vices of the Paris constitution, which the Helvetic legislature

ture had not sufficiently revised. Of the complaints against the late government, the application of the public revenue to their personal expenses had been the most prominent. The present government, instead of correcting this abuse, which had not been very sensibly felt under the late regimen, had, from the viciousness of its organisation, increased the evil. The offices of state were not only paid higher than those of France, but the number of offices was increased. Notwithstanding this and other defects, which necessarily occur in new-formed governments, the councils and the majority of the directory preserved the general confidence of the people. The legislature having been hastily composed, was made up for the most part of such as had more zeal and good-will than information; but there were amongst them many enlightened and well-instructed men, who would do honour to any political assembly. Neither the cessation of French despotism, nor the legal administration of popular representatives, could, however, impress the democracy of the mountains with the idea that good government could proceed from any institution which lessened the importance, and narrowed the limits, of individual sovereignty, amongst themselves, and which had moreover destroyed the sovereignty which, in violation of their principles, they held, in common with aristocratic cantons, over divers subject states in Switzerland. The cannon of the French army had forced them to accept the Helvetic constitution; but this adherence lasted no longer than while the instrument of persuasion thundered in their ears. The resolution they had formed of preserving their respective governments, however defective or vicious, was respectable, and even sacred, if it were the wish of the people; but the sympathy which their spirit excited was lessened by the intolerance which they manifested against those of their countrymen who appeared of a different organisation. In the treaty made with Schawenbourg, the lesser cantons agreed to accept the Helvetic constitution, provided that no contributions were levied, and that no French troops entered their territory. The treaty was adhered to on the part of the French, but the inhabitants of the canton of Underwalden refused the ratification. Multiplied modes of persuasion had been used in vain; the mountaineers spurned at the proffered fraternity; and, as if they felt themselves contaminated by the correspondence, returned at length the letters of negotiation without deigning to break the seal.

The French general assembled his troops to enforce the execution. The attack, which was on the insurgents on the 9th of September, was repelled with the accustomed bravery of the Swiss. Reinforced by parties of volunteers, who assembled from the adjoining cantons, and who had yielded to the representations of father Paul, a capuchin, and a zealous soldier of the church militant, who, having been industriously employed in preaching a crusade against the constitution, now came to animate the courage, as he had hitherto directed the consciences, of his followers. The inhabitants of Underwalden met the assailants with an additional impetuosity and confidence from the success of the preceding day; assured by their leaders, who were chiefly priests, that the Holy Virgin had given them the victory. Upon men thus inspired by fanaticism,

fanaticism, and contending, as they were persuaded, for their liberties and their religion, the ardour and enthusiasm of French troops made at first but little impression. At Stanzstead, on the shores of the lake of Lucerne, was fought, or rather raged, the battle; for no annals have preserved the remembrance of a conflict so terrible as that which now took place. The bayonets of the French soldiers were but feeble weapons against the massy clubs of the mountaineers; the artillery even was silenced for a time from the showers of stones and splinters of rocks that fell on the cannons. Women and children, catching fury from their fathers and husbands, rushed undaunted on the invaders; and, when disarmed, clung to impede their progress. No advance was made but over the bodies of the slain; no post gained without the destruction of its defenders; and the evening had come on before the intrepid courage of the mountaineers yielded to the perseverance of animated and organised troops. The valley of Stantz, a beautiful and fertile garden, seated at the base of those lofty mountains where winter holds its eternal reign, became at once a scene of carnage and desolation. The town of Stantz, in the midst of which the statue of the illustrious Winkelreid still frowned on the tyrants of his country, was taken as it were by storm. The streets were strewed with dead, more than a third of which were priests and women; and the loss of the French was still greater, from "the incredible obstinacy," to use the language of their general, with which these men, maddened to fury, fought. Thousands of spectators from the neighbouring cantons covered the hills, whose sadened looks, as the French advanced, betokened the measure of grief they took in the fate of their countrymen; but none were attacked that were not armed, and all that were armed were exterminated. The capuchin, who was the principal instigator of the insurrection, saved himself by flight. The whole of the canton of Underwalden was subdued: the greater part of the houses of the inhabitants, with their barns, churches, and chapels, were burnt and rased to the ground. The Helvetic government adopted the numerous orphans which were made on that fatal day; and published a brief for the relief of the ruined inhabitants. The contributions levied in the neighbouring cantons, which had taken, or were about to take part, in the insurrection, were destined by the Helvetic body as a recompense to the French soldiers. The general refusing to accept the money, sent it as a peace-offering of the army to the relief of the unhappy victims of the desolation which they had occasioned. The French army continued its march through the other parts of this disaffected department, which comprehends the lesser cantons; but no further resistance was made.

One of the first operations of the Helvetic councils, after their removal from Aurau to Lucerne, which now became the seat of government, was a law respecting emigration; which differed from that enacted in France, inasmuch as the estates of those who would not obey the invitation of return were put under guardians for their heirs, and the revenues granted to the existing proprietors as long as they conducted themselves peaceably, and without joining in conspiracies against their country, during their residence out of the Helvetic republic.

public. A convention between the embassador and the Helvetic minister for foreign affairs was ratified by the councils on the 2d of December, by which the Helvetic republic agreed to furnish France with an auxiliary army of eighteen thousand men, which were to be recruited in Switzerland at the expense of the French republic. The engagement of each soldier was to be for two or three years. The destination of these troops was to be indicated by the French government, and their pay to begin as soon as a third of the army was formed. All acts of indicipline and offences were to be tried by Swiss court-martials. The troops in Switzerland were to be provisioned for a year. No incorporation of French soldiers was to be made in the Swiss battalions; and the French government engaged to place them in the service of some allied power whenever their services should be no longer wanted for France.

The Ligurian Republic was at this period comprehended in the list of the enemies of Great-Britain, according to a message sent by the executive directory of this state to the legislative councils, announcing it as a general measure adopted by the English government against every nation on the coasts of the Mediterranean connected with France. The French government had been too much busied in the work of reformation in larger states, to give much attention to the concerns of this little republic; but the arrival of the commissary Faypoult, from Milan, threw the Ligurians into great consternation. This republic had undergone a French revision soon after the election of the constituted authorities. Some misunderstanding which had taken place between the councils and the directory, respecting the formation of a military commission which the latter opposed, as contrary to the constitution, had led the French resident to invite a certain number of the former to give in their dismission. It is probable that in this case the French resident had taken part with those who judged most wisely; but the interposition of foreign agents, in whatever manner their influence may be directed is always a violation of the principle of independence. The system of government, like most of those newly-created, was too much incumbered with the detail of authority; the vanity of individuals who, although advocates for the system of equality, were not displeased to see themselves somewhat elevated above their fellow-citizens, had increased the mass of public expense, by municipal, cantonial, and other places of minor authority, which, without adding to the force or energy of government, rendered its operations more complicated and difficult. The suppression of certain convents, as a national resource, had been decreed by the great council; but the elders hesitated to give their sanction; and the clergy, who also had more than once caused partial insurrections in the country, condemned the proposition as an act bordering on sacrilege. The revolution of Piedmond having added to the influence of the civil government, that of the clergy was immediately crushed. A number of the disaffectsd throughout the republic were put under arrest, some were condemned to banishment, others were sent to the fortress of Savona, amongst whom were a number of ecclesiastics. The archbishop of Geneva, who had hoped to avert the storm by

by paternal and patriotic proclamations, was invited to visit the fortress of Novi, whither he was accompanied by a guard of honour, and the invitations extended to the leaving the whole of the chancellery at Genoa, and consigning the care of his diocese to his vicar-general.

The warlike turn of affairs in Italy, and the proclamation of admiral lord Nelson, who had blocked up the port of Genoa, and had declared all ships, entering or going out, lawful prizes, had occasioned a general armament throughout the republic. The Ligurians, although they had suffered the interference of the French commissary in their civil affairs, had refused to accede to the demands of the French general Lapoype, who was charged to take the command of the Ligurian troops, alleging that the constitution did not permit such an officer during the peace; but that, in case of hostilities, the directory would willingly confer on a French general the command both of the troops of the line, and volunteers. The introduction of whatever had the semblance of a military government was an object of general abhorrence amongst a commercial people, and due respect was paid to this repugnance by the French government. The cultivation of letters became however a matter of national concern, and an Institute, similar to that of France, was installed. Immersed in commerce, or delivered over to the prejudices of an ignorant clergy, instruction had been confined to the counting-house or the cloister. The first labours of this re-union of literary or scientific men were destined to provide for the people a more liberal and enlightened education.

An attempt at negotiation made by Portugal in the month of October had failed, from the limited powers of the Portuguese minister Noronha, or rather from his disinclination to comply with the demands of the French directory. The interference of Spain had checked whatever hostile disposition France had formed against Portugal, since the friendship of this former power, in the circumstances of the French republic, was more favourable to her interests than any advantages that could be obtained from an attack, the success of which was at all times uncertain. The political atmosphere of Spain during the present year had remained stagnant, as usual. No domestic occurrence had disturbed the internal tranquillity, and no other important loss had befallen it than the sudden surrender of Minorca. The state of finances had obliged the court, in the course of the summer, to open a loan for four hundred millions of reals. The eagerness with which the first forty thousand shares had been taken, and which had given a premium to the notes which had been issued, had so abated at the end of a few months, that the notes were at 25 per cent. discount, some financial blunder of the court having occasioned the discredit. In the mean time the intercourse of the French republic with Spain had been little else than an interchange of trifling civilities. The Spanish government was represented at Paris by the chevalier D'Azara, a man of wide experience, skilled in diplomatic affairs, having exercised the office of embassador for thirty years in Italy, a friend to rational liberty, but in constant watchfulness to preserve his country from the influence of French directorial principles, and the hostility of directorial protection. The French embassador at Madrid

Madrid had been Truguet, the late minister of marine, a personage little fitted, from the frivolity of his manners, the narrowness of his understanding, and the duplicity or rather inanity of his political sentiments, for this or any other political employment. Driven from his office of minister of the marine by repeated denunciations of the legislative assembly, as a public defaulter, and more than suspected as the cause of the numerous losses that took place in his department during his administration, he had still sufficient influence to procure his nomination to the Spanish embassy. The directory, who were not in general delicate in the choice of their agents to foreign courts, thinking themselves dishonoured by such a representative, ordered him to return; to which order having given an answer which amounted to an insolent refusal, he was placed on the list of emigrants, an act of tyranny which the directory sometimes applied to those who offended them, or who were not otherwise within their reach. Truguet, whose submission had procured his pardon, after having undergone other mortifications, was replaced by Guillemardet, a man of no political complexion, and of manners less assuming and offensive than his predecessors. The minister of foreign affairs was Saavedra; but, from the ill state of his health, the affairs of his office were dispatched by Urquiso, whose influence in favour of the French had counterbalanced that of the Prince of Peace. The Spanish government having shut its ports against the introduction of English merchandise, on the requisition of the French, the minister for home affairs, in order to render this privation less inconvenient, advised the Spanish minister of the means which he had adopted to give a wider extent to the relations between France and Spain, and to assure him that the Pyrénées existed no longer.

The successive revolutions which had taken place in the beginning of the year in Holland, although they might have ended in a constitutional government and domestic tranquillity, had given a shock to their system of finances which required strong and speedy measures to remedy. The destruction of its fleet, the continual presence of the English on its coasts, and the uncontrouled dominion which this latter power held in the Indian seas, had shut up its connexion with the only foreign possession which remained uninvaded; and Batavia, defended more by the insalubrity of climate than by its military strength, found no means of transporting to Europe the immense mass of commercial wealth which the productions of several years had accumulated. The state of the finances had been long the deliberation of numerous secret committees; and, on the 21st September, the directory published the result in the form of a law, which had been enacted by the two councils, decreeing, that provisionally, and by way of anticipation, a loan should be made of five per cent. on the revenues of every citizen who possessed upwards of six hundred florins a year. In the beginning of October, Lombard was sent embassador from Paris to the Hague, and Schimmelpenninck returned from thence to Paris. The former, in his address to the Batavian directory, spoke of himself as the special messenger of peace, and the answer of the directory hailed the return of good understanding and fraternity. The prohibition of English merchandise,

chandise, under penalties more severe than hitherto had been enacted, passed the councils. The territorial division of the republic into departments was definitively decreed. The nine provinces were changed into eight departments, the extent of which was measured by the population and the limits formed by the great rivers; these departments were again divided, each into ten circles; and each department was presumed to contain two hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants, and the general population of the republic was estimated at a million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand individuals.

The revolution which had taken place in the government had deranged but not destroyed the jacobinical faction which had usurped, under the direction of La Croix, the reins of government. Hardened by impunity, the leaders of the faction had formed themselves into a sort of external government, and scarcely attempted to dissemble their designs. The directory having received due advice of their operations, caused the principal members of the conspiracy to be arrested, among whom was a member of the legislative body. The measures of the directory were approved by the legislature, and the prisoners were sent before the tribunal of the former provinces of Holland and Zealand, for trial. The consideration of the dangers attending the re-action of parties, which had proved fatal in France, led the government soon after to publish an amnesty for all revolutionary excesses. The laws which had hitherto been enacted on this subject were to affect none in future but such whose emigration, legally proved, had been followed by no act of submission. The first day of the following year was fixed as the fatal term beyond which none would be allowed to enter, and numbers took advantage of this act of moderation.

Although the government held a firmer footing from the alternate expulsion of what had been deemed the stadtholderian and jacobin parties, the influence of their respective opinions continued to agitate the public mind; the middle classes arranged themselves on the side of the reigning powers, but the lower orders persevered in their attachment to the old system. This predilection was strongly marked in the fleets and army, particularly the former, so that for a long time this part of the service had become an object of suspicion to the government itself. The French army still continued to occupy Holland, nor was their presence altogether useless in preserving a due balance between the contending parties, and securing domestic tranquillity.

The commercial relations of France with other countries, and with its own colonies, were rendered extremely difficult from the decided superiority of the British fleets, which either blocked up its ports, or intercepted almost every communication. A report had for some time prevailed that the island of St. Domingo had withdrawn its allegiance from the French government, and declared itself independent. General Hedonville had been sent by the directory as governor to this island; but having met with considerable opposition in the execution of his orders from the general Toussaint Louverture, he returned to France. It appeared that the independence of St. Domingo had neither taken place, nor had any project even of defection been entertained. The cause of the dispute

pute was explained by Hedonville, in a proclamation which he published at the Cape, 22d of October, previous to his departure, in which he details the motives which led him to quit the colony. He complained of the favour openly granted to the emigrants who had served under the English, and of the resistance made to the execution of the laws which had been framed against them, and denounced a plan of independence, concerted with the British minister and the government. He likewise answered the accusation which had been made of his having harboured designs against the general liberty of the inhabitants, whom he invited to rally around the constitutional act, before which all prejudices and factions ought to bend or disappear.

A few days after the departure of Hedonville, Toussaint Louverture sent his aide-du-camp with dispatches for the directory. Among the papers justificatory of his conduct were the address of the municipal administration of the Cape to the municipal administrations of the communes of the colonies, and a letter written by Toussaint Louverture himself to the deputies of St. Domingo at Paris. In the address, the municipal officers entered into a long detail of the disputes and military operations which had disturbed the peace of the south and west divisions of the colony, and concluded it with wishing the communes the enjoyment of the same tranquillity which prevailed among themselves, assuring them that it was to the vigilance of Toussaint, to his love for France, for his country, and mankind, that Cape-town was indebted for its peace and safety. In his letter to the representatives, the general recriminates on Hedonville, as having, by rash and ill-advised measures, exposed the island to very imminent dangers; that whatever might have been the personal disputes between Hedonville and himself, his long services, and his devotedness to the interests of his country, were sufficient warrants of the purity of his conduct. He denied the charges published at the Cape, previous to what he calls Hedonville's cowardly desertion from his post, and declared that he threw himself with confidence on the impartiality of the two councils, and on the equity of the directory, asserting that he was invariable in his principles, as sincerely attached to France and to liberty as he had ever been, and that he would continue to sacrifice every moment of his life to secure the prosperity of the colony. He concluded by informing them that he had dispatched a messenger to the commissary Roucul, to beseech him, in the name of the public safety, to assume the reins of government till further orders from the directory, trusting that St. Domingo, delivered from the dangers to which it had been exposed, would continue its progress under the protection of constitutional laws, and the auspices of that liberty which it had obtained.

The coalition against France had now been strengthened by the accession of the Ottoman Porte, who, in a manifesto published the 15th of Fructidor, September 1st, declared war against the French. Previous to the sailing of the French fleet, it had been urged, as an irresistible argument, that its destination could not be for Egypt, that this would be a violation of a friendly territory; and, afterwards, the murmurs which arose on the impolicy and perfidy of the invasion were hushed

hushed by insinuations that the expedition had been concerted with the Porte, and that the passage into India was to be purchased by the reduction of his rebellious mamelukes. The declaration of the Porte was an haughty and formal denial of such pretended treaty. It does not even appear that any negotiation whatever had taken place between the two powers, since the motives alleged for the disgrace of the grand vizier, Yzzed Mahumed, were his want of circumspection, and his ignorance of the designs of the French; nor did the directory condescend to answer this declaration otherwise than by lamenting the inconceivable blindness of their late ally, who, rejecting the protection which they offered, and misled by the perfidious counsels of the coalesced cabinets, had placed himself at the mercy of his constant and inveterate foe. The French revolution has reconciled many a jarring interest, and, in consequence of the new fraternisation, a Russian fleet, composed of twelve ships of the line, appeared in the canal of Constantinople, and sailed through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. This hostile measure was followed by other acts of accustomed political barbarism, the arrest of every individual belonging to the French, and the sequestration of their property, the confining the civil agents of the republic in prison, and chaining the prisoners of war to the galleys. The first operation of the combined fleets was an attack on the newly-created French departments in the Ægean and Adriatic seas; Cerigo, the ancient Cytherea, an island belonging to the Venetians, and ceded to the French by the treaty of Campo-Formio, was taken the 21st of September, after a slight resistance, together with Zante and Cephalonia, which were abandoned by the French; and from thence the enemy proceeded to block the canal of the island of Corfu.

The entrance of the Austrian troops into the Grisons indicated the near approach of hostilities on the continent. In a proclamation, dated from Feldkirch, 18th October, it was stated that the sole object his imperial majesty had in view, was, the preservation of the republic and constitution, according to the tenor of existing treaties. The French had assembled forces in the Rheinthal, with projects of a different kind; but having been preceded by the Austrians, they advanced no further than to take military positions on the frontiers. The Helvetic directory, in announcing to the legislative body the entry of the Austrian troops into the Grisons, observed that they had been invited by the party which had manifested its opinion against a re-union with Switzerland, and that those who had shown contrary dispositions were regarded as suspected, and obliged to abandon their country. The Helvetic legislative body decreed that an asylum should be offered to the fugitives; and as they suspected that the same species of protection was meant to be extended by the Austrians towards Switzerland, the directory represented, by a message, the necessity of re-organising the army, since the honour and safety of the republic required extraordinary efforts, which ought to be proportionate to the imminent crisis of political events. They invited the council, in consequence, to decree that an extraordinary contribution should be immediately levied, which should be deducted in the payment of the ordinary taxes.

The

The Neapolitan troops, which had been collecting for some time on the frontiers of the Roman republic, soon after began their marches. This act of hostility had been preceded by various acts which manifested no earnest disposition to keep long on terms of peace with the French republic, such was the friendly reception given to the fleet of admiral Nelson, the refusal of receiving Mangouvit, the secretary of the French legation, and the contempt with which the embassador Lacomb St. Michel himself had been treated. The summons which general Mack had sent to the garrisons in the Roman frontiers to vacate their posts, led Championet, who commanded in the Roman republic, to demand from him the cause of the hostilities which he threatened; repretenting to him that he was charged by his government with the protection of the Roman republic, that peace continued to exist between the court of Naples and France, that the embassadors still resided with the respective governments, and that nothing had taken place which could break the ties which the last treaty of peace had established between the two countries. He likewise observed, that, in this state of things, the summons to the French troops to evacuate the Roman territory, the defence of which was confided to them, was a violation of treaties and of the rights of nations, which did not permit any solemn aggression but after a declaration of hostilities, and that he, being the aggressor, must take on himself the events of a war which could only turn to the detriment of humanity.

To this letter, general Mack returned an answer, dated 24th November, that the Neapolitan army had passed the frontier the preceding day, commanded by the king in person, to take possession of the Roman territory revolutionised and usurped since the peace of Campo-Formio, and never acknowledged or avowed by his Sicilian majesty, or by his august ally the emperor. The remainder of the letter was an injunction to evacuate the Roman republic, without violating that of Tuscany, that a negative answer should be considered as a declaration of war, and that his Sicilian majesty knew how to enforce the just demands which he addressed to him in his name.

Whatever might be the justice of the demands, the means of enforcing them did not appear doubtful, since at the time that seventy-six thousand men entered the frontiers, there were not more, so great was the providence and protection of the French directory, either at Rome or in the territory, than two hundred Poles, and four demi-brigades, the 11th, 12th, 15th, and 20th, wanting half their complement, and making in all not ten thousand men. The magazines were likewise empty, there were no arms, ammunition, artillery, or place provisioned, and Civita Vecchia had been so emptied that there was not sufficient powder to fire at a Barbary corsair, which at that time had insulted the port. The military situation of the Roman republic was rendered such, that the march of the Neapolitan troops was rumoured at Paris to have been concerted with the French directory, and that, amongst the rest, the relation of the minister of war, who had long been the execration of the people, from his acknowledged avarice and corruption, had received the price from the court of Naples of betraying the Roman republic.

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Thus reorganised and marshalled, the deputation of the empire determined on the continuance of diplomatic hostilities. The answer of the deputation to the note of the French ministers was not adopted till after long and stormy deliberations. The majority agreed to many of the articles, but reverted to several which had preceded them, and made no further progress towards a pacification, except in what concerned the absolute cession of the island of St. Peter and the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein, without any reserve or condition. The territories of Kehl and Cassel were refused; and it was insisted that the law relative to emigrants should be applicable neither to the countries which were reunited nor to those which were ceded. This conclusion was ratified by the count of Metternich, and presented to the French ministers. The minority of the deputation would have consented to the cession of the territory of Kehl and Cassel; but the influence of the imperial minister was now sufficient to control the deliberations and decide the opinion of the congress.—The French ministers, finding this determined opposition to their demands, and seeing the necessity of further compliance, agreed, in a note presented 3d October, to restore the territoires of Kehl and Cassel, which had been so much and so justly the object of contention on the part of the emperor, since it was giving the French posts of importance on the German side of the Rhine; but this cession was not granted without conditions, an immediate compliance with which was made the price of the concession. These conditions were the delimitation of the course of the Rhine and its islands, and the liberty of the navigation of the river; the immediate suppression of the toll of Elsfleth on the Weser, as injurious to the French trade with Bremen, and the preservation of their political and constitutional independence to the cities of Bremen, Hambourg, and Frankfort; the faculty of establishing bridges purely commercial on both sides of the Rhine, and a renunciation to all demands contrary to the French constitution in favour of the nobles. They agreed that the laws respecting emigrants should not be applicable either to the countries now ceded to France or to Mentz, but insisted they should remain in full force with respect to the countries which had been already united, and which now formed French departments, and refused to withdraw the troops to the left side till a pacification had taken place. They insisted likewise on the cession of the Freikthal by the emperor, and of all its rights over this country, and those belonging to the Italian republics, agreeing that the French republic and those of Italy should renounce, on their side, all pretensions over the countries remaining in Germany, and that, as Kehl and Cassel were to be demolished, the empire should be bound not to build any fort, or form any intrenchment, within a league of the right side of the Rhine. To this list of demands was added a notice, that, if they were not accepted without delay, the conditional promise of restoring the territory of Kehl and Cassel was to have no effect, and that a delay in accepting them would be considered

dered as a desire of renewing the war.

The restitution of the territory of Kehl and Cassel was received by the deputation with marks of great satisfaction, and hopes were entertained on both sides that the remaining objects of discussion would not long retard the general pacification. It was, indeed, pretended, that though the difficulties existing between France and Austria were far from any likelihood of removal, yet the court of Vienna would not be averse to peace between the empire and France, from the persuasion that the neutrality of the empire would be favourable to its views, that the French armies would not be able to penetrate into Germany and find subsistence; whilst, on the other hand, whatever assistance, either in subsistence or money, might be wanted by the emperor, would be easily obtained from the princes and states under its control. But as these considerations were equally applicable to the French, it was not more likely that France should be desirous of making peace with the empire without the pacification was general, especially if a partial peace was likely to be hostile to its general interests.

The note of the French ministers had undergone a longer but more pacific discussion than the last. The answer of the deputation was delivered to the French ministers by count Metternich the 17th of October, and contained in substance, that the navigable course of the Rhine should henceforth be the limit between France and the empire; but it was insisted, that the isle of Buderich, opposite Wesel, situated on the left side of the river, should belong to the Prussians. On this point, a diplomatic correspondence took place between the French ministers and the king of Prussia during this part of the negotiations. The deputation admitted the principles of the free navigation of the Rhine, but insisted that the suppression of the tolls should not take place till a year after the ratification of the peace, requesting also that the liberty of the navigation of the Rhine should extend to its opening into the sea, and that the French government should employ, in this respect, its good offices with the Dutch government. As to the suppression of the toll of Elsfeldt, the French were left to negotiate that business with the proprietor, the duke of Oldenbourg. The maintenance of the present constitution of Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg, suggested no difficulty, since there was no idea of changing their constitution more than those of other imperial cities. The deputation refused to consent to the establishment of new bridges for the purpose of commerce, but agreed to the demands of the French respecting the dependences of the ecclesiastical establishments; making new and strong remonstrances in favour of the feudal nobility and of the emigrants of the country belonging formerly to the states of the empire, and now under the sovereignty of France, granting the transfer of the provincial debts contracted during the war from the left to the right side of the Rhine, they refused to burden themselves with the debts of the communes. The deputation insisted anew on withdrawing the French troops to the left side, as well as the relieving the fort of Ehrenbreitstein, which the French troops closely blockaded; renouncing all kinds of pretensions on the ceded countries, and consenting to the cession of the

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Freikthal, if the emperor would withdraw his claims; agreeing, in fine, that as Kehl and Cassel were to be demolished, no new forts should be erected within a league of these points only.

The French ministers having had knowledge of this conclusum before it was delivered, manifested their discontent at its contents, and had an interview with count Metternich on the subject, in which a warm discussion took place, the result of which was a menace on their side, that they would immediately present an ultimatum, and would allow only eight days to receive a definitive answer.

As the affair of the renewal of the war was an object decided, the menace of the French ministers did not derange the operations of the imperial minister. The court of Vienna had other affairs than those of the congress to discuss with the French directory. The situation of Italy was an object of political controversy sufficient to light up hostilities; and if the deputation had acceded to all the demands made by the French negotiators, the erection of a Roman republic, which, it was pretended, was contrary to the spirit of the treaty of peace of Campo-Formio, which the directory persisted in maintaining, would sooner or later have occasioned a rupture if no pretence for rupture on either side could have been found in German politics. The resistance of the French ministers to the cession of the island of Buderich had also, at this time, lessened the cordiality that subsisted between the court of Berlin and the French government. The Prussian minister, considering this island as infinitely more essential to the place of Wesel than the fortified island of St. Peter to that of Mentz, had remonstrated on the little deference which the French government, by this refusal, paid to the friendly dispositions of their court.

The displeasure which the French ministers had manifested to the imperial minister was not dissembled in their answer to the deputation. A letter was addressed to this body, on the 28th of October, by the French plenipotentiaries, in which they declared that it was difficult for them to moderate the expression of the painful sentiments which they felt on receiving their conclusum; that, from the difficulties of every kind which were started, and which were altogether unfounded, the affectation of presenting new objects which had been decidedly agreed on, it was evident that the deputation had in view only to gain time, and no doubt was left with respect to their real intentions The French republic, they observed, was averse to war, but did not fear it. France was desirous of peace, and the deputation only talked about it, and concluded this angry note with stating that the generosity of the French government had exceeded every expectation, that it was resolved to make no more concession, and persisted in the contents of the last note which they had delivered.

The conclusum of the deputation of the 6th November was not less firm or dignified. After a series of observations on the tone of the French minister's letter, and repelling the various accusations which it contained with respect to the indisposition of the empire to hasten the mode and conclude the definitive terms of the pacification, they recapitulated the various sacrifices they had made, and observed that no nation which was free and independent, and was willing to remain

main so, could offer more, and concluded with hoping that the French plenipotentiaries, fully convinced that every effort had been made to come to an entire reconciliation, would no longer hesitate to explain themselves in a favourable and conciliating manner, on all the observations and demands made in the communication of the 17th of October. To this note was joined another, in which the deputation insisted more strongly on the raising the siege of Ehrenbreitstein. This demand the Prussian minister supported, in a separate communication, in terms much less qualified, treating the conduct of the French as illegal and subversive of the conventions already existing.

To these observations of the deputation, the French ministers replied, in a note dated 11th November, which contained, besides explanations of their former note, modifications of their former demands and concessions, which they concluded in advising the deputation against being led astray by the secret or avowed enemies of the deputation, leaving to their serious considerations how unequal the chance of war would be in their favour, into which the pernicious counsels which were given them would, if followed, necessarily plunge them; a war, added they, in which France, besides possessing much more than she has asked in offering peace, would, probably, gain further advantages, whilst the empire could not have a prospect of repairing its losses, and would expose itself, whatever be the events, to very different results, in all respects, from those which peace and friendship with the French republic now offered it. On this letter the deputation debated on the 28th November. They accepted the declaration which the French ministers had made, that the laws on emigrants were inapplicable to Germans, as well for the countries already united to France as for those now ceded; they agreed that certain islands, situated on the left side of the navigable part of the Rhine, should belong to France, but insisted on the preservation of the island of Buderich to the empire, and refused the suppression of the toll of Elsfeldt. They consented to the demands made by the French ministers respecting the three imperial towns, but refused to charge themselves with certain debts belonging to the left side of the Rhine, which the French refused to liquidate, and insisted again on the relief of Ehrenbreitstein.

The reply to these propositions was comprised in three articles, which formed part of a letter sent to the deputation by the French ministers on the 23d of November, referring continually to their former note of demands on the 3d of October: they agreed that the property of the islands in the possession of private individuals on the left side of the course of the navigation should be preserved to them on conforming to the laws; but that with respect to such of these islands as belonged to princes and states of the empire, and nobles having votes in the diet, the sovereignty and property of these islands, without distinction, should belong irrevocably to the French republic. That with respect to the toll of Elsfeldt, it was not presumable that the deputation were not enabled to decide its abolition, since they had already decided on that of several tolls on the Rhine belonging to states in the empire, and that they

formally objected to the extension which the deputation had given to their proposition respecting the non-application of the French laws to emigrants from the united and ceded countries. The conclusum of the empire, in answer to these propositions, was a consent to the cession of the rights of the empire on the islands to the left side of the navigation, but a steady refusal of ceding the island of Budenich, of abolishing the toll of Elsfeldt, and an obstinate perseverance in demanding the non-application of the French laws on emigration to the former countries of Brabant and Flanders, and the provinces of Alsace and Lorrain, and also the relief of Ehrenbreitstein.

For some few weeks past this diplomatic warfare had again been carried on with decency and good-humour; but the French ministers, who had discovered or imagined that sternness and menace had been occasionally good weapons to decide wavering minds and soften obdurate spirits, had once more recourse to these rude expedients.—Every discussion, replied the angry ministers, in acknowledging the receipt of the last note of the deputation, is superfluous and almost ridiculous, when the matter of discussion had been exhausted on both sides; when, on the side of the French lagation, condescension would now be a crime, and, on that of the empire, resistance is become a system. Nothing more remains than to state, in a few words, the truly republican conduct of their government, and to make known its last intentions.

This statement presented the French republic with all the advantages of victory, throwing aside every obstacle, giving full powers to conclude, and anxious for a speedy and solid peace, while the deputation, at opening of the congress, had scarcely powers to begin a negotiation. In taking the negotiation from its birth, they observed that the order of deliberation which the French ministers had adopted, from its simplicity and the clear arrangement of the subjects to be debated, would have accelerated its progress and hastened the general result, whilst the deputation, by mingling questions the most heterogeneous and complicated, had been guilty of all the delays and misunderstandings which had taken place. In enumerating the concessions which the French had made, they observed, that though the possession of the forts of Kehl and Cassel was important as military points, yet these places had been abandoned; that though, from the superiority of its arms, the French might have pretended to the whole course of the Rhine, they had satisfied themselves with the half, taking the navigation for the limits; that the most ample concessions had been made with respect to transporting to the right side of the Rhine the property of the feudal nobles situated on the left; that, in demanding the abolition of the tolls on the Rhine, on the part of the empire, France had equally renounced all those of which the republic was the proprietor; and though the republic might have reasonably objected to discharge debts contracted in a war against its independence, yet consent had been given that those commercial debts should remain to its charge; an immense benefit, and of such importance, that the French republic would be fully justified for the consequences of a war to which she might be forced a second time.

After

After tracing a sketch of their own conduct during the negotiations, they began to draw the portrait of that of the deputation. In proportion, they observed, as the French government made concessions, the deputation of the empire increased its exertions: by appearing to affix the conclusion of peace with each demand, they had obtained every thing from the generosity of the French, more really anxious to terminate hostilities; but which objects, when obtained, were only the means of making further reclamations. When Kehl and Cassel were given up by the republic, the question relating to debts was started; when that article was settled, others were proposed, to which it was impossible without a violation of the French constitution, to accede—such was the non-application of the laws concerning emigration to the united countries. To insist any longer on this part, they added, is an irrefragable proof that peace is not in the wish of the deputation, since it is made to depend on a thing impossible to be granted. That if this indisposition to peace was not in the hearts of the plenipotentiaries of the empire, it was at least evident that the violent suggestions to which the deputation had yielded, had the same effect, by multiplying insignificant notes and propositions, and making the sittings of congress endless.

After these remonstrances, the French ministers concluded, with observing, that these discussions ought to be ended; that since a whole year had been found insufficient to give peace to Germany, it was undoubtedly because other views had been entertained than those of peace; that at that moment it was necessary by a formal act on one side, to prove the pacific perseverance of the French government, and, on the other, to bring the plenipotentiaries of the empire to a positive explanation; that relying on the prudence and humanity of the deputation, they declared that their note of the third October explained by subsequent notes down to the present, was the ultimatum of the French government; and that if in the delay of six days, reckoning from the morrow, which was the 7th of December, the deputation of the empire had not given and transmitted a categorical and satisfactory answer on all the points of the said note which were in contestation, their powers were to cease.

The debates of the deputation on the style and contents of this letter were extremely keen and violent. The majority of the deputation agreed unconditionally to the propositions of the French ministers. The ministers of Austria, Saxony, and Hanover, contended against all further cession, particularly that the assembly should insist on the four points of the emigration, the toll on the Weser, the isle of Buderich, and the Frickthall. The two last seeing that the majority gave way, protested against their vote, and left the chamber, that they might not take any part in the resolution. The count of Lilisbach, the Austrian minister, remained, but entered the same protest, and declared that the contingent of Austria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from further aggression.

The answer remitted to the French ministers (10th of December) contained in substance, that having demanded a categorical and definitive answer to their ultimatum, the deputation had been compelled to submit their opinions, and to declare that they acceded to all the articles; but

but that, in making this declaration, they expressed their hopes that such articles as yet wanted more mature examination, and further investigation, would be left for definitive regulation, till the formation of the articles of peace These concessions were prefaced by expressions of concern at the imputations thrown on the deputation by the last note of the French ministers, charging them with the difficulties and delays which had hitherto attended the negotiation; protesting, on the contrary, that they had made the most strenuous exertions to accelerate the pacification, which was evidently proved by the sacrifices which they now confirmed. The Prussian ministers at the same time addressed a note to the deputation, stating that the king, their master, unwilling to throw any further obstacles in the way of peace, by new opposition in the critical state in which the empire then stood, and expose it to new dangers, acceded to the vote of the deputation, satisfying themselves with proper reserves to recommend likewise the interests of Prussia at the conclusion of the peace. The conclusum which was remitted to the imperial commissary was sanctioned immediately, unwilling, as he declared on his part, to make any opposition to the progress of the negotiations.

Peace with the empire was now a measure to all appearance arranged and determined. The French ministers, on receiving the adherence of the deputation to their ultimatum, expressed the pleasing sentiments which they felt in seeing their confidence in the prudence and humanity of the deputation had not been deceived. As the essential basis of the negotiation was their formal and entire adhesion to the ultimatum, nothing more remained than the application of the acknowledged principle of indemnities by way of secularisation: but as this object deserved mature consideration before it came under discussion, they declared that they would in a short time present their propositions on this head to the deputation, trusting that the same disposition for union and dispatch would attend the settlement of this part of the negotiation as they had lately shown with regard to the basis.

The plan of indemnity by way of secularisation, as it awakened every private interest, required long and minute examination. The deputation meanwhile continued its deliberations on other points, and decreed, on the 31st December, that a note should be presented to the French ministers, requiring them to realise the promise which they had given of the lessening the weight of military contributions on the left side of the Rhine, and of raising the siege of Ehrenbreitstein, according to the agreement existing. A speedy and satisfactory answer was demanded to these propositions, in default of which a note should be given to the imperial commissary, praying his imperial majesty to intervene, in order to arrive at the desired end. At the end of this note they thanked the French ministers for the relief which they had given the country on the right side of the Rhine, by the retreat of a part of the troops; but this article of the resolution was opposed by the Austrian minister, who contended that no thanks were due for an act of justice which was only then begun, and which was only the redress of an injury, as, in conformity to conventions passed since the armistice, every thing which the French government had done or exacted in the countries of the

the Lower Rhine, occupied by the troops, was a violation of those conventions.

This opinion was not acceded to, and the French propositions on the second basis of the peace, and the list of indemnities, were expected to be put under discussion, when another series of propositions and remonstrances, respecting the march of Russian troops, from the French ministers, divided the attention of the deputation.

CHAP. VIII.

Negotiation at Radstadt. Note of the French Ministers on the March of the Russians. Vote of the Deputation of the Empire. Dissatisfaction of the French Ministers. Declaration of the French Ministers to the Commissary of the Emperor. Vote of the Diet of Ratisbon. Passage of the Rhine by the French Troops. Remonstrances of the Empire. Surrender of Ehrenbreitstein. Answer of the Court of Vienna respecting the March of the Russian Troops. Decision of the Diet. Threats of Hostilities by the French Ministers. Campaign of Naples. Refusal by Championet of the Armistice offered by the Neapolitan Government. Surrender of the Port of Gaeta on the Mediterranean. Progress of the Left Wing of the French Army on the Adriatic. Defeat of the Right Wing of Neapolitans. Insurrections of the Neapolitans. Surrender of Pescara. Defeat of the Centre of the Neapolitan Army at Popoli. Engagement between the French and Neapolitans before Capua. Defeat of the French Troops by the Insurgents in the Garigliano. General Insurrection against the French. New Propositions for the Surrender of Capua refused by Championet. Distressed Situation of the French Army. Massacre of the French. Fresh Proposals for the Surrender of Capua accepted. Conditions of the Surrender. Flight of the King from Naples to Sicily. Representation by Championet to the Directory of the Advantages of the Armistice. Insulting Letter of the French Directory to Championet respecting the Armistice. Stated Causes of the Conduct of the Directory. Junction of the Left Wing of the French Army at Caserta. State of Parties at Naples. Desertion of the Neapolitan Army to the French. Escape of General Mack from Naples to the French Camp. Arrest of Mack, by Order of the French Directory, at Milan. Lazzaroni in Possession of Naples. Attack of the Lazzaroni on the French Camp. Horrors committed by the Lazzaroni at Naples. Rupture of the Armistice. Invitation from the Inhabitants to the French to enter Naples. Advance of the French to Naples. Desperate Resistance of the Lazzaroni. Surrender of the Lazzaroni. Proclamation of Championet. Provisionary Government of the Neapolitan Republic. Ill Reception by the Directory of the Embassadors from the Neapolitan Republic. Disobedience of Championet to the Decrees of the Directory. Arrest of Championet. Revolution of Lucca. Constitution of the new Republic of Lucca. State of Finances in France. Tax on Salt. Message of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred. Opposition of the Council of Elders to the Directory. Observations on the Conduct of the Directory. Instances of the Despotism and Corruption of the Directory. First Symptoms of the approaching Fall of the Directory. Pamphlets by Boulay

Boulay de la Meurthe. Effect of the Pamphlet on the Public Mind. Apprehensions of the Directory. Proclamations of the Directory previous to the Annual Elections. Coalition of Parties against the Directory.

THE French ministers had wasted a year in diplomatic deliberations at Radstadt, the latter part of which time had been chiefly spent in adjusting the measurement of towing paths and tolls, and in disputes respecting the property of the willow-beds that obstruct the course of the Rhine; when the march of the Russians, which had been known to all Europe six months before, and which had been the topic of ridicule and of epigrams at the directory, began to engage their serious attention. In a note remitted to the imperial minister on the first of January 1799, the French plenipotentiaries made a formal declaration, that if the diet of Ratisbon consented to the entrance of the Russian troops on the territory of the empire, or did not, by every means in their power, give it their strenuous opposition, that such entrance would be considered by France as a violation of the neutrality on the part of the empire; that the negotiations which were then carrying on at Radstadt should be broken off; and that the republic and the empire should be placed on the same footing as they were previous to the signature of the preliminaries at Leoben, and the conclusion of the armistice.

The preparations and march of the Russians, which in the same note they style an incident which had been little foreseen, were represented by the French ministers as an object which might become fatal to the domestic tranquillity of Germany, and eventually destroy the solid hopes which had been formed of a perfect reconciliation and a general peace between the two nations. No person, they added, could be deceived with respect to the motives or the ultimate designs of the cabinet of Petersburgh, since the deputation of the empire were too well instructed in the affairs of Europe, not to see clearly that Russia, after having encouraged the war during six years without taking any active part, had thus openly entered the field against France, with no other intention than that of preventing a continental peace from taking place; and with designs no less evident, of facilitating the plan of general usurpation, which that cabinet had so long meditated.

The declaration of the French ministers caused much perplexity amongst the members of the deputation. Those who were anxious for peace, as the only means of safety for Germany, and such as expected to receive indemnities from the particular protection of the French government, were alarmed; while others who had lost every thing, and who could only be benefited by the chances of war, did not dissemble their satisfaction at the prospect of the recommencement of hostilities. The deputation, without debating the principle, voted that the note of the French ministers should be sent to Vienna as well as to the diet of Ratisbon.

The vote of the deputation did not satisfy the French ministers, who had hoped that the majority of the members would have declared that the empire had not sufficient means of opposing the march of the Russians. The declaration which had been made to the empire

pire was communicated on the tenth of January to count Lehrbach in particular, to which the French ministers added, that they thought it their duty to make this communication to a friendly power; but at the same time they had orders to declare to the minister of his majesty the emperor, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, and archduke of Austria, that in leaving a free passage to an army of a power which had declared war against France, and by permitting such an army to cross his state in order to reach the French troops, the emperor put the republic under the necessity of considering this act as a rupture of the ties which bound both states, and that his majesty was invited to give a precise and satisfactory explanation on this subject. The conduct of the emperor had long since discovered that no precise or satisfactory explanation would be given to such a requisition, when he had personally attended a review of the Russian troops, and when, at the moment that the French declaration was presented, these troops were marching from Brunn, where they had been thus reviewed, towards the frontiers of Bavaria. The diet of Ratisbon was as unable as the emperor was unwilling to clear up the doubts of the French ministers, since in the assembly which took place on the reception of the French declaration, they simply resolved that the members should procure, as speedily as possible, instructions from their constituents, that the emperor's commissary should be requested to make his report to his imperial majesty, and that this resolution should be sent to the deputation at Radstadt with the formal notice that as yet no requisition had been made to the empire concerning the entrance of the Prussian troops on its territory.

Meanwhile the French troops which had evacuated the right side of the Rhine, according to certain conditions contained in the negotiation, repassed the river, and took up their quarters on the German side, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the count of Metternich, who presented fresh memorials to the French ministers on that point, as well as on the everlasting theme of raising the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein. But as the state of the negotiation between the French republic and the emperor portended that the negotiation at Radstadt could not be of long continuance, the French no doubt thought themselves justified in making such provisions against the rupture as would indemnify them for the time they had lost in not following up more active operations. The French troops that were stationed along the left of the Rhine, between Cologn and Mentz, were joined on the right side by those which had formed the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein. This fortress had been compelled at length to surrender from famine after a resistance of eighteen months. The French found in the place an immense quantity of stores, consisting of 192 pieces of artillery, about 100,000 balls, bombs, and grenadoes, a million of cartridges, near 450,000 weight of powder, 5,000 muskets, and other articles in equal profusion.

The answer of the cabinet of Vienna to the note which the French ministers had presented to the deputation respecting the march of the Russian troops was as little satisfactory as that of the diet of Ratisbon. The imperial court was astonished that the French should have conceived the idea of addressing the deputation

deputation of the empire on a subject which had no relation with their mission, expressing its satisfaction that the deputation had referred this business, which was beyond its competence, to those whom it concerned, and declaring that it would wait the report which should be made of it by the diet of Ratisbon. The deputation, a few days after the reception of this note, coincided with the opinion of the Austrian cabinet, and declared that the march of the Russian troops was an affair beyond its competence.

The French ministers were not of the same opinion with the deputation; since in answer to their vote that the march of the Russians was a matter which no way concerned them, they declared by a note (31st of January) that they had orders neither to receive nor remit any note on any of the points of the negotiation till that which they had remitted on the first of January, respecting the march of the Russians, had received a categorical and satisfactory answer. On the same day a message was likewise delivered to the Austrian minister, count Lehrbach, in which the French ministers declared, that, if in fifteen days from the date of their letter, the emperor had not compelled the Russian troops to evacuate the Austrian territory, and such of his other states as made part of the German empire, hostilities should forthwith begin between him and the French republic.

In the history of the military operations of the French republic for the past year, we left general Championet at his camp of Santo Germano, the spot from whence, but a few weeks previous, the king of Naples had issued his proclamations, promising the deliverance of the Romans from the French yoke, and refusing the armistice offered him from Capua by general Mack, on any other condition than the surrender of Naples. M. Pignatelli seeing the discontent of the Neapolitans, and knowing that a powerful party had conceived the hope of overturning the government, as well as the favourable disposition of a considerable part of the Neapolitan officers towards the French, withdrew, deeply affected by the refusal of the French general. Championet, in pursuance of his plan, transferred his head quarters from Santo Germano to Teri. Here he was made acquainted with the success of general Rey on the post of Gaeta, where this general had found immense magazines and stores of every kind, together with a vast train of artillery, which was of infinite service in the deplorable state of the French army. The possession of this post was likewise of great importance, as it supported the right of the army, and secured the rear from any surprise by the landing of the enemy.

It was here also that Championet first received news of the left and centre of his army. Duhesme, equally ignorant of the fate of the right, forced his march along the coast of the Adriatic, through a country intersected with rivers, the passages to which were guarded by troops who disputed every step. He had crossed the Salinello and the Trentino with great difficulty, but with little loss; and, on his arrival near the Vomano, found that the Neapolitans had crossed it to prevent his further progress. He succeeded in repulsing them; and, perceiving that they were making preparations for a regular attack, on the following day he pressed forward

forward to the river, which he passed in their presence; and having, by a rapid movement, thrown a body of troops on their flank, he gained a complete victory, and forced the remainder of the right wing of the Neapolitan army to retreat.

A formidable insurrection which took place in the rear of the French army at Teramo, of which the insurgents, to the amount of six thousand, had taken possession, and where they had massacred every person belonging to the French, did not arrest the progress of the left wing. Dubesme sent back detachments to reduce the insurgents; and marching forwards with the remainder, taking advantage of the consternation into which he had thrown the right wing of the Neapolitans at the battle in the Vomano, he appeared before Pescara without artillery or ammunition; and, by threats of a general sack on the one hand, and promises of favour and clemency on the other, induced the garrison to open the gates of this important fortress, which was the key of the Adriatic; and the possession of which was equally useful to the progress of the left wing towards Naples, as that of Gaeta on the Mediterranean to the advance of the right.

The centre of the army under general Lemoine had crossed the chain of the Appenines in one of its most difficult passes continually exposed to the incursions of the insurgent peasantry, who massacred without pity wherever they met with little resistance. The small number of his forces did not permit Lemoine to keep up his communications with Aquila, being compelled to concentrate his troops in order to force the post of Popoli, where the centre of the Neapolitan army were strongly intrenched, and thereby prevented the junction of the centre of the French with its left. The resistance was at first obstinate. The bridge over the Pescara was forced with difficulty, and the town was gained. The Neapolitans fled with precipitation, and the whole column might have been destroyed had the French general continued the pursuit, which his ignorance of the positions of the other divisions of the French army prevented him from effecting.

While the centre division formed its communication with the right by Vanafro, general Rey, leaving a garrison at Gaeta, marched on towards Capua with the remainder of his column, and took his position along the Volturno, which covered that city to the sea. General Macdonald, who commanded the main body, had fallen down from Calvi, and had marched on to reconnoitre the ground around Capua. A smart skirmish ensued, in which the French troops mingled with the Neapolitans, and the hope of entering the town with the enemy led the French to pursue them to the walls. The cannon of the place protected the retreat of the Neapolitans, and the French were compelled to retire with some loss to Cajazzo, where Macdonald took his position. His right flanked the high road leading from Capua, leaving a reserve at Calvi, a daring and dangerous position before a yet numerous enemy, covered by a river, protected by a strong place, the master of the left side, and of all the fords of the Volturno, with the means of drawing considerable enforcements from the capital behind, and which it was probable would use every effort to prevent the invasion which threatened it.

This perilous position was the result, however, of circumstances

of which the general had not the command, and which he has not yet thought proper to reveal. His own plan was to have waited at Cajanello, to concentrate his army by the divisions of the left and the centre, and not to have advanced into a country every where in insurrection until he had a force fitted to cope with the dangers to which he would be exposed. The event justified Championet's intentions. On his return to the head-quarters at Teano from Venafro, where he had gone to concert the operations of the siege of Capua with Lemoine, he found dispatches from general Rey, informing him that a prodigious number of insurgents had assembled at Sosia, who threatened to cut down the bridges on the Garigliano, and even menaced the camp. Strong detachments were sent against them to re-establish the communications. The insurgents were in force, and not only opposed the passage of the French troops, but beat them, even when reinforced, in successive engagements, and at length forced them to retreat. During these conflicts with the French troops, other bodies of insurgents possessed themselves of the bridges on the Garigliana, which they cut down, seised the park of reserve belonging to the army, burnt the ammunition-waggons, plundered the baggage, and made themselves masters of all the positions.

During these transactions in the rear of the French army, some general officers, commissioned by the viceroy of Naples to make propositions for an armistice, in order, as they said to conclude a stable peace, presented themselves before Championet, offering to surrender the city of Capua, and to draw a military line in which the armies should wait the orders of their respective governments. Championet refused to enter into the discussion unless the surrender of Naples was comprehended in the armistice; astonished, at the same time, that, in the state of distress in which the French army was, such propositions should be made to him. These propositions were repeated the next day, and met with the same refusal.

But, on returning towards the head quarters at Teano from this conference, Championet found the troops that guarded it fallen back, and the town evacuated. The insurgents had gained the heights, and were making dispositions for an attack. These bands were dispersed; but the same evening Championet was informed that the insurrection was general, that every part of the kingdom was in arms, and that the insurgents were commanded by experienced officers. Lemoine, who had crossed the Volturno, sent word that his head quarters were attacked. No further news could be obtained of the left wing under general Dubesme. No detachments or couriers could reach him, and it was believed that he had been surrounded by insurgents.

The insurrection gained on the rear of the French army. Santo Germano, and the whole of the country around, had erected the standard of revolt. Championet's baggage and equipages were pillaged; one of his aide-de-camps was burnt alive; another was taken prisoner. At Tendi and Jhi, women, children, travellers, soldiers, were all inhumanly massacred. This extermination (it is asserted by the French) took place in conformity to the orders of the king of Naples, signed with his hand, stating, that, as soon as the French shall have put

put foot on the territory of his kingdom, that all the communes rise in mass and begin the massacre.

This manifesto of carnage was but too well executed. The monsters, whose number was immense, fulfilled their commission with horrid joy. Thus surrounded, the French troops were left without provisions. The numerous detachments which they furnished to march against the rebels had considerably diminished their forces. The burning of the park of artillery, and ammunition waggons, left each soldier only a single round of cartridges. The communication with Rome was cut off; a junction with the left wing was become impossible. The Neapolitans were making preparations for a general attack. A landing was about to take place at the mouth of the Garigliano, of the troops that had embarked at Leghorn, and which were to fall on the rear while general Mack made an attack in front.

Such was the position of Championet, who had called in all his posts, resolved to conquer or perish, when a trumpet presented itself the third time at the advanced posts of the French army, announcing the arrival of the former deputation with more extensive powers. In this situation there was little room for hesitation. The armistice was concluded between Championet and the prince of Milliano, the principal conditions of which were the surrender of Capua, with all its stores and artillery; the possession of the country by the French army from Acerra before Naples; Benevento and along to the Adriatic to serve as a line of demarcation; the evacuation of the Neapolitan ports by the ships of hostile powers: and the payment of ten millions of livres. This armistice was to be ratified by the respective governments; and no hostilities were to take place, in case of the rejection by either government, till after three days notice.

The king of the Two Sicilies, with the royal family, had been for some days safely landed at Palermo. The flight from Naples had been decided on in the council; but, it appears, that the king for some time had resisted the proposition, either disbelieving the danger, or unwilling to abandon so precipitately the seat of government. Overcome by the remonstrances of those who were partisans for the retreat, and who were said to have used artifices, such as pretended conspiracies, and popular insurrections, to bend him to submission, he created Pignatelli viceroy, and embarked on board the British ships, during the night of the first of January with his court, accompanied by the British, Austrian, and Russian ministers. In order to preserve the tranquillity of the city, a civic guard was formed, the officers of which were taken equally from the classes of the nobles and private citizens. The Spanish minister had been requested by them to negotiate an armistice with the French general, but he had refused the commission, since the authority of this body was insufficient to grant him the necessary powers. The viceroy and general Mack, accompanied by several of the nobility, went anew, on the 14th, to entreat the Spanish minister to interpose, and procure an armistice and a capitulation for Naples. He accepted at first the office of peacemaker; but, finding other obstacles, he was compelled to decline it altogether.

The armistice having been concluded and signed on the 21st of

January, the French placed a garrison in Capua the following day, and the rest of the army encamped without the city. Championet, disembarassed by the armistice, from a formidable opposition in front, took advantage of his present position to clear the country of the insurgents in his rear. In a confidential note to the directory, which accompanied the news of the capitulation, Championet had painted the extreme distress of his army, and the imminent dangers which threatened it; representing that he was surrounded on all sides, in want of provisions, ammunition and articles of every kind; that the loss of a battle would have been the total loss of the army, and that a victory even before Capua would have been useless. He urged the importance of the possession of a place which supplied the army with all its wants, and opened to it the way to Naples; that a suspension of arms with a government so perfidious, was nothing more than a stratagem of war; that such articles were imposed as would lead the Neapolitans to break the armistice, in various ways, whenever he pleased; that, at the time in which they received the news of the capitulation of Capua, he should be master of Naples, having the means of revolutionising it from his headquarters at Caserta, by the active correspondence which he was about to open with the disaffected party, and who, as appeared by their conduct towards the viceroy, had not been strangers to the speedy conclusion of this useful treaty.

But the directory was informed of the armistice before the letter of Championet reached them. The opposition made by this general to the cession of the Roman republic, when the king of Naples took possession of Rome, was an involuntary violation of the compact which, it has been asserted, had passed between this prince and the French directory. The invasion of Naples was deemed a still grosser act of perfidy, and justified in some measure the horrible orders for massacre issued by the Neapolitan government. The directory were at the same time innocent of this rupture of the secret treaty. They could not indeed discover either to France or to the army their intentions; but they had taken every secret method of acting towards the king of Naples with loyalty. The sacrifice of Championet and the French army were but of little importance. The armistice had saved both. This armistice was so highly disapproved by the directory, that a letter was written to Championet in the most severe and insulting terms. This letter was, however, retracted some short time after, when Championet had urged his unanswerable reasons. The directory, or rather such of the members as were in the secret, had now to deal with an ignorantly disobedient general, as well as an innocently betrayed king.

It was at Caserta that Championet received news of the fate of the left wing of the army which had been enveloped by insurgents, as was suspected, in the provinces of the Abruzza. After the taking of Pescara, Duhesme extended his line to Ortona and Lanciano, and then directed his march towards Popoli. After various dangers and escapes, Duhesme reached Sulmona and Venafro, and finally joined Championet at his head-quarters at Caserta.

Macdonald, between whom and Championet some misunderstanding had arisen, had given in his dismission,

dismission, and was replaced by the general Dufresne. Lemoine was sent to Paris to receive instructions from the directory respecting the kind of government to be given to Naples. Championet, in the mean time, was active in finding means of communication with the Neapolitan malcontents. A committee was formed to this effect, which received a continued relation of what was passing in the city. The emissaries carried back instructions to the revolutionary party, who having come to a resolution to cooperate with the French for the destruction of the old government, and having received new assurances which led them to rely on the fidelity and generosity of the French army, began to declare their intentions more openly. A particular circumstance brought on the crisis sooner than had been expected. A French agent had been sent from the general under a safe conduct to Naples, to hasten the payment of the money agreed on by the treaty. The viceroy was still in place, and received him very cordially; but the visit of the agent and the object of his mission were no sooner known, than a violent fermentation took place. The French agent was in danger of being assassinated, but was saved by the French party. From this moment the two parties, those who were for the existing government, and those who were for its destruction, no longer disguised their opinions. One of the malcontents having been killed, the whole city was thrown into confusion; some were anxious to avenge the victim, others abetted the assassin. The struggle became serious. The Lazzaroni, who were in the royal interest, took possession of all the arms, and, forming themselves into bands, ran through the streets invoking the names of the king and St. Januarius. General Mack was signalised as a traitor; the remains of the army which he commanded were considered as jacobins, corrupted by French gold. The viceroy even was become an object of suspicion; and, apprehensive of the danger that awaited him from both sides, he wisely withdrew to his barge, which lay in the bay, and set sail for Sicily.

The soldiers who composed the Neapolitan army, strangers for the most part to the climate which they inhabited, and terrified by the menaces of the Lazzaroni, (a species of soldiery with whose tactics they were unacquainted) had no better part to take than to throw themselves as deserters into the French ranks. This desertion was protected, and in two days the Neapolitan army was quite disorganised and annihilated.

General Mack, informed of what was passing, having no soldiers to defend him, and abandoned to the capricious fury of the Lazzaroni, provided himself with a retreat, and demanded an asylum from Championet. His danger became so imminent, that he arrived at Caserta on the heels of the officer whom he had sent to ask for protection. The mystery of ten thousand men opposing and vanquishing eighty thousand began to be cleared up. The respective governments and the armies were continually at cross purposes, and thwarting each other's designs. Championet little suspected that the Roman republic had been sold to the king of Naples; and Mack was equally far from imagining that he should be driven to seek refuge with his army from the Neapolitans, in the camp of the enemy he was sent to destroy.

Championet received Mack with kindness; and gave him a passport and escort to accompany him to Milan, where the directory caused him to be arrested as a prisoner of war; a measure to which Championet was no way accessory, and which he reprobated. The Lazzaroni, who was exasperated at seeing their prey escape them, collected themselves in a body, and rushed like madmen on the advanced posts of the French at Ponte Rotto, routed the advanced guards, and penetrated even to the line. They were received by the troops under arms; who, without giving the Lazzaroni time to observe their positions, bore down on the ragged multitude, and, having killed numbers, and dispersed the rest, returned back to their posts. The Lazzaroni had previously made themselves masters of the Castello Novo, and of the fort of Camine; and had proclaimed that they were going to exterminate the French, and their partisans the jacobins. Under pretence of searching for those disaffected persons, they had begun to break open the houses of the inhabitants, and to commit depredations. Naples was about to be given up to every kind of horror under the rule of these ruffians, when the young prince of Molliterno, a secret friend to liberty, and of a family which had considerable weight with the people, mingled himself with the Lazzaroni, and succeeded in persuading them to elect him their general. He had begun in concert with the reigning authorities of the city to re establish order, and to enter into negotiation with the French general, when the Lazzaroni, having intimation of his designs, revolted against their chief, and began again their plunder. The pretended jacobins and their property were the principal objects of their fury. Among the victims whom they sacrificed to their caprice and rage, were the duke Della Torre and his brother Clement Filomavino, whom they massacred and burnt; neither of whom had ever been known as patriots; and the former of whom was distinguished only by his multiplied acts of beneficence, and by his love of the arts.

The attack of the Lazzaroni on the vanguard of the French, which was a rupture of the armistice, was also with Championet the signal for an attack on Naples. Molliterno and his friends, having lost all hopes of restraining these ruffians, found, that the only means which were left of saving the city, were to seize on the forts, and call the French to their assistance. They had gained possession of the castle of St. Elmo, the news of which was the signal of advance to the French. The division under general Dufresne, lately the right commanded by Macdonald, marched forward, and encamped on two lines before Aversa. The vanguard was posted at Melito, and within gun-shot of Naples. The division of Duhesme marched from Acerra; and, after dispersing an enormous mass of armed peasants, encamped on two lines to the left of Naples. These lines were strengthened by a brigade detached from Benevento, which was attacked by a band of five or six thousand peasants; who, unskilled in the stratagems of war, fell into an ambush near the Caudine Forks (the spot where the Romans passed under the yoke of the Samnites), and were for the most part destroyed. Such detachments were made from the different posts in the country around Naples, as could be

be spared from a service no less dangerous than the attack of the city, which was that of quelling insurrections, and crushing armies of insurgents.

The following day these two divisions, which were charged with the attack of Naples, drew nearer to the town, and gained the heights. Two battalions took possession of Capo di Monte, to establish a correspondence of signals with fort St. Elmo. The first grand division placed their centre between the city and Capo di Chino; the vanguard was posted in the suburbs. The ground to the left of the city was occupied by the left division, and joined to the right by a brigade under general Rusca. The artillery under general Eble, was placed in such positions as gave it the command of Naples.

Every thing was ready for the assault. Naples was about to be delivered over to all the horrors of storm, and the impatient soldier was waiting for the signal of attack. Championet still hesitated: he was anxious to prevent such an unnecessary waste of life, and signed a proclamation to this effect, which he addressed, by the chief of a squadron, to the magistrates of the city. But Naples had now no magistrates. The place was in a complete state of anarchy. Such of the inhabitants as had not taken arms remained closely shut up in their houses; or had concealed themselves from the fury of the Lazzaroni, who, to the number of sixty thousand, had sworn to defend themselves to the last. The messenger of Championet was received by a volley of musquetry; a ball broke the pommel of his saddle: and, on his attempting to make them understand the general's propositions, another volley forced him to retreat.

Championet had imagined that the exhibition of his forces would have led the Lazzaroni to some compromise, and with this idea had deferred the attack to next day; but the Lazzaroni, during the night, made several sallies, and kept up so terrible a fire, that the general lost all hopes of gaining them by any other means than force; and the assault was definitively resolved on. Information had been received, during the night, that the patriots in possession of St. Elmo waited the signal of the French, in order to open their fire on the city. Orders were given for the two battalions on Capo di Monte to march in the silence of the night, and, by byeways, to join the garrison at St. Elmo; to announce their arrival by the junction of their colours with those of the patriots, when the citadel was to make a general discharge of all its artillery. On this signal general Eble was to open all his batteries. The whole army which invested the city were to rush forward, and bear down every thing that opposed them. Columns, armed with torches, were to carry fire and desolation wherever they could penetrate. Such were the orders given and executed. The Lazzaroni met the attack, or rather made it, with astonishing address and courage. They fought every where, to use the language of a general who headed one of the divisions, like lions. When repulsed, they returned again to the charge, and several times repulsed the French in their turn. The battle for a long time hung dubious. With difficulty, at length, they lost some ground, and part of their artillery. The French were in possession of several streets. The Lazzaroni were harassed, pressed, but not vanquished. Night overtook

the combatants: the fire continued. The French troops, overcome with fatigue, divided themselves into equal portions. The one half kept up the fight, whilst the other lay down to rest amidst corpses and ruins. The day dawned: the fury of the combatants redoubled: prodigies of valour shone on both sides: every man was that day a hero: the final victory was yet uncertain.

A momentary cessation of carnage had taken place, from the exhausted state of both parties; and Championet, in order to finish the struggle, had given orders to force the passages to the Castello Novo, and the Fort del Camine, with the bayonet; to penetrate into, and turn the quarter of the Lazzaroni. A division was ordered to march into the heart of the city, and take possession of the palace; and another to form its junction with the garrison of St. Elmo, who had already gained a portion of the town. Meanwhile, Championet had spoken to some of the inhabitants, who had crept forth from their houses, and had given them assurances of protection. Respect for St. Januarius was the charm that operated most on their hearts. The report of the general's respect for Januarius was carried into the ranks of the Lazzaroni. The cry of *Vivent les François!* began to be heard. A guard of honour was stationed at the church of this apostle; the consign was *Respect for St. Januarius!* The general's conversion flew throughout the city. The avenues to the church were crowded. One of the chiefs of the Lazzaroni placed himself at the head of the French. He harangued his terrible soldiers; ordered them to cease their fire, and ground their arms. He was heard with respect and obeyed. A shout of general joy succeeded the cries of mourning and the shrieks of despair; the war was ended, and peace re-established.

It was the fortune of the French, in this campaign, to make allies of their enemies, as it were, on the field of battle. A part of the regular troops had gone over with general Mack previous to the entry into Naples; the Lazzaroni who had hitherto been the most strenuous defenders of the royal cause, were now as loud in their vociferations in what they called the cause of liberty: and, like ardent proselytes to a new system, began to evince the sincerity of their conversion by proceeding to pillage the royal palace, and the houses of those who had been attached to the court. The demonstrations of this zeal were immediately repressed by Championet; who, after having taken possession of all the forts, and encamped his army on the heights around Naples, appointed Dufresne commander of the place, and ordered all the inhabitants to be disarmed; lest amongst so capricious and inflammable a people some accidental spark should fall which might set them again in combustion. Owing to this wise measure the tranquillity of the city was not disturbed for a moment during the residence of the French.

The day after the cessation of hostilities, the army of Rome was proclaimed the army of Naples. The general assembled the troops, and announced this order amidst the shouts of the populace and the thunder of the artillery. Mount Vesuvius, which had been tranquil for five years past, lighted the ceremony on that day with its flames. This phænomenon, which had hitherto been regarded as an indication

indication of the anger of their favourite saint was now hailed as a favourable omen: but, lest the inhabitants should mistake the motives of the invasion, and take umbrage at the denomination given to the French army. Championet (24th January) addressed to the Neapolitans the following proclamation:

"You are at length free: your liberty is the only reward which France claims from its conquest; and the only clause of the treaty of peace, which the army of the republic has just solemnly sworn, together with yourselves, within the walls of your capital, and on the ruins of the throne of your last king.

"Woe be to him who shall refuse to sign with us this honourable compact, in which the whole of the advantage is on the side of the conquered, and which leaves nothing to the conqueror but the glory of having consolidated your happiness: such one shall be treated as a public enemy, against whom we remain in arms.

"If there be any among you who have hearts ungrateful enough to reject that liberty which we have purchased for you at the price of our blood—or any, whom insanity would lead to regret a king who has forfeited whatever right he had to command them, by the violation of the oath which he had made to defend them, let them fly to the dishonoured standard of perjury: eternal war against them, let them be cut off!

"Republicans! the cause under which you have so generously suffered is at length decided. What the brilliant victories of the army of Italy were not able to effect—what had for so long a time retarded the political interests of all Europe—what had suspended the hopes of a general peace—what had hitherto prevented the fulfilment of the faith of treaties, and raised apprehensions of another general war,—the blindness of your last king has happily accomplished.

"Let him accuse, therefore, only his own inordinate ambition, and the folly of his aggression, for the happiness of your lot, and the disgrace of his: but let him remain a just object of punishment for having attacked, contrary to the faith of treaties, an allied nation, and for having purposed to deprive a neighbouring people of their liberty, by the loss of a throne which he dishonoured, and by the reflexion of having contributed to the regaining your liberty. Let no fear poison the sentiment of a happiness so unexpected: the army which I command remains amongst you for your defence; it will lose its last soldier, and shed the last drop of its blood, before it suffers your last tyrant to entertain even the hope of renewing the proscriptions of your families, and of opening again the dungeons in which he has so long buried them.

"Neapolitans! if the French army assume at present the title of Army of Italy, it is only from the solemn engagement which it has taken to die for your cause, and to make no use of its arms but for your independence, and the preservation of the rights which it has obtained for you.

"Let the people feel no apprehensions for the liberty of their worship; let the citizen be no longer anxious for the security of his property. The tyrants have been strongly interested in the exertions which they have made to calumniate the loyalty of the French nation; but a very short time will

suffice to undeceive such as have harboured unjust suspicions, and which have been weapons put into their hands by despotism, in order to excite them to the most deplorable excesses.

"The organisation of plunder and assassination, formed by your last king, and executed by his corrupted agents, as a means of defence, has been attended with the most shocking effects, and the most fatal consequences; but as we have removed the cause of the evil, it will be easy to stop the career, and even repair the calamities. May the republican authorities, which are about to be created, re-establish order and tranquillity on the basis of a paternal administration! May they dissipate the terrors of ignorance, and calm the fury of fanaticism with a zeal equal to that which has been employed by perfidy to alarm and irritate them! and soon will that severity of discipline, which re-establishes order with so much facility among the troops of a free people, put an end to such disorders as are excited by hatred, and which the right of reprisal has not been too forward to repress."

This proclamation, which instructed the Neapolitans with the intentions of the French general, was immediately followed by an edict, entitled, "A Law for the provisionary Government of the Neapolitan Republic;" in which, among other provisions, it was enjoined, that the Neapolitan republic should be provisionally represented by twenty-one citizens, who were named in the edict. This assembly of representatives were to be invested with the legislative and executive authority, till the complete organisation of the constitutional government should take place; and their decrees were not to have the force of a law till sanctioned by the general in chief.

The trophies of victories sent to Paris were followed soon after by embassadors from Naples, to present the vows of the new republic, and to fraternise with the French government. But the embassadors were no more in the secret than the general, and were received with every mark of contumely and contempt. To have received them well would have been a further violation of the compact with the king of Naples. The vengeance of the directory did not long delay falling on Championet himself. A decree of the directory had enjoined the attendance of civil commissaries on the operations of the armies. In the plunder of Italy, the commanders, it was suspected, had taken more than their share. The commissaries were sent to control, or monopolise these robberies. Championet resisted the operations of Faypoult, the commissary named by the directory; and, by a counter-decree, broke the commission and dismissed all the agents; disavowing, by this act, the authority of the directory, and disputing a right not allowed them by the constitution, of creating such commissions, and giving them the attributes and privileges which the decree of the directory authorised them to exercise. Had the directory been itself pure, no one would have regretted measures which should put a stop to the depredations of the generals; but in the present instance it was little else than a struggle between civil and military pillagers.

But while Championet was employing himself in reducing the insurgents in the provinces, in extracting treasures for the arts, by making

making new perforations into the ruins of Pompeia and Herculaneum, and assisting the provisionary government in the organisation of the new republic, he was struck with a mandate from the directory, which ordered him, together with the generals Rey, Dubesme, Dufresne, Bonami, and Broussier, to surrender themselves prisoners of state, and undergo a trial before a court-martial for disobedience.—These generals obeyed the mandate, and returned to France; but the struggle which soon after took place at Paris, and which overthrew the directory, prevented this trial from taking place.

Whilst Championet was playing the principal part in the conquest of Naples, other generals were employed in modelling lesser states, agreeably to the new system of revolutionising governments. The army in Piedmont and the Cisalpine republic had received orders to discontinue its march upon Tuscany; but, as hostilities against any other states were not forbidden, the little republic of Lucca became an object of revolutionary speculation. This territory was invaded by the French, who immediately imposed on it a contribution of two millions of livres. The principles of liberty had made too much progress in this republic for the inhabitants not to seize the opportunity, while the French disburthened them of their money, to rid themselves also of their oligarchical government. But the government wisely averted the storm, and took the lead in the revolution, agreeing to the popular requisition by decreeing the abolition of all privileges and titles, the sovereignty of the people, the integrity and independence of the republic, the return as much as possible to the constitution, before the usurpation of 1556, and the bestowing places of trust and power on those who could administer them cheapest. But in ceding thus much to the people, they thought it wise to retain the provisionary authority. The patriots, through the organ of their deputies, represented to the senate and the legislative commission, that the wish of the people was to have a constitution founded on a more perfect equality of right and division of power. The senate resisted those reclamations, and were supported by the French agents, who treated the patriots as anarchists and disturbers of the public peace. Six other members were added to the legislative commission, but this measure caused no alteration in the plan of the senate.

During this altercation between the patriots and the senate, the orders of the French directory, and a provisionary constitution for Lucca, were sent to general Serrurier. Agreeably to a notification made by the general, an hundred deputies had been chosen, and were about to open their sittings, when this constitution, ready made and provided, arrived from Paris. The general, after dissolving the senate, named the members of the directory and of the two councils, and remitted to them the constitution which they were to put into execution. The principal articles of this new social compact were, for the executive power, a directory consisting of five members, ministers of finance, of foreign affairs, home affairs, of justice, of war and marine, and fourteen commissaries for the administration of the departments. The legislative body were to be composed of two councils, the judiciary power to remain unchanged till a regular constitution

tion was adopted, which was to be put on the same basis as that of the Ligurian republic. All the acts of the former government were to remain in force; and those were to have either civil or military employments were, as far as possible, to enjoy their present places or receive indemnities The two millions of livres were to be levied only on the ex nobles.

This was a very extended organisation for a small state, of not half the extent of a French department; and had the emoluments of the governors been equal to those of their prototypes, the members of the French government, on whose model they were constituted, the fortunes of the community they were appointed to govern would not have sufficed for the remuneration The size of their salaries was therefore wisely proportioned to the smallness of their state. The directors had fifty crowns a month, the ministers twenty five, the members of the legislature twelve, and the rest in proportion.

Whilst these operations were passing in Italy, where the French government continued, almost in despite of its will, to enlarge its domination, the internal situation of the republic became every day more critical. Almost every month some message from the directory had reminded the legislative body that the finances, on which reposed the safety of the republic, were in a state of decay; to which information little other attention had been given, except the sending the message to a commission, whose reports were heard, criticised, and thrown by in secret committees, unless when some one member, more honest or daring than the rest, ventured to speak the opinion of the whole, and unfold the cause of the deficiencies, in the systematic plunder committed on the public purse, by almost every department of the state.

A tax on salt (as was stated in a former chapter) had been proposed to fill up the deficit, which amounted, according to the report of the commission, to fifty millions. The mention of a tax on salt was associated with the ideas of an odious and unpopular impost under the old government. Every discussion on this subject had served only to recal the *gabelle*; but as this tax, under certain modifications, offered a fair branch of revenue, the council of five hundred took it a second time into consideration. The opposers of this tax, not satisfied with resisting the project, alleged that there was a surplus in the receipt, and, consequently, that neither this nor any additional tax was necessary. The contest between the government party and the opposition, respecting this tax, hung doubtful, when the directory decided it by a message sent during the heat of the discussion, assuring the council that the deficiency was not fifty millions, according to the report of the commission, but 120 millions; that every department of the republic was in a state of dissolution; and concluded with declaring, that, in making known the insufficiency of the taxes established, they discharged themselves from all responsibility for the disastrous consequences which would arise from the interruption of the public service.

This menace led the council of five hundred to adopt the measure, notwithstanding the efforts of a respectable opposition, who were not unacquainted with the nefarious traffic which the government had made

made of its influence, nor of the corrupted motives of many who had voted for its adoption. But though the influence of the executive power was sufficient to push this business through the lower house, it met with a more firm and decided opposition in the council of elders, against the majority of whom the menaces or soothings of the directory had often been directed in vain. It was not simply a discussion whether or not a deficit existed, whether a tax on salt, or any other tax less unpopular, should be imposed—the discussion was an attack on the prodigality and incapacity of the executive government, and on the servility and tendency to corruption of the legislative body. With all the warmth of honest indignation, and the force of undisputed facts and logical reasoning, it was clearly proved that the supplies which had been granted had been adequate to all the wants of the public service, and that whatever further grants should be made would go only to swell the civil list of depredation. The observation made by the directory in a former message on this subject, that the deficit in the finances, which overthrew the monarchy, might, if not timely prevented, cause a similar catastrophe to the republic, was retorted by a reference to the measures which caused that monarchical deficit, the application of which was left to the reflection of those who suggested the parallel.

The menace of the directory, declaring itself discharged from the responsibility, in case of the refusal of the legislative body to comply with the demand stated in its message, was treated with contemptuous severity. It was observed that this responsibility was inherent in the exercise of the executive power, as inviolability was essential to the functions of the legislature; that the directory had no right to divest themselves at will of this duty with the same facility as they stripped themselves of their robes after a public ceremony; and that they did not well comprehend the nature and obligations of their office, if the majesty of the people was insulted, whenever its representatives undertook to appreciate the integrity of the views of its executive power, or inspect the activity or usefulness of its operations.

The tax was rejected, and part of the deficit supplied by a tax on doors and windows. The discussion of that tax formed, however, a memorable epocha in the directorial history. Hitherto the directory had in a great measure held unrestrained the rod of power. The law of the famous 19th Fructidor, which conferred a kind of dictature on the executive authority, and which, entrusted to wise and honest men, might have been productive of beneficial effects, had been perverted, by these corrupted and vulgar governors, to all the purposes of vexatious despotism, and unrestrained extortion. Though the list of emigrants had been sometimes swelled by persons who were obnoxious to those in power, or whose fortunes tempted their avarice, every means of justice were denied also to such whose claims were undisputed, and sequestrations were continued, on pretences the most frivolous, which concealed designs the most iniquitous and abominable. The large domain of one person was seated in the country of the director who came from the South, and lay contiguous to his château and farms. The immense

mense sums that ofttimes purchased justice were offered in vain—the director kept his eye too stedfastly fixed on the sequestered domain. The most virtuous and respectable citizen that France at present boasts, who, when these directorial minions of power, then in their youth, occupied the lowest places under the régime of despotism, stood forth the avenger of the rights of humanity, and made Europe resound with the eloquence of his pleadings in favour of the victims of religious intolerance and fiscal persecution, who had been called with enthusiasm by his fellow-citizens to the first regeneration of his country, had invoked in vain the interposition of supreme authority to correct the errors of municipal ignorance, or cancel the decrees of departamental tyranny. Strangers, the citizens of allied republics, even such were condemned to house themselves in cottages on the borders of their large estates, struck with sequestration. The directory was acquainted with the detail of the iniquity, acknowledged the injustice of the persecution; but the motives for redress, where redress was to begin, had not yet been sufficiently persuasive.

But it was not this fiscal tyranny only which weighed heavy on that persecuted class: a still more tremendous power was often called into exercise. That only reached the fortunes of individuals—this affected their lives. The law of the 19th Fructidor had empowered the directory to banish from the territory of the republic a caste, whose principles in general, it must be avowed, were little conformable to any just or liberal ideas of government. An immense number of the priesthood had conscientiously rejected the oaths, which the laws prescribed to public functionaries, under which denomination they were included. Such as forbore the exercise of the ministry were in general unmolested, but the rigour of the law, in its full extent, was let loose against those who held a compliance with the injunction, or the abdication of their office, as a violation of their religious obligations. The removal of such as preached doctrines hostile to the safety of the state was, no doubt, a necessary measure. Humanity, nevertheless, ought to have directed the degree of punishment: the law had banished them from the republic, but the directory, in sending them to the pestilential climes of Guiana, condemned them to certain death. It was not, however, against this refractory class alone that this severity was exercised; the law, framed to restrain the turbulent, was made the instrument of punishment against the most undeserving of its vengeance. Constitutional priests and non-jurors were sometimes huddled together in the same fatal bark, and men of principles the most opposite were melted into mutual forbearance and charity from the common pressure of calamity and injustice.

Of arbitrary imprisonments it were endless to speak; it were wanting candour not to make allowances for numerous errors, when the qualities and classes of enemies to the state were so extensive and various; but the greediness with which some of these directors hunted particular objects of vengeance was as indecent as it was unjust. Wretchedly organised as were the tribunals, they sometimes stood stern in their decisions against the tyranny of the executive power. Libellists were almost always acquitted, and often even when their

their aggressions deserved punishment. But sometimes, when judiciary power, when even military commissions, stepped in between directorial revenge and its victim, those who were unattainted by the law did not escape the fangs of despotism: the case, for instance, of the shipwrecked emigrants, had caused, during four years, a continual struggle between the homicide projects of the director Merlin, and the judicial, legislative, and even military powers.

These acts of cruelty were not unknown to the legislature. The feeble voice of expostulation was sometimes heard; but the frown of directorial power shrunk, for the most part, the complainant and his defenders into silence. Had this tyranny been exercised against certain descriptions of persons, obnoxious from their principles and their influence, some excuse might be found on the difficulty of the circumstances in which the directory was placed; but when the purest and most upright citizens were often persecuted as the most dangerous enemies of the state, and the most notorious counter-revolutionists, both royalists and jacobins, had the ear of power, together with the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes, who held the directorial palace in continued siege, it might well be presumed that the republic was reduced to the lowest pitch of moral degradation. But it was the alarming progress of corruption and dilapidation that most forcibly impressed the public mind. This dilapidation was become so systematic and so notorious as to brave not only all opposition but all censure. The waste of the public money voted by the legislature was but a slight theft compared with the extensive plunder of the allied republics in Switzerland and Italy. On the most moderate computation, not less than half the amount of the annual revenue voted for the service of the French republic had been dilapidated in the course of the last year. It was on this point, therefore, that the independent part of the legislature placed its foot. The last menace of the directory filled up the measure of their indignation; the veil was rent, and the directory began to tremble in their turn. The courage which Baudin had evinced in the council of the elders was immediately followed by a denunciation against the directory by a member of the five hundred, from the press. Boulay de la Meurthe had been one of the chief supporters of the revolution of the 18th of Fructidor, and, not satisfied with the share he had taken in the unconstitutional transactions of that day, had sullied his reputation by an after-project of extensive proscription against the class of ex-nobles, the extravagance of which caused at the time its almost unanimous rejection. His own good sense, and the evil use which the directory had made of the power with which he had contributed to invest them, had brought him back to principles of moderation and justice. He was one of those who beheld with indignation the encroachments of tyranny, and, having been one of the principal agents in creating a power which he could not afterwards control, he now felt it his duty to stand foremost in the ranks to denounce and arrest its progress. To have made an insulated political confession of faith in the council would have been too open and too official a declaration of hostilities. He chose the press to be the vehicle of his sentiments

ments to the people, and couched his accusations against the directory in a pamphlet, which he called "An Essay on the Causes which in 1649 established and destroyed the British Commonwealth." In this essay, after drawing a parallel between the factions of the respective republics, he addressed the application of his subject to the French directory, and in terms little measured, or indirect, accused them of stupid pride and fatal policy; of incapacity either to make or preserve peace; of prodigality in the idle waste of the blood and treasure of the state; of overturning wantonly the governments of other countries; of listening to the voice only of contemptible and perfidious flatterers; of harbouring the most malignant and detestable passions; of corruption, Machiavelism, and of ignorance of any force but that of bayonets; he represented their agents as so many subaltern tyrants, spreading terror and consternation throughout the land; he spoke of commerce and the useful arts as in a state of decay, public credit annihilated, the taxes increasing, and serving only to enrich the vilest and most corrupted part of the nation, property insecure, personal safety at the control of despotism, civil and religious institutions insulted and persecuted, and liberty of speech, and even of thought, proscribed. Under a very thin veil of hypothesis, the writer finished his picture of directorial government, by representing them as treading under foot the constitution, the laws, and the most inviolable principles of public and private security, of suffering no opposition to their will, of tormenting the people in every possible mode, of having virtually forfeited their title to govern, of being in open war, not only against opposing parties, but against the people, —of being, in short, despots and tyrants. The conclusion which the writer drew was the impossibility of their retaining their power any longer than they should be favoured by extraordinary circumstances, (which they were ever careful in creating), and particularly, whilst they held at their disposal an armed force capable of imposing terror, which could not be of long duration.—'A moment will come,' observed the writer, 'when this Machiavelism of circumstances will impose no longer on any person, when a general cry will be heard, and when the armed force will itself become the first instrument of the ruin of the tyrants.'

The effect which this pamphlet produced on the public was electric. Had it been the work of some obscure writer, the people would have feared to read, and banishment, if not a trial for high treason, would have been the fate of the author. But, proceeding from the pen of a representative, who had been signalised for his attachment to the directory, and who was also esteemed for his personal merit, it was not the people only who foresaw a change,—the directory did not conceal from their partisans their apprehensions of the conspiracy which was forming against them. But to yield the field without a combat would have been an act of pusillanimity, especially when a chance for victory remained in their favour, by the discharge of a third part of the legislative body, the season for which was approaching; since, in the third part, whose term was expired, were included a considerable portion of the mutinous opposition, whose places they hoped would be filled

filled up by legislators less discerning or disobedient. It was of importance, therefore, to secure this new election. Six weeks before the feast of the sovereignty of the people took place, the directory issued a proclamation, which contained little more than general instructions, designating, however, the description of men best fitted to fill the office of electors at the approaching meeting of the primary assemblies. The interval between the issuing of this proclamation and the meeting had been filled up by the directory in giving instructions to its commissaries, and in influencing the administrations in the departments, who had been, in general, creatures of their own nomination. But, during this interval, the opposition had received considerable reinforcements. The republican party had given the mortal blow; but hosts of enemies were hovering around to fall on the tottering directory. The royalists were yet bleeding; the jacobins were still breathing revenge. The views of neither corresponded with those of the republicans; but as the object to be overthrown was an object of common antipathy, each of these discordant factions mustered its forces to help forward its fall. The royalist party was scarcely an object of the attention of the directory. This party they knew to be numerous, but without energy, and therefore no way formidable; but the strength of the jacobinical faction was a subject of serious alarm. Armed with their force, they had hitherto gained easy victories over all other opponents: the revolt of this ally turned at once the scale of victory against them. Another address to the French people, at the eve of the elections, designated them, indeed, under their proper colours, as revolutionary tyrants and executioners of the decemviral tyranny; a tyranny, it must be remembered, of which the majority of the present directors had been at the time the most strenuous supporters, but from the return of which, on account of their apostasy, they had to expect no mercy.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Continuance of Negotiation at Radstadt. Preparations of the Belligerent Powers for taking the Field. Motives of Delay with the Austrians and the French. State of the French Armies. French pass the Rhine. Note and Proclamation of the French Directory on the Passage of the Troops. Vote of the Congress on the Note and Proclamation of the French Ministers. Disapprobation of the Imperial Commissary. Commencement of Hostilities between the Empire and France. Order of March of the French Army. Plan of Attack. Order of March of the Austrian Army. Disposition of the Austrian Forces. Entrance of the French into the Grisons. Defeat and Capture of the Austrians in the Grisons. Success of the French in the Mountains of the Tyrol. Manœuvres of Jourdan's Army. Defeat of the French Division by the Feldtruch. Respective Position of the French and Austrian Armies. Engagements between the French and Austrian Armies. Second Defeat of the French before Feldtruch. Defeat of the French Army under Jourdan on the Danube. Consternation at Paris. Jourdan's Defence of his Conduct. Situation of the Army on his taking the Command. Various Practices of the Ministers of War. Correspondence between Jourdan, the Directory, and Minister of War. Operations of the French Army in the Tyrol. Extraordinary Manœuvres of the French Army on the Alps. Defeat of the Austrians. Occupation of important Posts in the Tyrol by the French. Dismission of the Minister of War, Scherer. Scherer's Appointment to Commander in Chief of the Army in Italy. General Indignation of the Army at the Appointment. Attack of the French on the Austrian Line at Verona. Success of Moreau's Division across the Adige. Failure of Scherer's in front of Verona. Renewed Attack on the Austrian Lines. Defeat of Scherer's Army. Retreat of the French from the Adige. Battle of Magnan. Further Defeat and Retreat of Scherer's Army. Situation of the French and Austrian Armies in Italy on the Arrival of the Russians. Retreat of the French Troops from the Tyrol. Further Retreat of Divisions of Jourdan's Army. Operations of Massena in Switzerland. Movements of the Archduke. Schaffhausen taken. Reflections on War in mountainous Countries. Further Retreat of the French in Italy. Arrival of Suwarrow in Italy. Command of the French Army transmitted from Scherer to Moreau. Retreat of the French behind the Adda. Capture of various Places by the Allies. Division of the Diet of Ratisbon respecting the War. Recall of the Minister of the Empire from the Congress at Radstadt. Breaking up of the Assembly. Declaration of the French Ministers. Publication of the supposed Secret Treaty of Campo-Formio. Details of the Murder of the French Plenipotentiaries at Radstadt. Reflections on this Assassination. Election of the third Part of the Legislature of the French Republic. Intrigues of the Directors. Election of a new Director. Secession of Reveillere. Election of Sieyes. Addresses to the Council against Scherer. Enormities committed by his Minister. Reflections on the Progress of the Allies in Italy. Military Situation.

Situation of Moreau. Battle on the Adda. Defeat of the French on every Point. Entrance of the Allies into Milan. Reflections on the Conduct of the French Government with Respect to the Cisalpine Republic. Situation of the Cisalpine Government on the Invasion of the allied Armies.

ALTHOUGH war had long been decided on by the court of Vienna, a determination which had also been long known to the French directory, the forms of negotiation were still continued at Radstadt. This mockery of negotiation was little else than a pretext for prolonging the time, since the armies of neither of the belligerent powers were ready to enter the field. The imperial troops, excepting such as were stationed in the territory of Venice, were dispersed in Bohemia, and in provinces distant from the frontiers of Bavaria, in order to facilitate the recruiting of their forces, and the making such other preparations as were necessary for the opening of the campaign. The tardy march of the Russians was also a primary motive with the Austrian cabinet for delay, and the project of uniting a plan of operations between the imperial armies of Germany and Italy, by the Tyrol, was yet impracticable, on account of the severity of the weather.

The motives of the French government for procrastination were not less urgent. During the last fifteen months, the armies, instead of receiving powerful reinforcements, had been sensibly diminished. Thirty four thousand of the choicest troops, accustomed to victory, led on by generals of the highest reputation and talents—Bonaparte, Berthier, Kleber, Desaix, and others—this union of skill and courage, which had constituted the military soul of the French armies, and which inspired confidence, that moral lever, stronger than physical force—all this prestige of fortune had fled. The complement of the armies of the Rhine and Italy appeared, indeed, in the accounts of the minister of war, and the legislative body had religiously voted the same necessary for their support; but when the season for taking the field drew nigh, it was found that this formidable force, on which the French had founded their security, figured only on Schener's registers. The military conscription had long been voted, and would have filled up this dreadful hiatus, had the levy been made with more diligence, or had the conscripts entered the service with their usual alacrity. But the approach of war was looked on with a kind of gloomy reluctance by all classes. Not only was all confidence in the operations of government entirely lost, but the detail of its corruption was every where disseminated. The highest authorities in the state did not dissemble to their partisans their apprehensions of disgrace and defeat long before their armies entered the field. Conscious how much they were degraded in the public mind, and detested, they had endeavoured to resolve that personal detestation into hatred of republican government, and had indulged consolation for their anticipated reverses by throwing the blame on national indifference and disaffection.

Meanwhile the diet at Ratisbon, to whom had been referred the note, which the French plenipotentiaries

tiaries delivered to the congress at Radstadt, respecting the march of the Russians, had come to no definitive decision; but the march still continued, and the emperor having already assembled the greatest part of his forces on the Lech, the French armies passed the Rhine, and penetrated into Suabia, under the command of general Jourdan. Official information of this invasion was communicated to count Metternich by the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt, who remitted to him, by order of the directory, the following proclamation, signed by the president, and dated 20th February:—

"The troops of his Majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in despite of the convention concluded at Radstadt the 11th Frimaire, in the sixth year, have passed the river of the Inn, and have crossed the frontiers of the hereditary states. This march has been combined with that of the Russian troops, already in the Austrian dominions, and who openly declare, that they are coming to attack and combat the French republic. Ever faithful to its engagements, continually animated by the sincerest desire of maintaining peace, always inclined to suppose that the same sentiments actuate his majesty the emperor, the French government has demanded from him a satisfactory declaration respecting this march of the Russian troops, and the passage which he has granted them.

"The emperor has continued silent; the executive directory is therefore bound, by the necessity of lawful defence, and by the obligation imposed on every government to provide for its safety, to order the French armies to take such positions as circumstances require. But they declare that their wish for peace is unchangeable; and that at the moment when his imperial majesty shall announce, by a friendly declaration, that the Russians have evacuated his states, and that his troops have repassed the lines agreed on by the convention at Radstadt, the French armies will fall back to their former positions."

This proclamation was accompanied by an address from general Jourdan to his army, on their entrance into Germany, the tenor of which was nearly the same as that of the proclamation. The French ministers observed in a note which they remitted at the same time to count Metternich, that they were authorised to declare that the march of the army ought to be considered only as a precaution, necessitated by circumstances; that the desire of peace on the part of the French government continued to be ardent and sincere; and that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace with the empire, on the supposition always that the empire would declare itself against the march of the Russians.

The deputation of the empire assembled to take the proclamation and the note of the French ministers into consideration, and came to a conclusum that the note of the French ministers should be sent to the general diet of the empire, together with the proclamation and address; that it should be observed to the diet at the same time, that the majority of the deputation was convinced that after this note the diet ought to be persuaded how urgent it was to enable the deputation to give an answer to the note of the French legation of the 2d of January, (concerning the march of the Russians) in order to resume the negotiations which had been

so

so long suspended; that the present deliberation should be remitted as usual to the commissary of his imperial majesty; that he should be requested to impart to the French ministers the decision of the deputation, and to express its ardent desire to concur in all possible efforts for a speedy and lasting peace. The imperial commissary did not entertain the same pacific dispositions as the majority of the deputation. He informed the members, by a note, transmitted 4th of March, that the imperial commission could not approve the conclusum, since, from the actual situation of affairs, their answer should have been restrained to the simple acknowledgment of having received the French ministers' note, and of having communicated it to the general diet; and that all further declaration should have been suspended till the ulterior decision of the emperor and the empire, agreeably to a former conclusum of the deputation. From this declaration it was almost officially clear, that the cabinet of Vienna, by throwing obstacles in the way of the congress, by hindering the opening of the protocole at Ratisbon, not only had decided on war, but was also resolved to force the empire into hostilities. A still more overt act on the part of the emperor was the expulsion of Bacher and Alquier, the one the French resident at Ratisbon, and the other embassador at Munich. This expulsion was not effected without opposition on the part of certain members of the diet, and the elector of Bavaria; but as the order was accompanied by military force, the ministers were compelled to obey the requisition.

But hostilities between the emperor and France had actually begun. The army of Jourdan, amounting to 40,000 men, had crossed the Rhine at Kehl and Basil, (1st of March); the vanguard, commanded by general Vandamme, followed by the column of the centre, had already passed the Hornberg, and reached to Villingen; the column of the left, under general St. Cyr, was at Frendenstadt; and the right, commanded by general Ferino, marched by the towns of Rheinfeld and Waldshut. An army of observation, under the command of Bernadotte, had advanced into the Palatinate, at the same time that Jourdan crossed the Rhine. Manheim was occupied by the French; Philipsburgh was summoned to surrender, but protected by inundations, and otherwise in a state of respectable defence, was out of the reach of farther insult. Bernadotte, leaving Philipsburgh, marched upon Heidelburgh, and penetrated into the valley of the Neckar, as far as Heilbron.

As the war was now finally decided on by both parties, the advantage which the occupation of Switzerland gave the French could not fail of determining the government to act offensively; there was no other method of preventing the junction of the Russian and the Austrian army on the Adige, than to dislodge the latter from the strong position which it held on that river. The benefit resulting to the French from this operation depended on the success of the attack which should be made on the frontiers of the Tyrol; but to secure its execution, it was necessary to seize on the passes of the mountains, and divert the attention of the imperialists, by drawing their principal forces towards the Danube. In covering this central attack, Switzerland was likewise to support the right of Jourdan's army, which

was now called the army of the Danube.

This vast but well connected plan was developed with singular precision and rapidity. The important point was to gain possession of the Grisons, and of the valley of the Rhine, in order to penetrate into the valley of the Inn; and as the principal effort of the French armies was to be directed by their centre, which was sufficiently strong, their movements on the Rhine began by the left, at the farthest distance from the real theatre, on which the French were interested in carrying on the war.

The French had taken advantage of their position in Switzerland, to get rapidly on the eastern side of the mountains of the Black Forest, and gain the heights of the Lake of Constance, in order to unite and support their attacks; when the archduke, who had assembled the greatest part of his forces on the right side of the Lech, passed this river on the 5th of March. His first care was to throw a body of troops and provisions into Ulm, which was threatened, and which was to flank the right of his army. That part of his army which was cantoned on the left side of the Danube, marched by Donawerth upon Memmingen, where he fixed his headquarters. The imperialists had no less an interest than the French in endeavouring to make their lines contiguous. The archduke took a position on the Inn, parallel to the general line of the operations of the French.

The left of the army was at Kempten, the centre at Memmingen, and the right extended to Ulm; which position had the advantage of being both offensive and defensive, and gave him the means of supporting the operations of the left in the Voralberg, in proportion as he advanced: the lake which formed the principal obstacle to the operations of the French, covered the marches and countermarches which he was obliged to make, and doubled the force of this wing.

Such was the distribution of the different divisions of the Austrian army in the circle of Suabia and the Tyrol. General Stzarray commanded a detached corps on the left of the Danube, which covered the right of the army, and watched the movements of Bernadotte. Kerpen commanded at Ulm; Hotze at Feldkirch; Bellegarde and Laudohn in the Tyrol; Auffenberg commanded a detached body in the Grisons, and Nauendorf, the corps of the vanguard of the main army. The French forces in Switzerland and in Suabia amounted at this time to about 80,000 men; the Austrian forces from the Tyrol to the left of the Danube were about 110,000. The French and Austrian divisions on the lower Rhine amounted each to about 25,000 men.

The French general, perceiving that the Austrian army, instead of bending its forces towards the Danube, kept a middle line between this river and the eastern side of the Lake of Constance, hastened to seize on such positions in the intervals as secured him the means of keeping up his communication, by Schaffhausen, with the army in Switzerland. He called in his left wing, under general St. Cyr, which marched from Frendenstadt by Rothweil, and advanced as far as Moskirch. Thus in a few days, after going out of winter-quarters, these formidable armies were in face of each other, and occupied parallel positions almost in a contiguous line of battle, from the banks

banks of the Danube to the Adriatic gulf.

The first hostilities began on the right of the two French armies, which were opposed to the main army of the imperialists, and the divisions detached to the left under the orders of the Archduke. Massena had established his head quarters at Alstatten in the Reinthal, where, with an army of 45,000 men, he threatened the entrance of the Grisons; whilst Jourdan was drawing his forces close to the Lake of Constance, and had advanced as far as Stockach, Massena marched to Sargans, and summoned general Auffenburg to evacuate the Grisons. On Auffenberg's refusal, Massena, in order to cover his operations, directed a feigned but vigorous attack to be made on Feldkirch, in order to divert Hotze from giving the necessary assistance to Auffenberg at Coire; while he detached a column on the right, to turn Coire by the heights, and attack the bridges and posts on the forks of the Rhine above the town at Reichnaw. The centre column at the same time passed the Rhine, and taking possession of the post of Baltzars, cut off the communication between the Grisons and Feldkirch.

The post of Mayenfeld and Zollbruch at the entrance of the valley, were forced, after considerable resistance. The fort of Luciensteg was taken by assault, and the French having forced another passage across the river at Ragatz, and taken the post of Hohenstein, Auffenberg, who was nearly surrounded, and who had no means of receiving succour, or making good his retreat, was compelled to surrender Coire, and his whole division, which consisted of seven thousand men.

While Massena, in possession of the Grisons, directed an unsuccessful attack on Feldkirch, he detached a whole division by his right towards the sources of the Inn. Casa Bianca entered the Haut-Engadin with superior forces, and compelled Laudohn to fall back. Such were the first movements of the French army in Switzerland; but in order to give the army of the Danube the means of profiting by the success, the intrenchments of Feldkirch ought to have been forced, and the communication opened between Massena and Jourdan by Bregantz, Lindau, and the eastern side of the Lake of Constance. Until these operations had been effected, Jourdan could not dare to risque the safety of his army, but remained quiet in his positions, to watch the moment when he could draw off the left of the archduke's army, to turn the lake himself, and facilitate a decisive attack on Feldkirch. With this view, Jourdan manœuvred by his left wing, which he extended to Sigmaringen on the Danube, while his centre was at Moskirch, and his right at Uberlingen, on the borders of the lake. To counteract this movement, the archduke ordered the vanguard of his army to take a position before his left, and passing the Iller, established his head-quarters at Wurzach (11th of March), the line of his advanced posts extending from Lindau to Ulm, passing by Ravensburg and Biberach.

In these positions, between the lake of Constance and the Feathersea, the two armies were but a day's march from each other, and guarded their positions with great precaution and reserve. This state of observation related on both sides to the important post of Feldkirch, which the archduke was anxious to reinforce, and put out of the reach of attack, and which Jourdan,

on the other hand, was as anxious to see reduced before he made any further advance. He was besides conscious of the superiority of the forces of the archduke, whose army consisted of 66,000 men, whilst his own was only 38,000. He had sent frequent messages to Bernadotte to demand reinforcements from his army of observation, and propose to him to join him by the left; but as Bernadotte had general Sizarry's army before him, these orders were disregarded.

The entrenchments of Feldkirch were at length attacked (12th of March) by the French, with the greatest impetuosity; they threw a bridge under the fire of the Austrians, carried two intrenchments, renewed the attack six times, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Two days after they made new attempts, and were equally unsuccessful. After this defeat, the archduke confiding in the force of his defensive line, which, consisting of 18,000 men, and extending from Feldkirch to Lindau, in an oblique direction, covered his left, pushed on his vanguard in the direction of Stockach. Jourdan, who waited for reinforcements, and who had not despaired of the success of Massena's attack on Feldkirch, fell back on Engen, concentred his forces, called in whatever detachments were behind on his left, and feigned waiting, in a more concentrated position, between Hohentwiel and Dullingen, the attack of the Austrian army.

A general action between the two armies was now become inevitable; they observed and measured each other so near, that scarcely space enough was left between them to manœuvre their advanced guards. Jourdan was unwilling to lose the advantages of the first attack, and was bound indeed, in conformity to his plan, to support the general system of the offensive. He marched his vanguard on to Pfullendorf, where he formed his head-quarters (18th March). His left, under St. Cyr and Vandamme, was posted on the left of the Danube. His centre occupied the space between the right side of the river and Moskirch, and his right under the orders of Ferino, extended to the lake of Constance, pushing his advanced posts as far as Mersburg and Buchsal.

The archduke took his positions with his vanguard (20th March) on the heights of Sulgau and Altschausen, and fixed his head-quarters at Schawndorf. The main body was a short day's march in the rear. This position was in sight of that of the French. A valley and the little river of Ostrach separated the two armies. One of Jourdan's adjutants presented himself before the camp of the Austrian vanguard, to ask if the dispatches from the court of Vienna, expected by the directory had arrived. On receiving an answer from the prince in the negative, he proclaimed the rupture of the armistice.

This formality was followed by a very brisk attack. The Austrian vanguard was forced back beyond Klostersussen, to a position where detachments from the main body came up to support it. After this first engagement, the French took an advantageous position on the heights of Ostrach and Mengen. The next day the archduke made an attack in return, and in order to dislodge Jourdan from before Pfullendorf formed his army into three columns; the right passed along the Danube near Mengen, the left took the road of Altschausen to Pfullendorf, the centre he headed himself

himself across the marshy valley of Ostrach, on the road from Salgau. Jourdan, after an obstinate resistance on the whole front of his line, unable to support his left, which was already flanked, abandoned his position at Ostrach, and retreated in good order during the night to the heights of Pfallendorf. But the progress of the right column of the Austrian army, in the direction of Moskirch, did not permit him to keep this position, and the dispositions which the archduke made the following day to surround the whole of the left wing with superior forces, decided him to retreat during the night (23d of March) to Stockach and Engen. The head of the French column, which had advanced to Buchorn, was cut off and made prisoners. These two first engagements were bloody; both armies displayed a formidable artillery, and more numerous, in proportion to the number of troops, than had been seen in any preceding wars. The imperialists particularly had a light or horse artillery, much stronger and better exercised than in the last campaigns, in which the French had brought this weapon to perfection, and employed it with the greatest success.

The object of the first effort of general Jourdan against the archduke was evidently to draw him off from the Lake of Constance, in order to facilitate the project which he had combined with Massena, and attack in the front and rear the entrenchments of Feldkirch. It was to prevent the execution of this plan, that Hotze, at the instant of the first attack of Jourdan, left the defence of Feldkirch to the generals who commanded under him, and marched on to Lindau with 10,000 men to oppose the movements of the right wing of Jourdan's army. Scarcely had Hotze left Feldkirch than Massena took advantage of the diversion made by Jourdan on the Danube, and renewed his attacks against that fortress. The batteries which commanded the left flank of this position were carried by the Austrian general, Jellachich, sword in hand. Nevertheless, the retrograde movement of Jourdan before the archduke leaving Massena but one favourable moment before the return of Hotze, he attacked Feldkirch on several points with a considerable body of grenadiers united to the division of general Oudinot. This last attack, led on by Massena himself, was repulsed by the Imperialists with considerable loss on both sides: the French general did not withdraw the remainder of his troops till he left the flower of the division at the foot of the entrenchments. Forced to repass the Rhine, the corps of general Oudinot took post at Rheineck, an important position at the entrance of that river into the Lake of Constance; and Hotze returned to his position at Feldkirch.

The archduke following up his late success, continued to press upon the army of Jourdan, who, having fallen back upon his strong position beyond Stockach, secure of making good his retreat by Schaffhausen, and the defiles of the black mountains, was determined to make a last effort to draw off the imperialists from the Lake of Constance, on which enterprise depended the success, as has been observed, of the general plan of the campaign. He resolved therefore to hazard another general engagement in order to obtain that success, which neither the rapidity of his marches, nor the advantages gained by Massena in the Grisons, nor the repeated

attack on the land French against Feldkirch had been the cause of the retreat.

Some skirmishes had taken place between each detachment of the two armies, when (25th of March) Jourdan attacked the advanced post of the imperialists, who had marched from Pfallendorff, and taken their position before Stockach. The engagement began with the left wing under the command of St. Cyr, which marched upon Tallingen, and attacked the right of the imperialists under general Meerfeld, with so much impetuosity, that he forced the post, and compelled the Austrian wing to fall back in disorder, to a wood situated between Lipptingen and Stockach, and a part of the same division was driven back to Schwandorf on the road to Molkirch.

The French had pushed the right of the Austrians to the edge of the forest, and the main body of the archduke's army was about to be flanked, when he drew off forces from the left to attack the forest in possession of the division under St. Cyr. The engagement which took place is represented on both sides as one of the most obstinate and bloody that had ever been remembered. The archduke alighted and charged at the head of the grenadiers. The princes of Anhalt and Furstemburg were killed as they were leading on their columns. It was not till after a most desperate struggle that the French were dislodged from the wood. Till that period, from five in the morning, the advantage had been on their side, and the failure of final victory is attributed by Jourdan to the non-execution of a charge of cavalry, which he ordered to support the attack of St. Cyr. The corps of French carabineers, headed by Jourdan, covered the retreat, but were borne down by the imperial gendarmerie and infantry. St. Cyr finding it impossible to resist this last and terrible shock, fell back on Lipptingen. Night alone put an end to the carnage; ten thousand men killed and wounded remained on the field of battle. The French preserved their position at Eagen during the night, but the next day, (26th March) Jourdan began his retreat upon Schaffhausen with his right, while the left crossed the Danube by the bridge of Tuttlingen, and retreated through Rothweil. The artillery and baggage repassed the defiles of the Black Forest, and crossed the Rhine at Basil and Huningen. General Vandamme covered the flank of the army with his rear-guard, and retreated to Oberndorf. The archduke fixed his head quarters at Lipptingen, sending strong detachments upon the rear of the French army, which took post at Hornberg.

The defeat of the army on the Danube spread consternation at Paris, and increased the general discontent against the directory, who, in their turn, threw the blame on the incapacity of general Jourdan. The indignation of the public was divided between the government and the general; the one for having bestowed so important a command on an inexperienced chief, and the other for having accepted a post with which his abilities were not commensurate. This divided resentment was not, however of long continuance; when the plan of the campaign, and the means of execution which had been proposed by Jourdan, on his acceptance of the command of the army of the Rhine, were made known. It appears from Jourdan's papers, that the plan which he

he should call, and which has since met with the approbation of experienced military men, was received by the directory, and the means of execution which he pointed out, consisting of four armies of 40,000 men for the Tyrol, 80,000 men for the Danube, and an army of observation of 40,000 men on the Rhine, and of 20,000 men in Switzerland, were promised him. The legislative body having voted a levy of 200,000 conscripts, and funds for an army of 400,000 men, Jourdan thought himself warranted in placing the army under his command at 180,000 men, leaving 140,000 for the army of Italy, and the remainder 80,000 for the different services of the interior.

When Jourdan took possession of the command of the army on the Rhine, in the month of November, he found but 47,000 men complete on the whole line from Dusseldorf to Huningen, the places unprovisioned, and the army without magazines. Of 6000 cavalry, which he had been promised, he found only 800; every part of the service was in the same state, and the only thing assured was the pay of the troops, which was levied on the conquered countries on the Rhine. He made his report to the directory on the distressed state of the army, and proposed an easy mode of remedying it, by permitting the inhabitants to pay the remainder of the contributions in kind, as the grain, of which the exportation had been forbidden, abounded in these provinces, and money was scarce, arising from this prohibition. This proposition was rejected, because, in every bargain made with the contractors, certain pecuniary sums were given to the minister, who would have lost that part of his benefits had the mode proposed by Jourdan been adopted. This refusal produced a long correspondence, increased the dislike of the minister and his agents to the great instrument of the army: in the present case time to this system, the army remained without magazines, and the frontier towns unprovisioned.

Jourdan did not cease making strong representations both to the minister of war and to the directory, on the state of the army; nor did he fail to receive in return the most solemn assurances of effective support from the former; who, nevertheless, at the end of December, when the march of the Russians was universally allowed, when three months before he had received from the minister of foreign affairs, who had procured the intelligence, the plan of the combined attack of the Austrians and Russians, observed to Jourdan in his letter, that it was not probable that the Austrians would make an attack. An interchange of remonstrances on the one part, and of promises on the other, continued to the end of January, when Jourdan received instructions from the minister of war with the plan of the campaign, which appeared to be the counterpart of that given in by himself three months before, and which presented an army on paper of 150,000 men. The force already under the command of Jourdan bore not little resemblance to the statement in the plan that he sent, in the beginning of February, aide-de-camp general to Paris, to make fresh remonstrances, and offer his dimission. These remonstrances produced no other effect than a complimentary letter from the directory, and an assurance from the minister of war, that further reinforcements should be sent from the interior as soon as the crisis

of the approaching elections was past.

Jourdan at length (20th of February) received the arrêté of the directory, ordering him to cross the Rhine, and penetrate into Germany. In obeying this order, he wrote (2d of March) to the directory, stating that the army under his command, both on the Danube and in Switzerland, did not amount to more than 66,000 men. He informed them at the same time that the coalesced army which he had to oppose amounted to nearly 150,000, and after stating the dangers which must necessarily arise from such a disproportion of numbers, observed that it would be more easy to find a glorious death from such an unequal contest, than to reap any laurels. The coalesced forces did not however act on the Danube; the Russians, amounting to 25,000 men, marched towards Italy, and large detachments were sent into the Tyrol; so that the superiority of the archduke's army consisted only of about from 30 to 40,000 men. The last answer given by the minister to these repeated remonstrances was contained in a letter (12th of March) which, as Jourdan was circumstanced, could be considered as nothing more than banter or irony. The minister allowed at length that the disproportion between the forces under Jourdan and those of the archduke might occasion disquietude in some circumstances, but that superiority of numbers could never terrify an army commanded by Jourdan, and talked of national vengeance to be exercised against perfidious governments, the inflamed ardour of troops led on by the conqueror of Fleurus, inspiring a well founded security, with other impertinent expressions of the same common-place kind. In short, none of the engagements made in that, or preceding letters, were realised. Instead of the 150,000 men which had been promised, and of which the public were assured, Jourdan began the campaign with the number stated, and the event was such as has been already related.

The detachments from the division under Massena into the mountains of the Tyrol, towards the sources of the Inn and the Adige, had rendered themselves masters of this key both of Italy and Germany; the possession of which was of so much importance to the success of the first operations of the French army in Italy. Case Bianca, who had entered the Upper Engadin (13th of March), wishing to secure his right flank before he penetrated further into the mountains, marched part of his division upon Bormio, and attacked (16th of March) the division under general Laudohn, which he forced to retreat into the Wintschgau, to which place general Bellegarde, in order to support him, marched a part of his corps-de-reserve. The division under general Lecourbe having also entered the Engadin, the French attacked the posts of Martinsbarch, Finsterminz, and Nauders, but without success.

The frontier of the Tyrol was still uninvaded, general Laudohn occupied the Munsterthal with a body of about 5000 men, having taking post of Tauffers, guarding the defiles towards the Engadin and the Valteline, and covering the entrance of the valley of the Adige, called Venosta. He kept up communications also with the posts of Nauders and Martinsbruch, by the valley called Malsheide, in which was the principal source of the Adige.

General

General Lecourbe having received reinforcements, combined a formal attack against all these posts. He marched with his division upon Martinsbruch and Nauders, and directed the columns commanded by the generals Desolles and Loison upon the Munsterthall. In order to reach this valley, the French, under general Desolles, surmounted difficulties and dangers which it is asserted would have arrested the most intrepid guides of the glaciers. Notwithstanding the ices and snows, they climbed one of the highest mountains of the Julian Alps, the Wormser-Joch, which separates the sources of the Adda and the Adige, and by this manœuvre turned the intrenched defiles which the Austrians kept in the most complete security, never dreaming of the passage of an army by a glacier hitherto deemed inaccessible. The French having reached the loftiest peaks, slid, or rather rolled down with their arms into the valley, from a prodigious height. Rallying such of his troops as had been able to free these abysses, Desolles surprised and attacked Glurentz, and the post of Tauffers, which general Laudhon had intrenched. The Austrians made considerable resistance, but were compelled at length to surrender. All means of retreat were cut off from general Laudhon, for, during this bold and daring attack, general Loisean had also penetrated on another side, and flanked Nauders, while Lecourbe forced the post and passage of Martinsbruch. Troops, baggage, cannon, were all taken. Laudhon, with a small number of infantry, and a few cavalry, broke through the chain of the French above Glurentz, and retreated into the valley of Veneeta, where he met general Bellegarde, who was marching to disengage him; but finding this assistance ineffectual, the two generals retreated still further to cover Botzen, and press the levy of the Tyrolian militia. The French advanced as far as the post of Schluderns, and were masters of the head of the two great valleys of the Tyrol. The part of the general plan of the campaign which had been allotted to these divisions had been executed with equal address and courage; and, in possession of these important posts, they might easily have believed they had obtained a victory, the most difficult as well as the most essential for the subsequent operations of their armies on both sides the Alps.

The campaign of Italy had not opened, when that on the Danube was closed by the retreat of Jourdan, whose army had been the victim of the incapacity and corruption of the directory, and of the minister of war. These men were becoming daily more and more the objects of general hatred, and their venality was so notorious, a thing so unconcealed, particularly that of the minister, that though powerfully protected by the director Rewbell (who was a sharer in the common spoil), the public indignation was such as compelled the directory to dismiss him from his post. His dismissal was hailed as a favourable omen by the French, who imagined that victory, under other auspices, would again revisit their standards; for though at that period no idea was entertained of the extent of the atrocity of his ministerial conduct, respecting the army of the Rhine, yet the conviction of his incapacity and corruption was such, that almost every individual felt interested in hearing that

that he was no longer to preside over the military operations of the republic.

Italy, along the whole chain of the Alps to the Tyrolian mountains, from the frontiers of Venice to Sicily, was in the possession of the French. From this country such resources might have been drawn, as would not only have easily barred the passage to the coalesced powers, but have carried the theatre of war once more into the heart of Germany. Piedmont, Tuscany, and Naples, into which the revolutionary spirit, whose irresistible force had already broken the coalition of Europe against France, was now introduced, might have produced still greater effects, aided by the corrected and experienced courage of French troops, under the command of an able, and, above all, an honest and disinterested leader. The directory having betrayed the Roman republic, and just driven ignominiously from Paris the embassadors of the Neapolitan, in open defiance of public opinion, and regardless of general indignation, conferred the command of Italy on the ex minister of war, Scherer.

While the army lately commanded by Jourdan, now united with that under Massena, constrained to abandon the offensive plan, took the left side of the Rhine, from the Grisons, along its course, to the extent of the French territory, as a line of defence, (the most formidable one which could be offered, either by nature or art,) the French army were endeavouring to dislodge the imperialists from their strong position on the Lower Adige, and to push them back to the Brenta. The Russians had not yet entered Italy, and, in order to execute this operation before their arrival, the French redoubled their exertions, in hopes of gaining this advantage, notwithstanding the command of Scherer, whose presence occasioned as much discontent and indignation, both in the Cisalpine republic and at the army, as his administration had done at Paris. He had assembled the troops on the frontier of the Cisalpine republic, behind Peschiera and Mantua, while the Austrian army formed itself, under the orders of general Kray, along the left side of the Adige, behind Verona and Porto Legnano. The whole of the Austrian line, between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, was attacked (26th March) by six divisions, one of which menaced Porto Legnano, which flanked the left of the Austrian army, while two others marched upon Verona, and three whole divisions attempted to force and turn the posts on the right of the Austrian line, the chain of which extended to Bardolino, on the Lake of Garda, and covered the entrance of the valley between Rivoli and la Chiusa. The object of this movement was to take Verona on the left side of the Adige in rear, while it was attacked in front on the right, in the hopes of forcing the imperialists to abandon the place. This plan, concerted by Moreau, who led on the three divisions, under the respective commands of the generals Delmas, Serrurier, and Grenier, was crowned with the most complete success: they carried the redoubts and the intrenchments, took possession of Rivoli, passed the Adige, and, advancing as far as Chiusa, cut the line of the Austrian troops, part of which, after great loss, retreated into the valley as far as Peri. The two divisions of the centre of the French army, under the immediate command of Scherer, attacked the out-posts of Verona under the com-

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mand of general de Rheitzen. The posts of St. Lucie and St. Maximin were attempted at the same time; the former was carried, but the post of St. Maximin, under the command of general Kaim, taken and re-taken seven times, remained definitively in the possession of the Austrians. The chain of the advanced posts of the Austrians was preserved, with the exception of St. Lucie, of which the French kept possession. The attack on Porto Legnano, where a French general was killed, failed also, and the division was forced to fall back on Mantua.

Scherer quitted the field of battle the following day, after making a few useless efforts, and the divisions under general Moreau were compelled to repass the Adige and retreat to Peschiera, in order to avoid being cut off. It was with much hesitation and regret that Moreau determined to take this retrograde movement. His remonstrances with Scherer, to induce him to keep his position before Verona, and give him time to make an attack on the rear, had no effect. General Kray had marched considerable forces to his left; but, perceiving that the principal force of the French was directed against the centre and right of his line, he led them back again to Verona, presuming that the French would not fail to renew their attacks on that quarter. The troops, however, remained on the field of battle when, three days after the first attack, a suspension of arms took place to bury the dead. The next day Scherer attacked with his left the whole chain of the posts of the Austrian army, and, having dislodged general Kaim from his position before Verona, threw bridges over the Adige, and detached the division of general Serrurier to the left side, who drove back the advanced posts of the Austrians to within half a league of Verona; one of his columns had even gained the heights which covered their right flank, together with the road of Vicenza, and the camp of the army.

To repel this attack, the success of which would have insulated the places of Verona and Legnano, general Kray detached through the city the division of marshal Frölich, who had repulsed the French at Porto Legnano. This division attacked the French on three columns with the same success, and forced them, after an obstinate resistance, to retreat to their bridges. This retreat was so precipitate, and the pursuit so brisk, that a part only of the French columns had time to pass the Adige, the bridges having been broken either by the French themselves, or destroyed by pontooners dispatched in the rear of the French by general Kray, and supported by a detachment. The retreat of almost a whole French column was thereby cut off, part of which surrendered prisoners, and the rest made vain attempts to escape by the mountains. The loss of the French on that day is estimated at about seven thousand men.

Thus defeated in all his various enterprises, Scherer drew off (1st of April) his left from the Lake of Guarda, after throwing a strong garrison into Peschiera, and concentred his forces below Villa Franca, between the Adige and the Tartaro. This position, which covered Mantua, was not purely defensive, but threatened the passage of the Adige between Verona and Porto Legnano. The right division of the French army was encamped

camped before this last place; the rest of the army occupied the camp of Magnan, and the head-quarters were at Isola della Scala. Meanwhile the Austrian army passed the Adige, occupied Castelnovo, masked Peschiera, and pressed upon the left of the French army.

Scherer, in order to prevent the Austrians from turning his left flank, determined to attack them (5th of April), on every point, with three strong columns. That of the right, composed of the two divisions of the generals Victor and Grenier, was directed upon San. Giacomo, below Verona. The division of the vanguard, under Delmas, marched upon Dossobono, covering the principal attacks of the columns of the centre, formed by the divisions of the generals Hatry and Mont Richard, under the command of Moreau. Serrurier's division formed the left of the column, which was to attack Villa Franca.

While these dispositions were forming, general Kray, who had received reinforcements the evening before, and suspecting, from an order dispatched from Peschiera, which had fallen into his hands, that Scherer was going to make another attempt to pass the Adige, resolved to prevent him. He marched, therefore, against the French with the same plan of attack, having formed three strong columns, under the orders of the generals Mercandin, Kaim, and Zoph.

The two armies came to a general engagement, which was long and desperate. Moreau pierced through the centre, and fought under the walls of Verona. Every point of the line, on which the columns met, was disputed with great obstinacy. Villa Franca, attacked by Serrurier, alternately in possession of both parties, remained in the power of the French at the close of the day. At length the left column of the Austrian army, commanded by general Zoph, having succeeded in flanking the two divisions of the right of the French army, forced them to retreat, and decided the victory, which had till then hung doubtful.

The two armies passed the night on the field of battle, strewed with dead. The next day Scherer, evacuating at the same time Isola della Scala and Villa Franca, retreated by Roverbello, where he halted the day after (April 7). While the French army passed the Mincio at Goito, Kray detached a vanguard, followed by the two divisions of generals Zoph and Kaim, and completed the blockade of Peschiera. That of Mantua on the eastern side, the taking of the important post of Governolo by general Klenau, and the interruption of the communication with Ferrara, were, on the side of the Po, the immediate consequences of the battle of Magnan. The Austrians endeavoured also to pursue their advantages on the extreme frontier between the Tyrol, and the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia.

As the French had necessarily given up the junction of the armies of Switzerland and Italy, by the country of Bormio, the imperialists endeavoured to penetrate into the valley of the Oglio. The object of these movements was to flank the general position of the French army, and force it to take the defensive line between the Oglio and the Adda, in order to cover the Milanese; but, whilst Scherer kept on the offensive on the Adige, these operations were premature and useless. The whole chain of the French

French or Cisalpine posts, from Bormio to the Lakes of Idro and Garda were attacked (April 8), and retreated on Brescia, after having evacuated the intrenchments of St. Anthony, and the little fortress of Rocca di Anso, situated on the western side of the lake of Idro. Such, in the northern parts of Italy, were the respective positions of the French and Austrian armies at the moment of the arrival of the first Russian columns.

The French generals Lecourbe and Desolles had at this period abandoned the positions which they held in the Tyrol, at the head of the valleys, on both sides of the chain of mountains which divides the sources of the Inn from those of the Adige. It must be remembered with what prodigious efforts they had penetrated to those regions, and with what success they maintained the posts they had gained. The junction of generals Laudohn and Bellegarde, after the defeat of the division which the former commanded at Glurentz; their activity in assembling forces in the Wintschgau, and the alarm spread throughout the Tyrol, sufficiently manifested the importance of those posts. The French held indeed the key of the Tyrol, covered every communication between Switzerland and Italy, and were enabled, by following the course of the rivers, by the valley of the Inn and that of the Adige, to facilitate the operations on either side, and penetrate in a greater or less degree into the Tyrol, according to the greater or less rapid progress of their armies of the Danube and of Italy. But those advantages related purely to a plan of offensive war; and since Massena had given up his attacks on Feldkirch, and the turning of the Lake of Constance; and since the retreat of Jourdan had rendered that object of no further advantage: the posts of Nanders and Tauffers, that of Glurentz on the Adige, and of Finstermunz at the entrance of the valley of the Inn, were nothing but advanced posts that might easily be flanked, which had no connexion with the defence of Switzerland, and which it was impossible long to maintain.

Lecourbe, therefore, withdrew (25th of March) into the Engadin, after burning the bridge of Finstermunz. The division of general Desolles fell back upon Munster, and entrenched itself in the defiles, where it was attacked by general Bellegarde; and, after an obstinate resistance in its entrenchments at Tauffers and Munster, and a sharp engagement, in which he suffered much, was obliged to retreat to Zernez, from whence, after another attack by Bellegarde, he fell back into the Upper Engadin.

Nothing remarkable during this period passed on the Rhine. The left wing of Jourdan's army kept possession of the defiles of the Kintsig. Threatened with an attack by the archduke, Ernouf, who commanded it, ordered the retreat by the bridge of Kehl. Massena, who had now united the command of both, employed himself entirely in the defence of the course of the Rhine, and fixed his head-quarters at Basil. He occupied the Rheinthal, and more particularly the strong position of Rheineck, at the upper extremity of the Lake; made entrenchments in the environs of Constance, and held Schaffhausen till the advantageous posts on the left side were fortified, and Basil, which was put in a state of defence, received a strong garrison.

Whether the want of provisions in Suabia and Switzerland, and the difficulty

difficulty of forming magazines, kept back the Austrian army, or whether the archduke waited till the season and the operations on the side of Italy were more advanced, he made only a few movements of no importance about the Lake of Constance, and in the Brisgau, till he invested (13th of April) Schaffhausen with the vanguard, under the command of count Nauendorf. The French general refusing to surrender the posts, they were cannonaded, and entered sword in hand; the gates of the city were forced, and the French retreated fighting across the Rhine, and, on leaving the town burnt the bridge, so much famed for its singular construction.

It appears astonishing that so many obstacles, which heretofore were esteemed insurmountable to the march of an army, should have been so rapidly subdued; and that the obstinate resistance and active defence of a military force, which would formerly have been judged superabundant to block every passage, should have stopped for no longer time the progress of an army acting on the offensive. There was no greater ardour in attack, no less vigour or obstinacy in defence, no new arms employed, no other methods of fighting adopted, than such as had been hitherto practised. The art of war had, probably, attained already its highest perfection in those respects. Frederic II. had left few discoveries to make, few branches to perfect in modern tactics. But in proportion as general combinations were extended, the strongest posts and places, reputed impregnable in mountainous countries, have shared the same fate as those situated in plains. If posts like these do not guarantee the possession of such heights as are loftiest and steepest; if they do not block up the almost intricate passes in the chain, the most passes opened by the waters, which gather by degrees, and level as they flow, and which afford an entrance into fertile and extensive valleys; posts like these, in such cases, have only a relative and momentary importance. Since travellers have found roads across abysses of ice and snow, and explored those new regions, the art of war, to which every science is tributary, and which increases with the progressive improvement of the human faculties, has led military men to run new chances, to make new experiments; and military talent and enterprise have certainly excited men to as great efforts as the pursuits of natural science or curiosity. When, therefore, the icy summits of the Alps have been climbed, and bodies of troops and artillery have been transported along roads with difficulty trodden by the most intrepid hunters, great plans of attack and defence were soon combined, as peaks and lesser summits, with chains of mountains and great masses; the secrets of nature have been surprised, her immutable order acknowledged, even in her wildest caprices; the chaos of the stupendous Alps has been unfolded; topographical charts have been perfected; the slightest details examined; and models in relief formed with an art and exactness hitherto unknown. This precise knowledge of the great skeleton, of the osteology, as it were, of the mountains, has furnished generals and officers of the staff with great though simple ideas. The most practicable communications have been examined with singular attention; a new topographical scale, in short, has been formed for the operations of

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war in mountains, and detachments have been sent in consequence to the greatest distances, to secure dominating points which gave the command of immense intervals.

These advantages were so well appreciated on both sides in the war of Switzerland, that a blow struck on the frontiers of the Tyrol and the Grisons, at thirty or forty leagues distance, was felt at the centre of the armies, which were obliged to make movements, and change plans, as if those divisions, separated by so many difficulties and so many natural entrenchments, had been contiguous to the main army from which they had been detached. No obstacle being able to stop a general movement, at least for a sufficient time, to turn the party superior in force from the simple plan of operations which might be called the natural and topographical plan, and which consists in attacking the wings of an enemy, turning its flanks without any regard to the party's own position, the result is, that in a mountain war the strength of posts and positions does not counterbalance superiority of numbers, as much as it did heretofore.

It is probable that the new system of the war of posts, in general engagements along the whole line of contending armies, has been carried to its highest perfection in the war of Switzerland; and it is useful as well as interesting to observe, under this point of view, the details of success and defeat, and note what faults have been committed, and what acts of address and bravery are worthy of admiration. These observations may be applied to the details of this short, but singularly interesting campaign, particularly in the rapid invasion of the country of the Grisons, in the operations of general Lecourbe, and those of the generals Loudon and Bellegarde, in check in the first retreat of Massena, forced to concentrate his forces, under Zurich, to call back his right from beyond St. Gothard and the little cantons, and yield to the archduke in less than fifteen days almost the whole course of the Rhine, and half of the territory of Switzerland.

To return to the affairs of Italy: The French, unable to maintain themselves longer near Mantua, continued their retreat, and passed the Chiese at Asola. As the republican troops withdrew, the Austrians completed the blockade of this place; and general Klenau, ascending the Po with its armed boats, took possession of the posts from which the garrison drew its supplies, and cut off the communications with Ferrara and Modena. Ponte Molino, Governolo, and several other posts, were carried almost by surprise, on account of the precipitate retreat of the French army. At Lagoscuro, Klenau took thirty-two boats loaded with two hundred pieces of artillery, destined to form batteries on the banks of the Po, and some days after an equipage of pontoons fell into his hands. The right of the Austrian army advanced also beyond the Lake of Garda; the French fleet of armed boats had been forced by the armed boats from Riva, to take refuge under the cannon of Peschiera, which left to its own resources, was bombarded and sustained a regular siege. General Vukassowich had been detached from the Tyrol by Bellegarde, to form a junction with the right of the Austrian army, and had penetrated into the province of Brescia; but as Lecourbe had

sent reinforcements from the Valteline to this latter city, he was obliged to suspend his attack.

The French army, meanwhile, continued its retreat by its right beyond the Oglio, and by its left beyond the Chiusa. General Kray, who had already marched his vanguard to Goito, passed the Mincio with his main army, and pushed his advanced posts as far as these two rivers, having been joined by general Melas, who was to have taken the command of the army, but who left it in the hands of Kray till the arrival of general Suwarrow. This general reached Verona (13th of April) with the first vanguard of the Russian army, and pressing the march of his columns joined the Austrian army, the command of which was immediately assigned him.

The French army fell back behind the Adda. Cremona was evacuated; a body of the rear-guard remained on the left bank of the Adda, between this town and Pizzighitone. The French head-quarters were (17th of April) at Lodi; a place whose remembrance will long live in history, from the memorable victory obtained on this spot by Bonaparte. It was at this period that Scherer, covered with disgrace and confusion, after having caused the ruin of the army of the Danube as minister, and that of Italy as commander, was compelled to abandon a post which he was so unworthy of having filled. The command of this army, diminished to half its numbers, were given to general Moreau.

Against such hosts of foes it was in vain to struggle. In the situation in which Moreau was placed, retreat was victory. The Austrians and Russians had now joined their forces. All the frontier places of the Cisalpine republic were left to their own resources. Peschiera asked in vain for capitulation. A sally of the garrison of Mantua had been vigorously repulsed. The castle of Ferrara, defended by French and Cisalpine troops, still resisted. The garrison of Brescia, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered prisoners of war. An action, which took place (20th of April) under Cremona, between the rear-guard of the French, and the division under Kaim, forced the remainder of the right of the French army to pass the Adda, and the advanced guard of the centre of the Austrian army advanced within view of Lodi. The head quarters of the French were now removed to Milan; the army entrenched itself on the Adda, and broke down all the bridges. Pressed by forces victorious, and greatly superior, Moreau hastened the arrival of succours which he expected from different points. Desolles who had evacuated the Munsterthal, was detached from the army of Massena, and made forced marches to join the left of Moreau on the other side. The division which occupied Tuscany was called in to support the right, and Moreau waited impatiently for such reinforcements by Piedmont as the south of France could furnish, all which were directed towards the support of the army of Italy.

The archduke, who remained indisposed at Stockach, undertook nothing important for some time after the retreat of the army of the Danube. The empire was now also seriously engaged in the war. The diet of Ratisbon had decided (21st of March) that as no requisition had been made respecting the

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march of the Russian troops across the territory of the empire, and no legal notice had been received on that subject, that the diet ought in consequence to wait, with confidence that the emperor would take the most convenient measures to maintain tranquillity and accelerate peace. This illusory decision was notified more clearly a few days after (8th of April) to the French ministers, by count Metternich, who informed them, that notwithstanding the pacific protestations of the French government, the war had actually taken place without any declaration of the rupture of the armistice prescribed by preceding treaties with the empire; that from these circumstances, not only was an interruption to the respective correspondences of the members of the congress to be apprehended, but that the place of its meeting might become dangerous from the events of war, though such place ought to be held inviolable. He added, that from those considerations he had just received a formal order from the emperor, in his quality of chief of the empire, to take no part in the negotiations of peace, since the circumstances and relations under which the congress had assembled were totally changed; consequently that he should leave the place of the congress, and inform the French ministers of the dispositions of his Imperial Majesty.

The decree of the imperial commission, which recalled the minister of the empire, was of considerable extent; giving a sketch of the pretensions and conduct of France during the sitting of the congress; censuring the majority of the deputation, who had shown too great an attachment to peace, and placing every thing on the same footing as before the armistice and the meeting of the congress took place. The French ministers remonstrated against the decree in a note to count Metternich, which he refused to open. The deputation of the empire, however, assembled to decide respecting the continuance or breaking up of the congress, and concluded in referring this affair to the general diet. Without, however, waiting for the decision of the diet, several of the members of the congress after the departure of count Metternich left Radstadt. The apprehensions expressed by the minister, respecting the interruption which might probably take place in the correspondence of the deputation, was first felt by the French plenipotentiaries. The boat which was retained for the communication of those ministers at Seltz having been cut away by an Austrian patrole,—the deputation of the congress on making complaint of this infraction to the grand chancellor of the empire, baron D'Albini, received for answer, that he would not be responsible for the events of war, nor promise any farther security to the congress. The deputation therefore assembled (24th of April) and decided that the course of the negotiations should be suspended; of which they gave notice to the French ministers, who protested in return against the violation of the rights of nations, and declared that they should retire in three days to Strasbourg, where they would wait for the renewal of the negotiations, and receive whatever propositions of peace should be offered them.

It was at this period of the negotiations that a paper was circulated, which was stated to contain the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, by which it appeared

peared that the emperor had formally consented, at the formation of that treaty, to the cession of the left side of the Rhine from Basil, as far as the confluence of of this river with the Nethe below Andernach, comprehending Mentz and the head of the bridge of Manheim; that he had also consented to furnish nothing but his contingent, in case of the continuance of hostilities with the empire; to influence the cession of the free course of the Rhine, to evacuate the fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, and other fortresses, as far as his hereditary states; while the French agreed in return to influence the cession of the province of Salsburg, and the river Inn, with the territory adjacent; and it was likewise agreed, that in case the French republic should make any acquisitions in Germany, the emperor was to be permitted to take an equivalent. The stadtholder was also to be indemnified by a sovereignty in Germany, with the express stipulation that such territory should be taken neither in the vicinity of Austrian or Dutch possessions. The secret treaty likewise stated, that the losses which the German princes might undergo from such partitions of territory, in favour of the contracting parties, were to be made up and regulated by common consent between the emperor and the French republic.

The French ministers had notified to the deputation of the empire (26th of April), that they should depart in three days for the reasons which had been alleged, respecting the insecurity of continuing for a longer time, the congress at Radstadt. The baron D'Albini, in consequence of this notice, wrote to the colonel Barbaczy, the commander of the cordon of the Austrian advanced posts, demanding escorts for the deputies of the empire, who were ready to depart, and safe conduct for the French plenipotentiaries. The commander, late in the evening, addressed a letter to the French ministers, dated from Gernbach, 28th of April, in which he informed them, that, as it did not accord with military plans to tolerate citizens of the French republic in countries in possession of the royal and imperial army, that they consequently should not take it ill that the circumstances of the war forced him to signify to them to quit the territory of the army in the space of twenty-four hours. An order to depart appeared somewhat extrordinary to those who had signified their intention three days before by a public notice, and who would have left Radstadt the preceding day, had not the deputies of the empire, doubting or suspecting more than the French, prevailed on them to wait the return of baron D'Albini's messenger to Barbaczy, the Austrian commander. These suspicions were not diminished on finding nothing in the answer which related to the message. The demand was for a safe conduct; and, when it was observed to the Hungarian officer who brought Barbaczy's letter, that it contained nothing relative to the object of the demand, he answered that that was a thing understood, and that a doubt even on that head would be injurious to an Austrian soldier. At the same moment four hundred hussars, of the regiment of Szeckler, entered Radstadt, took possession of the posts and gates of the town, with an order to suffer no person to enter or go out.

The French ministers hastened their departure, especially since the term

term which they had fixed expired with the 29th of April, and since, by waiting till the next day, they would have exceeded the period fixed by the colonel, which they thought inconsistent with the dignity of the legation. At eight in the evening they were in their carriages; but, on coming to the gate of the town, they were surprised to find the passage refused them. Neither the declaration that they were the French ministers, nor the interposition of the major of the place (an officer of the margrave of Baden), was of any avail; it was necessary to send to the commander, who lodged at the extremity of the town. The answer not being satisfactory, another message was sent, and at length permission was obtained to leave the town, with two hussars for an escort. The gate being opened, the ministers began their route, but the two hussars remained in the town. It was then nine in the evening.

At about five hundred paces from the gate, a troop of hussars of Szeckler, on horseback as well as on foot, burst out from a wood that skirted the road, and surrounded the first carriage, in which was Jean Debry with his wife and children. Thinking that it was some patrole to visit his passport, he held it out of the window, and mentioned his name and quality. You are the minister Jean Debry was the reply, and immediately he was dragged out of his carriage, and fell covered with blood from strokes of sabres which he received on his arms, head, and shoulders. The hussars thinking him dead, proceeded to pillage the carriage; but Jean Debry had sufficient strength left to crawl unobserved into the ditch, when the hussars returning an instant after, to see if he was really dead, raised up his arm, which he had presence enough of mind to let fall without sensation, on which they exclaimed, "Oh! for him, he is dead enough."

In the second carriage were the secretary and the valet-de-chambre of the minister, who cried out, that they were domestics. They were ordered to alight, their carriage was pillaged, they received a few blows, but no other harm was done them. In the third carriage was Bonnier alone. They asked, in French, if he was the minister Bonnier. On his answering in the affirmative, the hussar opened the door of the carriage, took him by the collar, dragged him out of the carriage, and cut off his hand, his head, arms, and in short dismembered him. His carriage was likewise pillaged.

The secretary of the legation, Rosenstiel, was in the fourth carriage, who seeing, by the light of a single flambeau, what was passing, had address to save himself by jumping out of the carriage into the ditch, and got clear off. They found, however, in the carriage, a great portmanteau, which they cut open, and scattered its contents on the ground. But this blunder was speedily rectified. The papers were carefully gathered up, and carried to the Austrian commander at Radstadt.

In the fifth carriage was the minister Roberjot and his wife. The hussars had some struggle with the minister to get him out of the carriage, his wife holding him strongly locked in her arms. They murdered him in this position, cutting off the back part of his head with a sabre, which a hussar, as a trophy, put with the brain in his pocket. The carriage was also pillaged.

After executing their commission, the hussars rode off. The carriages, with the ladies and servants, turned

round, and went back to Radstadt, into which they entered freely, without having the preceding order of suffering none to go out or in objected to them. The secretary Rosenstiel having escaped across the meadows, after having wandered about for some time, discovered where he was by the light of a torch, which a passenger was carrying on the causeway; when he climbed a wall, and gained a narrow path which brought him into Radstadt at eleven the same evening. The minister Debry having crawled into the wood, had bound up his wounds in the best manner he could, the cold of the evening having contributed to stop the effusion of blood. He continued there till day-light, when he ventured out, and got unobserved into the town.

If the simple narration of the circumstances of this extraordinary event be sufficient to awaken feelings of indignation and horror against the authors and instruments of acts of barbarity so atrocious and almost unexampled, it may be well imagined what were the impressions and sentiments of the remainder of the deputation at the sight of those relicts sprinkled with the blood of their assassinated husbands and fathers, and when the mutilated surviving minister displayed in his wounds so strange a version of the imperial code of the rights of nations. The Prussian legation wrote immediately a letter to Barbaczy, expressed in terms which marked all their horror at this atrocious violation, to demand an escort and a safeguard more sure for what remained of the French legation. The commander, in answer to those indignant representations, expressed himself sorry at what had passed, and promised to punish the authors. It had been represented, however, as "improbable that this unexampled crime could have been committed without his knowledge; and that hussars of his regiment should have ventured to murder and plunder persons of that distinction, respected by all civilised nations, without an express order." Such ruffians it was urged), at least had they acted under no command, would have been less discriminate and scrupulous in their deeds; the ministers would not have been the only persons sacrificed, nor would their attention have been particularly fixed on the box containing the papers of the legation. But what seemed to leave little doubt respecting the immediate authors of their crime, was the conveyance of all the objects which were pillaged to the Austrian commander of the post of Radstadt, who would not have received them, had not the murder been committed in consequence of superior orders. Part of those effects were given back by the commander of the post, at his house, to Roberjot's domestic, who went to claim them. The domestic obtained, among other things, a sack of an hundred louis, and gold snuff-boxes, and saw the remainder of the effects which had been pillaged laying in the room. The papers of the legation were likewise claimed; but these the commandant refused, alleging that he was obliged to send them to the head-quarters.

It has been represented that Barbaczy was but the instrument of this abominable crime, and that he was only commissioned to prepare the means and assure its success: in proof of this charge it is alleged, that when the directorial minister at Mayence complained of various insults and violations, preparatory to this last event, offered by the Austrian troops to the French ministers

sters and members of the deputation, during the last days of the congress. Barbaczy did not undertake to give an answer himself, but sent the letter to the commander of Freudenstadt, who, in his turn, waited the orders of a superior; from whence it is concluded, that Barbaczy was the subaltern accomplice of a conspiracy, of which the first indications were the violations already complained of, and of which the *dénoûment* was this last horrible catastrophe.

An escort having been granted on the requisition of the Prussian minister, several ministers of the empire wished to accompany the remainder of the French legation at its departure; but the Austrians would not permit them to pay this mark of respect. Jean Debry and the survivors left Radstadt the following day under an Austrian escort, attended by a still stronger escort of the prince of Baden, accompanied by the Ligurian minister, who had followed them on the night of the massacre, but who, observing what was passing in front, escaped back to Radstadt, leaving his carriage, which was pillaged like that of the French ministers.

The instruments of this assassination, Barbaczy and Bourkhardt, were arrested by order of prince Charles, to undergo a trial by a court-martial; but as it was afterwards declared that those who had committed these murders were not Austrians, but French emigrants, headed by one Danican, this trial did not take place. Danican published a letter, denying the charge; but this denial was unnecessary, since the postillions who drove the carriages of the French ministers had made their juridical depositions at Carlsruhe, that the assassins were Austrian hussars.

Various were the conjectures respecting the motives which could have urged the commission of so horrible an act. The violation of the persons of embassadors by the Austrian government had already taken place during the present war in the person of Semonville, who was arrested on neutral territory in his route to Constantinople; but though this act was contrary to the law of nations, the present was still a more detestable infraction of the laws of human nature. Some have stated "this murder to have been the pledge given by the Austrian government to the coalesced powers for its adherence to the treaty; since the crime was of so enormous a magnitude as to make reconciliation between the court of Vienna and the French republic impossible: but what dependence on a power whose obligation to fidelity is estimated by the magnitude of its guilt? Others have supposed that certain treaties had been concluded during the negotiation between the court and the French directory, which the former having found it its interest to violate, was unwilling to have had discovered; hence the murder of the contracting parties, and the seizure and detention of their papers:" yet had this been the case, it is probable that the secret would have been communicated to the directory at the time of the pretended negotiation, or would not some accounts of such transactions have pierced, when every tye of secrecy was loosened? Mistery still hangs around this dark transaction, and we must yet wait for the unraveling. The diet of Ratisbon, who undertook to penetrate it, after a long examination, referred it to the emperor: the French government had not this candour or forbearance; for, whoever were the assassins, or by whatever orders this nefarious act

was committed, the court of Vienna was peremptorily charged with the murder by the directory, who sent a message to the councils to give them official notice of the event. The councils adopted a resolution, the principle articles of which were, "that this act should be denounced in the name of the French nation to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as commanded by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops on the ninth Floreal, seventh year, with its reliance on the courage of the French to avenge it; that a funeral *fête* should be celebrated in honour of the murdered deputies throughout the republic; that the government guilty of this assassination should be consigned to the vengeance of nations, and the execrations of posterity; that in the place of sitting of every municipal administration, in tribunals, schools, and public establishments, an inscription should be put up, stating that the Austrian government had caused this assassination to be committed by its troops; that a banner should be sent to every army by sea or land, with an inscription provocative of vengeance against the Austrians for this murder, which banners were to be carried at the head of each army, and that indemnities should be given to the widows and children of the deceased ministers."

Thus tragically ended that long and memorable diplomatic campaign, in which the French had been outwitted and worsted by the superior talents of the Austrian cabinet, who, having to negotiate with ignorant and presumptuous practitioners of the law, having to contend only with adversaries it despised, felt no restraint but its will, and condescended to consult no means but its force.

This event excited a just and lively horror throughout France, and for a moment diverted the torrent of public indignation which was pouring down on the directory. The elections of the renewed third of the legislative body had caused a more than usual fermentation throughout the republic, and particularly in the legislative body, as the parties both of the directory and the opposition placed their hopes of future success in this renewal. The amount of the interest which the directory took in this election is proved by the defeat on the Danube, and the loss of the campaign;—by keeping the troops in the interior till the crisis of the election was past, which troops would have been sufficient to turn the scale of war in favour of the French. Every influence that could be exercised by means of circular letters, by the agencies of executive commissaries in the departments, in cantons, in tribunals, in commissions of public instruction, were industriously employed; and in some places, as at Ghent, refractory presidents and electors were threatened with arrest, if they continued the exercise of their functions. The jacobin party were not less strenuous than the directory in directing the choice of the people; such as were already in the legislative body superintending those operations with nearly the same success as the directory itself. The result of this struggle corresponded with the wish of neither party. The body of the electors, pressed by the contending factions, rejected in general the candidates of both, and named men for the most part unknown or insignificant, and who had yet their political opinions to form.

But the great struggle was the election of a new director. The

lot

lot of secession had fallen on Rewbell, the person among the body of directors who had been marked as the particular object of public detestation. This man had neither personal nor moral qualities to counter-balance his political vices, the chief of which was a shameless rapacity, and corruption united to the most disgusting avarice. He had been raised to the directory at the revolutionary crisis of the insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire, without any peculiar claims for services rendered to the revolution; and he left it covered with so much opprobrium, that when he took his seat in the council of the elders, to which he had been named by the shameless complaisance of the electors of a department, he was pointed at (as we have been credibly informed) as a public despoiler, and the bench where he sat was deserted by all the other members of this council.

Hitherto the directory had influenced, except in the case of Barthelemy, all the elections of their colleagues. Many of those elections had indeed been sufficiently revolutionary. The present election became an object of singular importance at the moment; but the influence of the directory was exercised on this occasion, not so much for the nomination of any particular individual, as for the rejection of the person on whom the majority of the councils seemed to have fixed its views. This person was Sieyes, who then filled the important post of embassador at the Prussian court, and who was supposed, by his address and perseverance, to have contributed much towards preventing it from joining the coalition, and to the keeping up a good understanding between that cabinet and the French republic. The tenacity of Sieyes' character was well known, and it was no doubt with the view of making him an instrument in the subversion of his colleagues that the revolutionary party in the council joined themselves to the independent members to carry this election against the influence of the directory. Sieyes obtained the relative majority in the council of five hundred, and was returned as usual, with nine others, to the council of elders, where directorial influence and corruption had met with severe opposition, and who immediately named him to the vacant place of director.

The directory perceived that their power and influence, which had been sensibly declining for some time past, had now expired. They knew Sieyes to be too important a character to fall in with their views, or share in their crimes, and justly dreaded him as a formidable enemy whom it were hopeless to subdue, and vain to soften. The defeat of the armies, meanwhile, had shamed the council into inquisitory exertion; and, on the report of a commission appointed to examine the means of providing for the exigencies of the moment, it was unanimously resolved to send a message to the directory to demand detailed accounts respecting the administration of the ex-minister of war Scherer. It was stated by the reporter of a commission, that, in the month of Vendemiaire preceding, before the levy of the new conscription, the minister had exacted pay for an army then on foot of 437,000 men, without comprehending the army of Egypt; and that of 68,000 cavalry, stated as complete, 40,000 were wanting. Addresses were also sent up from the departments bordering on Italy, particularly from Grenoble, which, accusing

sing this minister as the author of all the misfortunes and reverses of the army, stated various acts of personal cowardice during his command on the Adige, and that the indignation of the public was so excited against him on his return into France, that he had supplicated the commander in that quarter to provide him with an escort for his personal safety.

The Austrian army meanwhile continued its conquests in Italy, the fate of which appears to have been decided by the victory gained by general Kray, between the Adige and the Tartaro, almost under the walls of Verona. As the French, in covering their right by Mantua, had not been able to re-establish their left, nor keep the best line of defence against forces nearly equal, they had no advantage to hope but from the chance of a decisive engagement. Had they been assured of receiving from Switzerland and France sufficient reinforcements to keep the field before the two imperial armies, it was only at the foot of the Alps and Apennines that they could secure those advantages of position where superiority of numbers would find a counterbalance: as on the banks of the Danube, the left of the general line of operations, the battle gained by the archduke at Stockach, and the retreat of general Jourdan, had rendered the French plan of the offensive abortive, so the battle lost by Scherer at Magnan, and the insulating the places of Mantua and Peschiera, destroyed on the right the centre of the combined defensive of Switzerland and Italy. Every retrograde march uncovered and weakened the right of the army of Massena. On the other side, this retreat of Moreau upon the Milanese rendered that of Macdonald's army at Naples very dangerous and difficult; for Ferrara and Mantua being now invested, and the posts on the Po abandoned or taken, all the roads by the duchy of Parma, with those of Upper Tuscany, and the communication with Genoa, could not fail of being intercepted.

The French, who had taught this terrible secret to Europe, experienced, in their turn, that superiority of number, rapidity of marches, multiplied combinations of attacks and skirmishes, destroy the importance of the strongest fortified places. What was formerly called war of siege existed no longer; fortresses, considered as great and motionless military machines, no longer stopped an army superior in number, or disconcerted the plans, unless such fortresses were interchained, and had the same relation with each other, for the defence of a frontier, as bastions in one and the same piece of fortification. The French army, which had incurred immense loss in the bloody engagement on the Adige, was still further diminished by the placing small garrisons in a great number of posts, none of which retarded a day the movement and march of the imperial armies. Whilst all these causes, and the excessive fatigue of a precipitate retreat, for which nothing had been prepared, continued to weaken the French, the imperialists, already victorious without auxiliaries, saw their means increasing every day, not only by the arrival of the Russians, but also by the arming of the Italians, and the disposition of the people.

At the moment that Scherer gave up to Moreau the command of an army behind the Adda, reduced to 36,000 men, in the midst of Italy, without any support, Suwarrow, with nearly a triple force, turned, as it were with his wings, all the lines of the French posts on the left side of this river. But though

Moreau

Moreau could not hope to maintain himself long in the Milanese, or receive such powerful assistance as would enable him to keep it, yet he was so situated, that if he abandoned too soon the upper part of Italy, and the lakes which covered his left, he would not be able to receive the succour that came to him from Switzerland; and, if he too long delayed drawing near the Apennines, and the coast of Genoa, he would not be able to rally to his right the division which was to have evacuated Tuscany, and still less the army of Naples. The imperial troops had already passed the Po; Pizzighitone was almost invested by the division of general Kaim, and by that of general Hohenzollern, who was marching upon Piacenza. It appears, therefore, that Moreau's intention, in entrenching himself on the Upper Adda, was only to draw the attention and the principal forces of Suwarrow towards him, and thereby disengage his right; and afterwards refusing battle with his left wing, to make his retreat upon Alessandria more easily and surely.

Suwarrow had marched the allied army from the Oglio to the Adda, not comprehending the division of general Kray employed in the sieges of Peschiera and Mantua, nor the detached bodies of general Kaim and Hohenzollern which had marched towards Pizzighitone and Piacenza. On his arrival (April 26th) Suwarrow disposed his army into three columns. The right under general Rosenberg, with a vanguard of Russian troops under general Vukassovich, filed off to the point of the Lake of Como, upon the post of Lecco. The column of the centre, composed of the divisions of Ott and Zoph, marched upon Vaprio; the left column, under the orders of general Melas, encamped in sight of Cassano. The post of Lecco was carried by two battalions of grenadiers. Vukassovich marched upon Brivio, re-established the bridge which had been destroyed by the French, and took his positions on the opposite side of the Adda, with four battalions, two squadrons, and four pieces of cannon. The centre division, by a hardy and daring manœuvre, having thrown a bridge across the Adda, during the night, at Trezzo, surprised the French, dislodged them from their post, and pursued them within a short distance of Milan.

The passage executed at Brivio, on the right, by general Vukassovich, which was followed by the division under Rosenberg, drew the attention of the French, and led general Moreau to reinforce his left. The division of general Grenier marched upon Brivio, to support that part of the division of general Serrurier which had been dislodged from Trezzo. A furious engagement took place between the French troops which had rallied, and the division of general Ott, which had already passed the bridge. The victory was still doubtful: a part of general Victor's division flanking the imperialists on the side of Brivio, was preparing to surround their right, or drive them into the Adda, when Zoph's division crossed the bridge of Trezzo, and turned the scale in favour of the imperialists. The village of Pozzo was taken; the French fell back on Vaprio, from which they were also driven. This last movement took off all hope of assistance from general Serrurier, who found himself separated from the divisions which had attempted in vain to reach him; and he was completely surrounded

surrounded by the imperial troops which had passed at Lecco, by the Russian vanguard under Vukassovich, and the division of Rosenberg which had passed at Brivi. In this desperate situation, for which he was indebted to his negligence in not guarding the post at Trezzo, Serrurier defended himself with obstinate courage; nor did he surrender with the wrecks of his division till he had obtained liberty for the officers to return to France on their parole, and the immediate exchange of his soldiers against whatever prisoners of the allied army might be made on that day. General Melas, who commanded the left column, marched upon Cassano. He forced at first the entrenchments of the Ritorto Canale, which he passed on a *pont volant*, under the fire of the French. He then stormed the head of the bridge on the Adda so expeditiously, that he saved it from the fire, and made use of it to pass his whole division, which took post the same evening (April 27th) at Gorginzolo. The French army, the loss of which was very considerable, made its retreat through Milan during the night, and the allied armies entered it the following day (28th April). Vukassovich pushed his advanced guard as far as Como, and a body of Russian troops passed through Milan the same day.

The capital of the Cisalpine republic was now once more in the power of the Austrians; and the severest satire on the French government was the little regret with which the great majority of the people saw them enter. In the Cisalpine republic the great mass of the people had hailed the arrival of the French as the birth-day of freedom; but the French directory, like despots who had subjugated a people, rather than magistrates of a free nation who had executed a trust, affected to fear that the explosion of growing patriotism would become electric and contagious; that this rapid flame would burn brighter among the inhabitants of Italy who were yet enslaved; that it would lead them to form a community of interests and that a system of policy would be introduced, so as to compose a formidable coalition of those different nations, which France would be unable to retain as instruments obedient to its will. Instead of seeking in the Italian republics powerful and faithful allies, capable of contributing to the general support, these ignorant men were anxious only to form republics in miniature, satellites attached to the planet of the French republic, and compelled to follow its motions without adding to its lustre.

The undoubted interests of the French republic would have been to have given real, and not nominal independence to those countries; restraining them, nevertheless, from falling into the errors and calamities of which France had been the theatre, by counsels of friendship and lessons of experience; to have directed that strong and irresistible commotion into a proper channel: to have excited a national energy; to have attached the inhabitants; to have armed them with care and circumspection, and thereby create a second levy, who should have been not automatons subjected to their caprice, but men whose gratitude and union of sentiment would have more closely and surely enchained them under the common banner of liberty.

These were considerations into which the directory could not enter. Swollen by the pride of victory, one of the last expedients of which they

they thought was securing those victories by foreign resources, they never dreamt of the possibility of reverses; they never considered that one of the most important means of strengthening the power of the French republic would have been by the physical and moral corroboration of the Cisalpine republic. A contrary plan was followed; and the directory beheld in the aggrandisement of this latter state nothing but a rival, whose power it was anxious only to limit. This principle was instantly followed. The directory did not stoop to mystery to conceal it, but complimented themselves on their wisdom and inflexibility, when they prosecuted those who thought differently from themselves on the subject.

The patriots in Italy, who took the name of *Unitarians*, the denomination given to those who were anxious for a larger independence to their country, and for a more uniform system in the government, or rather the junction of the whole of the allied Italian states into one republic, were the particular objects of proscription. Some allowance might have been made for those regulators of states, had their system with respect to Italy presented any advantages for France; but the only thing they sought or found in its servile degradation was the privilege of being unjust with impunity. Italy was to them a theatre for anatomical experiments of the coarsest kind; each director cut it up according to his fancy. But the "griding discontinuous wound" was the systematic plunder which was regularly organised, both in the civil and military departments, the chief instruments of which were the harpy commissaries of the executive directory, and the *kinterant* contractors of the French army, who, on the opening of the campaign, are represented by the indignant Italians themselves as birds of voracious and insatiate prey, sticking, with their beak and claws, on the mutilated corpses, and not to be moved or scared away, except by the noise and clangor of arms.

The conduct, therefore, of the French government in Italy was the reverse of the principles of common justice and policy. In order to bind by ties of amity a nation of inferior rank to one more powerful, strength should hold out a friendly hand to weakness, and place it on the same level; but the French Government raised an iron arm over the Cisalpine, and kept it crushed under its feet. Moderation ought to regulate the will of a strong people, and the directory put no other bounds to its ambition but those of its force? Fidelity in engagements is an inviolable and sacred guarantee to a weaker people, and they tore into shreds the most solemn pages of treaties! The laws, and, above all, the fundamental laws of an ally, ought to be respected; but the French trod under foot the most august of rights, broke the charter of their constitution, and ejected the supreme magistrates of a friendly republic with less ceremony than they would have broken the subaltern officers of a subjugated province! Instead of being equitable, disinterested, and faithful to their engagements, they were unjust, avaricious, and perjured. The requisitions of every kind, with which the inhabitants were tormented, in consequence of the irregularity of the military service, had made them execrate a change of government, in which they had found only a change of slavery.

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They beheld nothing in Frenchmen but bands of ruffians, who for a while had made a parade of humanity, in order to accomplish with greater facility their plan of seduction, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the people.

Under such circumstances it is not wonderful that a portion, at least, of the Cisalpines, should have prayed for the return of the Austrians, whose yoke, though not less painful, would be at least more tolerable, as their systematic disposition betrayed less of violence and passion than the insolent vivacity of the French. The abhorrence entertained for the French fell likewise on their agents, the supreme magistrates of the Cisalpine republic, the creatures of their power, and the servile instruments of their will. The Cisalpine directory, whom the legislative body, on the retreat of the French army towards the Adda, had invested with its powers, had created consultative commissions to aid them in the adoption of measures fitted to save their country in this alarming crisis. The violent measures proposed by those commissaries proved more injurious than beneficial. Lists of proscription were rumoured about; every one suspected or trembled; and every purse was at first shut against the forced loan which they proposed. A proclamation of the directory restored a momentary confidence, and influenced partial payments of this exaction; but the great mass refused their contribution, since there were not French soldiers enough in Milan to force the execution. A plan of levying fourteen or fifteen millions was also proposed by the commission of finance; as that of raising an army of Cisalpines, under the French title of Moveable Columns, had been proposed by the military commission. Those expedients, which in the beginning of the reverses of the French army might have preserved the Cisalpine republic under any other command than that of Scherer, were now too late. Several of the departments were then in possession of the Austrian army; and a river and a battle only divided it and Milan.

On the news of the result of the battle on the Adda, the Cisalpine directory, without concerting any measures, even with Scherer, who, driven from the army, had retreated some time before to Milan, or with Rivaud, the French embassador, who fled precipitately from the seat of government, to the great discontent of the legislative body, whom, notwithstanding the precautions suggested eight days before by Rivaud, they left, as well as the archives of the state, to the mercy of the Austro-Russian army, into whose possession they fell when they entered conquerors into Milan.

Such are the leading causes of the ruin of the Cisalpine republic, subdued not so much by Austro-Russian valour as French corruption and tyranny. Opinions had routed the French armies before the chance of real war had been tried, and even Austrian or Russian avengers received a melancholy and momentary welcome. Suwarrow found therefore no impediment to his progress from popular disaffection, and continued his pursuit of the French army, extending his right into Upper Italy, and separating the left of Moreau's army from the lakes and valleys which led to the principal entries into Switzerland. From this operation the position of the right of Massena's army, however strong in itself, became extremely delicate. The situation of

Lecourbe's

Lecourbe's division grew every day more critical, from the interruption of his communications, and the difficulty of subsistence, having to support his right flank, which the retreat of Moreau had uncovered, and guard the passages of the Upper Valteline.

CHAP. X.

Projects of the Archduke for the Invasion of the Grisons. Advantages gained by the French in the Grisons. Insurrection and Defeat of the Swiss Peasantry. Success of the Imperialists in the Grisons. Capture of the Fortress of Luciensteig. Evacuation of the Grisons by the French. State and Progress of the allied Army in Italy. Further Retreat and State of Moreau's Army. Strong Position of the French Army. Defeat of the Russians near Valenza. Skilful Manœuvres of Moreau. Capture of the City of Turin by the allied Armies. March of Macdonald from Naples. Operations of the French on the Lakes in the North of Italy. Surrender of the Citidal of Milan. Ancona bombarded. Army before Mantua detached against Macdonald. Progress of the Archduke's Army in Switzerland. Different Actions between the French and the Austrian Armies. Translation of the Seat of Helvetic Government from Lucerne to Berne. Battle before Zurich. Zurich evacuated by the French. Observations on the Plans of the respective Armies, and their Modes of Operation. Invasion of the Piedmontese Valleys on the French Frontiers. Entrance of Macdonald's Army into Tuscany. Manœuvres of Moreau to favor the Junction of the Army from Naples. Plan of the combined Armies of Moreau and Macdonald. Progress of Macdonald's Army. March of Suwarrow against Macdonald. Dreadful Engagements on the Trebbia. Defeat of the French. Retreat of Macdonald's Army. Defeat of the Austrians by Moreau. Surrender of the Citadel of Turin. Conclusion of the first Part of the Campaign. Valuation of the Losses of the French and allied Armies in Switzerland and Italy. Appearance of the combined Fleets of France and Spain in the Mediterranean. State of the English and French Marine Forces. Operations of the English to intercept the combined Fleets. Return of the combined Fleets from the Mediterranean to Brest.

THE army of the archduke, cantoned on the left side of the Rhine, had as yet (1st May) made no movement. Massena had received reinforcements, and the army employed only in the defence of Switzerland was about 60,000 strong, not including the Swiss auxiliaries. The archduke also was unwilling to undertake any operation till the progress of the allied army in Italy should have ripened his projects of attack on the Grisons; for which important and difficult expedition the division under general Hotze, amounting to about 20,000 men, was destined. This general concerted his movements with those of general Bellegarde, in the Lower Engadin, who had continued to harass the posts of Lecourbe. His principal design

was

was to establish a nearer communication with the left of Hotze, to surprise some passage on the lofty mountains which separate the waters of the Inn from those of the Languard and the Albula, which two rivers flow through the valley of the Grisons, and throw themselves into the Rhine above and below Coire.

The difficulties of the country, which it is impossible to describe, the inclemency of the season, and the active defence of the French troops under the orders of Lecourbe, had rendered the partial attempts made by general Bellegarde of no effect; and the attack combined with Hotze, and made (1st May) on every point of the line, had no better success, with respect to the general project, which was that of penetrating into the Grisons. Lecourbe defeated the Austrian troops under the command of the former in the Lower Engadin, and repulsed them with considerable loss, taking the prince De Ligne, and part of his troops, prisoners; while the division under Hotze, which had surprised general Menars in the Grisons, in his attempt on the fort of Luciensteig, and had penetrated as far as Mayenfield, was attacked in flank by general Chabrand, and driven back, after losing considerable numbers, among which the regiment of the prince of Orange was entirely destroyed.

This first attempt of general Hotze to carry by main force the fort of Luciensteig, the key of the Grisons, was concerted with the Grisons themselves, and the inhabitants of the little cantons of Switzerland, 10,000 of whom took arms on a sudden, and surprised the French posts at Disentis and Illantz, with such rapidity, that if the attacks of the preceding day had succeeded, and more union had existed between the insurgents within and the Austrians without, the retreat of the French, the division of general Lecourbe, who then occupied the Upper Engadin, and the communications by St. Gotherd, would have been infallibly cut off.

Disentis, in the high valley of the Hither Rhine, is the point of communication between the Grisons and the cantons of Glaris and Uri. A body of about 6000 peasants had poured down on the bridge of Rechenau, of which they had taken possession. Massena, who had not been able, by any diversion, to divide the forces of the archduke, hastened to strengthen his left, which had been considerably shaken in this last attack. He reinforced the post of Luciensteig, and detached Menars against the armed Swiss peasantry. This latter general dislodged them from Rechenau, and pursued them as far as Disentes, where he came up with the main body, which he dispersed, after killing about two thousand. Massena, meanwhile, attacked the Swiss of the little cantons on the side of the lake at Schwitz, where they were forced to lay down their arms; and also at Altorf, where 4000 men, having sustained the charge with a few pieces of cannon, were cut in pieces or dispersed. General Soult, who commanded this expedition, pursued the wrecks of this army as far as the Valley of Urseren, in order to prevent them from getting possession of the pass of St. Gothard. But it was not sufficient for the surety of the left of the French army in Switzerland to re-establish its internal communications; since, after the passage of the Adda, the possession

session of Como, and of the eastern side of the lake, the Valteline was quite uncovered. The division under general L'Oison retreated with difficulty, by Chiavenna, into the Grisons, leaving part of its artillery behind; and Lecourbe crossed rapidly from the Lower Engadin to Bellinzone, forming, by this means, a support for his second line, by covering the passage of St. Gothard, and cutting off the communication between the little cantons and the Swiss Italian baillages whose inhabitants had risen in insurrection, and declared for the imperialists. A few days after Lecourbe took his position at Bellinzone, Massena transferred his head-quarters from St. Gall anew to Zurich, manœuvring with his left, sending strong columns over the Rhine, detaching a body of 4000 men towards the Black Forest, in hopes of drawing off the attention of the archduke; but the prince was not deceived by these operations, he remained firm to his plan, which was that of hazarding nothing on the Rhine till he had possession of the country of the Grisons.

With this view he sent reinforcements to Feldkirch. Hotze had already combined a new plan of attack with Bellegarde, who, following up the French in their retreat from the Upper Engadin, had advanced to Lenz, where he was joined by a considerable body of armed Grisons. The Swiss, collected by the ex-avoyer Steiger, and united with Austrians under their countryman general Hotze, requested leave to form the vanguard of the column which should be charged with the new attack on Luciensteig, which, since it had fallen into the hands of the French, had been rendered almost impregnable. This fort, which was placed in a very narrow defile, formed by perpendicular rocks, the peaks of which, on the eastern side, were joined to the steep heights which inclose the valley, half a league in length, shut up by batteries, and cut by a draw-bridge, was the only point which stopped the archduke. While he was meditating this second general attack, he received news (9th May) at his head quarters at Stockach of the march of a considerable body of Russians, which had already reached Gallicia, and were destined to act on the Rhine. General Tostoi had come to take the orders of the archduke for the direction of the columns. This body made part of 40,000 men, furnished by the emperor of Russia as auxiliaries, in the pay of England, independently of the army of Italy. The total of the Russian troops was estimated at 70 000 men, who were at that time assembled, or who were on their way to join the Austrian armies.

At length (12th of May) all the advanced columns of the archduke's army put themselves in motion; general Nauendorf, who was at Engen, marched his vanguard upon Schaffhausen, and made preparations as if he intended to force the passage of the Rhine. Massena, who continued meanwhile to extend the fortifications and entrenchments near Basle, had considerably reinforced the division which occupied an advantageous position between Lorrach and Rheinfelden, so that this support to his left was become very respectable.

It was on the 14th of May that Hotze made his general attack, and this time gained possession of the key of the Grisons, which for two months past had cost so much blood

on both sides. He had divided his forces, and formed four columns; the first was destined to make a false attack at the head of the defile, and threaten the flanks of the entrenchments; the second was to traverse the mountains above Mayenfield, to descend on the rear, and facilitate the attack in front, which was afterwards to become serious; the third was to free the Seeviser Alps; and, the fourth, with the cavalry and artillery, to force a passage by the Slapiner-joch. Hotze directed the column in front, and general Jellachich commanded the three other attacks. The Austrians did not reach the rear of the entrenchments of the French, or assemble their columns on this point, the only one where their junction was possible, till after twelve hours' march and extreme labour, in which they were greatly assisted by the inhabitants who shared in their dangers and lightened their fatigue. At this moment Jellachich attacked the entrenchments in the rear, Hotze forced the pass, and, advancing to the gate, notwithstanding the fire of the French, blew it up, and penetrated into the fort commanded by general Humbert. The whole of the French 14th demi-brigade, amounting to 3000 men, were made prisoners.

After the taking of Luciensteig, the retreat of the French army across the Rhine, though precipitate, was nevertheless made in good order, in three inverted columns; that of the right retreated by Sargans upon Wallenstadt; the centre passed by the defile of Vethis; and the third ascended the Rhine by Reichnau, Ilantz, and Disentis.

Bellegarde, who, during these attacks, had struck out of the Valley of the Inn, and marched upon Lenz, endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the French by the Upper Valley of the Rhine, and which would have easily opened to him the passes into the little cantons, and the means of attaining St. Gothard; but he could not reach the Valley of the Grisons until the day after the taking of Luciensteig, and till the rear-guard of the left column had evacuated Coire and Reichnau, of which Bellegarde took possession (16th May), and made four companies prisoners. Hotze meanwhile crossed the Rhine with a strong vanguard, passed through Sargans, which had been burnt by the French, and marched upon Wallenstadt. Bellegarde ascended the Upper Rhine in pursuit of the column which had retreated to Disentis. The whole country of the Grisons, excepting the narrow valleys bordering on the little cantons, were (17th May) entirely evacuated by the French: the other passes, on the side of Switzerland, were occupied by the imperialists. Massena could no longer delay concentrating his forces. That line of the external defence of Switzerland, which, from the Lake of Constance to the chain of the Rhætian Alps, consists in the occupation of a small number of important posts, on an extent of near sixty leagues, was broken-up on all sides. The Rheinthal, the country of St. Gall, Appenzel, and the Thurgau, the most covered and best-flanked point of that line, no longer held to the general position, and could not be defended against superior forces.

The progress of the archduke's army had been furthered by the success of the allied army of Italy. Suwarrow's superiority of forces had given him the means of detaching various corps, which, taking successive possession of the valleys, checked

checked the French troops who were posted in the defiles and passes of Switzerland, the extremities of which were rendered equally insecure from the fermentation which prevailed among the inhabitants of the little cantons. These insurrections had been repressed by general Soult, who had penetrated as far as St. Gothard, to support Lecourbe; but the spirit of insubordination was very far from being extinguished; and the situation of the French, in the Italian bailiwics, grew more difficult every day.

Having reached the centre of Lombardy more rapidly than he had conceived it possible, Suwarrow, after the passage of the Adda, and the possession of Milan, divided a great part of his forces in pursuit of four different objects. On the west and in front he had to follow up his operations against the army of Moreau, in order to hasten his retreat, and force him to abandon Piedmont and Genoa before he received reinforcements; on the north and on his right, to penetrate into the valleys above the lakes, and to facilitate the movements of the left of the archduke's army beyond St. Gothard; on the east, and behind him, Kray besieged Mantua with a body of about 25,000 men, while general Klenau invested Ferrara and blocked Bologna, the vigorous defence of which places caused a very favourable diversion to that division of the French army which was retreating from Naples and Rome towards Tuscany, under the command of general Macdonald; and towards the south, and on his left, Suwarrow had detached general Ott, with a strong division, to support general Klenau, to stop the progress of Macdonald's army, to seize the passes of the Apennines in Upper Tuscany, and intercept the communications with that country and the Ligurian republic. In this manner the whole of Italy was occupied by the French and Imperial armies, the different divisions and posts of which were thus intermingled. From the centre of Lombardy to the two seas there was not a place or a post, whether supported by the French armies or insulated, which was not attacked or defended with vigour. There was not, in the vast circle of the Alps, or in the long chain of the Apennines, a single pass which had not, at this moment, a relative importance with respect to the immediate operations, and which was not seized on or disputed, either by detached troops, or by the inhabitants of the country, which composed an auxiliary force, of which diversity of opinion, constraint, or victory, augmented continually the number.

We shall look in vain into the history of the wars of Italy for a period bearing any resemblance to the present: as we have never seen a conquest so rapid, or which appeared more solid, than that of Bonaparte, if it be true that change in the form of government, the disposal of the resources, of the whole of a public force of a state, confirm the dominion of conquerors,—so also never were so many advantages lost, so many means of preservation destroyed, in so short a space of time, and almost, as it were, at a single blow.

Suwarrow having thus disseminated his forces, Moreau, after the passage of the Adda and the evacuation of Milan, made his retreat in good order, in three columns; that of the right marching from Lodi upon Piacenza; that of the centre by the road of Milan to Genoa, upon Pavia and Voghera;

that of the left by Vigevano and Novarra. While the main of the army retreated thus upon the Ligurian republic, Moreau went to Turin, where he put a stop to disorders which had taken place, made preparations for the evacuation of this city and the arsenal, and provision for the defence of the citadel, which he confided to general Fiorella. He also re-established the communications, which, if not altogether cut off, were at least interrupted by parties of the insurgents; the preservation of which communications was highly important, on account of the succours which he expected from Switzerland by the Lower Vallais, Mount St. Bernard, and the Valley of Aust; from the southern departments by Mount Cenis and the Valley of Susa; and from Briançon by the Valley of Exiles. Unable, with an army reduced to about 25,000 men, to defend, with any hopes of success, the plains of Piedmont, to cover the country of Genoa, and keep up its communications on each side, which were so important, as well for the junction of his army with that of Naples, as for the arrival of succours by Nice, Moreau left Turin (7th May), and transferred his head quarters to Alessandria. He had previously taken a position under Tortona, extending the advanced posts on his right towards the Appennines, in order to narrow this interval as much as possible, and favour the retreat of Macdonald, by retaining, as long as possible, Suwarrow on the left side of the Po. Suwarrow, meanwhile, had advanced as far as Pavia (1st May), and detached from his right a strong vanguard, under Vukassovich, to take possession of Novarra and other places evacuated by the French, with orders to ascend the Po as far as Turin, and divert Moreau's attention to his rear by attacking, and even flanking, his left wing. At the same time general Hohenzollern marched upon Piacenza with a part of the left of the allied army, and, ascending the right side of the Po, had forced back the vanguard of the French beyond Voghera, near Tortona: in aid of this movement, and with the view of seizing, at a later period, the passages into the country of Genoa by the Apennines, Suwarrow took post at Bobbio, on the road from Piacenza to Genoa.

General Kray, after the taking of Peschiera, had marched upon Borgo forte, and assembled all his forces around Mantua. The garrison made frequent sallies, some of which became serious engagements. The siege of the castle of Milan was begun (5th May) by general Latterman; and on the same day general Kaim opened the trenches before Pizzighitone, of which he gained possession in four days, from the blowing-up of a powder-magazine, when the garrison capitulated, consisting of six hundred men. Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Fort Urbin, and Ancona, still held out. Suwarrow's main army was much diminished by these different operations and diverging movements, which, considering the weakness and situation of the French, were not only inexpedient and useless, but lost him the opportunity of exterminating the whole of the French armies in Italy, and of opening a passage into the southern departments of France. Suwarrow's ignorance of his advantages, and the skilful tactics of Moreau, preserved both. The Russian general, nevertheless, kept close on Moreau, and attempted

tempted to dislodge him from the strong position he had taken, which was a kind of entrenched camp, where he had fortified himself, behind the Po and the Tanaro, between Valenza and Alessandria. Tortona was attacked (9th of May) by general Chasteler, who blew up the gates under the fire of the castle, into which the French garrison withdrew. The greater part of the allied army (10th May), increased by Kaim's division, after the taking of Pizzighitone, passed the Scrivia, and encamped at Torre Garafolo. General Karaczay was detached with a corps to take possession of Novi, Serravalle, and Gavi. This movement of Suwarrow by his left flank, and the courses of his light troops into the country between the course of the Tanaro and the Apennines, did not shake the French general's determination. Moreau had flanked his right by Alessandria, his left by Valenza, and had thrown strong detachments into Casal and Verrua; nor was he deceived with respect to Suwarrow's projects, who menaced the right of the French army, and its communications with Genoa, only to surprise a passage over the Po on his left, and to surround, and engage it in a general and decisive action. This project was seconded by the attacks of the inhabitants of Mondovi, Cherasco, Ceva, and Oneglia, who took arms on a sudden; which insurrections were already so strong and so well organised, that a battalion, which was marching to join the French army, was attacked and dispersed. Moreau's position was such, that, had he lost a battle, his retreat on either side the Apennines became almost impossible.

This attack against the left of general Moreau was attempted (11th of May) by a van-guard of imperial troops, who, having passed the Po above Valenza, had been very rudely treated and driven back. But the following day the affair became more serious: a Russian division of 7000 men, under the command of general Schubarf, passed the river below Valenza, near the confluence of the Po and the Tanaro, and marched towards Pecetto, between Alessandria and Tortona, in order to cut the line of the French. The first shock of the Russians was met by the division under general Grenier; when Moreau attacking them in flank, with the division under Victor, the Russians were driven back, and a great number killed or drowned in the Po, amongst whom was the Russian commander. After this second attempt, Suwarrow determined to march his main body, along the left side of the Po, to Turin, in order to dislodge Moreau from his camp, and make him fall back, either on the frontiers of France, or retreat into the Ligurian republic. With this view general Vukassowich made attacks (16th May) at Verrua, Ponte Stura, and Casal, while a part of the troops under general Melas, on the right side of the Po, received orders to pass the night following, over to the left side, and march upon Candia. Whether Moreau had information of this project, or perceived certain movements in the Russian camp at Torre di Garafolo, where there ought to have remained but an inconsiderable body, he threw a bridge, during the night, over the Bormida, near Alessandria, and passed it in the morning with a column of 7000 men, leading himself the cavalry. He first attacked and broke the chain of advanced posts of the cossacks at Marenzo, and

pursued them to Santo Giuliano, and then detached a body of troops by his left, to drive in the advanced posts of general Melas, and march upon the camp of Torre di Garafolo, under the command of general Lusignan, whom he forced to abandon his position, and whom he separated for some time from a body of seven Russian battalions under prince Pankrazian; these two imperial divisions, after considerable loss, rallied at length against the French, who retreated across their bridges to Alessandria.

This was the last effort made by Moreau, to preserve this position. Suwarrow, whose head-quarters were at Lumello, hastened the attack on the French posts on the right side of the Po above Valenza; general Vukassowich also attacked and carried Casal. The French entrenched camp being no longer tenable, Moreau forced to evacuate Valenza and Alessandria, made good his retreat after having provided for the defence of the citadel of the latter place, and marched his army by Asti, and Chierasco upon Coni (22d May). He detached also a body of troops on his right to occupy Ceva and Mendovi, to open the communications with Genoa, and that part of the coast which had been interrupted by the insurrections of the peasants. This position was the best which he could have taken, to receive the reinforcements which he expected from the southern departments of France, and by Oneglia, Finale, and the other small sea-ports.

By manœuvres thus skilfully combined, Moreau not only saved the wrecks of Scherer's army but gave time to general Macdonald to reach the frontiers of the Ligurian republic, and enabled general Perignon, who had come a few days before to the aid of this place, to stop up the passages on the side of the mountains, to strengthen his means of defence, and secure such advanced positions as might best favour the junction of the two armies.

Suwarrow, who had taken disadvantageous positions on both sides the Po, below the double confluence of the Bormida and the Tanaro, had been unable to execute his plan of surrounding the French army in the camp of Alessandria. After the evacuation of this place, which he now occupied, he formed the blockade of the citadel with the division of general Schweikosky; a corps under general Seckendorf had advanced on the side of the Acqui; and the center of the allied army, under the orders of general Melas, had marched upon Candia. Considerable falls of rain retarded for some days these marches, directed against Turin, on both sides the Po; general Melas having crossed the Sesia (26th May) continued his march to the Stura. The Russian divisions under general Karaczay passed this river and the Doria, and took an advantageous position in face of the Chartreuse. The corps under general Vukassowich advanced by the right side of the Po, and took posts on the Heights of the Capuchins; the city of Turin thus invested, was canonnaded (27th May) and summoned to surrender, which the French commander Fiorella refused, and returned the fire of the besiegers; but a bomb having set fire to a house near the gate of the Po, the armed inhabitants took advantage of the disorder, and having seized on the gate, opened it to the allies. The garrison, consisting of about three thousand men, retired to the citadel; the division of general Kaim occupied the town, that of prince Pankrazian the environs;

virons; while the generals Frolich and Zoph formed a camp of observation on the road of Pignerol. Ten weeks only had passed from the beginning of hostilities on the Adige, until Suwarrow encamped within sight of the frontiers of France.

But though Suwarrow had made this progress in front, he had yet behind him an army, against which it was necessary to assemble no inconsiderable force. General Macdonald, on the news of the retreat from before Mantua, had evacuated the kingdom of Naples. He had ordered a camp to be formed at Caserta and Madaloni, and created at Naples a numerous national guard. Fort St. Elms, Capua, and Gaeta, were provisioned as if destined to undergo a siege; the government was organised, and the Neapolitans were well disposed to defend themselves. Several English vessels were cruising at the entrance of the road, and intercepted every kind of communication by sea. As soon as Macdonald had received positive orders from Scherer to join the army of Italy; he recalled the division which was in the Pouille, and that also on the frontiers of Calabria, and leaving the camp of Caserta (9th May), marched by Rome upon Florence, leaving a strong garrison at fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta. The first division, commanded by general Olivier, which traversed St. Germano and Isola, found the country in insurrection; two villages were taken by storm, and almost the whole of the inhabitants perished in the attack. The patriots of Naples had seen the retreat of the French with consternation, as did also those of Rome; in this last city a garrison was left which, in case of attack by superior forces, was to retire into the fort of St. Angelo.

Generals Gauthier and Miolis, who commanded the corps of French troops in Tuscany, had made preparations to receive the army of Naples, and had formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, closing up all the passes of the Apennines. Suwarrow had not a moment to lose, to hinder a junction which might disconcert his designs, and change the whole face of affairs. The celerity of Macdonald's march with so considerable a force, the manœuvres of general Moreau, and the firmness of the corps of observation in Tuscany and in the Bolognese, had now rendered a possible thing the most difficult retreat that had ever been attempted.

It was on this account that Suwarrow pushed on with vigour his sieges, a kind of warfare which hindered him from disposing of all his forces in the field, and which had retarded his operations against Tuscany, and against the intermediary positions occupied by the French. The siege of the castle of Milan, where he had sent general Hohenzollern with a reinforcement of five or six battalions was interrupted, from the necessity he was under of sending succours to the prince of Rohan, who had to contend against superior forces between the lakes of Como and Lugano, at the entrance of the Italian Bailiwicks, where, notwithstanding the insurrection of the inhabitants in his favour, he had not been able to maintain himself against Lecourbe. The French at length were obliged to retreat from Lugano across Mount Cenere to Bellinzone, and regain Switzerland by the Levantine Valley; after which the imperial troops were recalled, and the trenches opened (23d May) against the citadel of Milan, the commander of which

capitulated, and obtained for his garrison, consisting of 2200 men, a free passage, and the honours of war, with the condition only of not serving for a year against the imperial armies. The citadel of Ferrara, having a garrison of 1500 men, surrendered at the same time to general Klenau on the same conditions. Ravenna was taken a few days after, the peasants aiding the attack; a few other posts of very secondary importance in the Roman republic surrendered successively; and Ancona was bombarded by a combined squadron of seven Russian and Turkish ships, and six frigates under the orders of vice-admiral Pastokin. The siege of Mantua was still continued under general Kray, who, having repulsed (19th May) a brisk sally of the garrison, received orders to draw off his troops, leaving a number sufficient to keep up the blockade, which were afterwards reinforced by other divisions, and to form with those troops, and with the divisions of Ott and Hohenzollern on his left, a new army of which he afterwards took the command. His first object was to force the French to evacuate Bologna, which they defended vigorously, aided by the brave Bolognese, because it was in fact the place which was of most importance to them beyond the Apennines, the situation of which place, cutting the roads and retarding the marches of the allies towards Tuscany, yielded the most favourable protection to the retreat of the army of Naples. It was only by dislodging the French from this intermediary point, that Kray could rally his forces, and march to meet general Macdonald, who had already reached the Tuscan territory; his van-guard was at Florence; Leghorn and Lucca had been put to a state of defence, in order to provide a last retreat toward the sea, if it should be found impossible to effectuate the junction of the two armies by the Ligurian territory.

Such, at the beginning of June, was the respective situation of the armies of Italy. The progress of the archduke in Switzerland was not less important, nor less disputed, and, from the nature of the country, still more difficult than that of Suwarrow. The French columns had retreated from the Grisons, pursued by generals Hotze and Bellegarde. The column which ascended the Valley of the Nether Rhine by Ilantz, under general Suchet, had reached (19th May) Urseren, where Lecourbe, after having repassed the St. Gothard from Bellinzone, rallied on the right, and drew nearer to Massena's main army: the rear guard of the column which retreated by Sargans and Wallenstadt were vigorously attacked by the corps of Swiss emigrants.

At the moment when the vanguard of general Nauendorf (22d May), followed by the main army of the archduke, passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen and at Stein, Hotze, whose light troops had possession of St. Gall, passed the Rhine also with the whole division. The French division of general de Lorge had already evacuated the Rheinthal; and general Hotze, after having taken possession of the post of Werdenberg, penetrated, by the sources of the Thur, into the Toggenburg. While the troops which had passed at Rheinack marched upon St. Gall, the column which followed the course of the Thur made a forced march to descend into the Thurgau: the end of Hotze, in this manœuvre, was his junction with the vanguard of Nauendorf, which had taken post at Adelfingen,

gen, in order to cover the passage, and effect the establishment of the rest of the army; the archduke wishing to rally the whole of his troops before he came to a general engagement.

Massena, in order to prevent this junction, and retard the attack of his lines on the Limmat, marched (25th May) against the vanguard of Nauendorf, which already extended beyond the left side of the Thur, and against that of general Hotze, which was surprised on its march between Frauenfield and Winterthur. These two attacks became serious engagements; the posts of Nauendorf's vanguard were carried; the hussars who supported them were repulsed and driven into the Thur; the French retook the bridge of Andelfingen, but could not retain it on account of the fire from the opposite bank. On the side of Frauenfield, the engagement was still more warm. Several regiments, both cavalry and infantry, were surrounded on the road from Constance to Zurich; the Austrian infantry suffered the more, from their being greatly fatigued, having marched the whole of the preceding night; and the regiment of the Gemmingen was almost exterminated. The Kinsky dragoons, led on by the prince of Rosenberg, made every effort to support the infantry engaged on a disadvantageous ground. The action had lasted from nine till five, and the Austrians had been very severely treated, when a corps de reserve of imperialists came up and checked the French troops, amongst whom was the Swiss auxiliary legion, whose commander, general Weber, was killed.

Notwithstanding this resistance, the object the archduke had in view was fulfilled: he had transferred his head-quarters to Paradies, and took the next day all his posts on the left side of the Thur: to effect the junction, he marched (27th May) upon Winterthur, while Hotze, after forcing the French back to the mountain called the Steig-pass, on the road of Zurich, attacked them in front. The engagement had lasted from day break; at mid-day the archduke came up and attacked the Steig-pass, which was covered by a battery, firing grape shot from the top of the mountain, and flanked by woods filled with French and Swiss light-horse. This post, for which the Austrians payed dear, was carried, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the French, who withdrew to a little distance on the left side of the Toss. The junction of Hotze's division to the archduke's army was made at Winterthur, where the head-quarters were established.

General Bellegarde, on the side of the mountains, had also taken every advantage of his situation: having secured the passage of St. Gothard, his forces had been augmented, by the ardour of the inhabitants of the little cantons to take up arms once more against the French. He had taken possession of the cantons of Glaris, and menaced Lucerne so seriously, that the members of the Helvetic government quitted the place of their administration, and withdrew to Berne. He had marched also a body of troops to Schweitz, but was unable to maintain himself in that position against the attacks of Lecourbe, who had taken a strong position at Wasen, near the Valley of Urseren. Thus the whole course of the Limmat the second of the three principal lines of the defensive in Switzerland, was flanked on the right, and the highest grounds were in possession of the imperialists.

Massena

Massena seeing that the archduke, after his junction, pressed upon his flanks, took (28th of May) a new position behind the Glatt; but harassed and attacked on his left, he was obliged to concentrate his forces in his entrenched camp before Zurich. On this movement the archduke marched immediately a body upon the Glatt, before Baffendorff, and Kloten, within a league and a half of Zurich, and pushed the vanguard of general Nauendorf, which was at Bulach, as far as the heights of Regensberg, within view of Baden. Several skirmishes took place during the following days, between the advanced posts and the left of the Austrian army, which already touched the eastern side of the lake, and had taken possession of several villages on its banks. A body of troops had also marched from Glaris, on the opposite side to Einsidlen. Lecourbe in this interval had repulsed the Austrians, and carried an important post (2d of June) after an obstinate engagement, keeping his position at Wasen; supporting by this means the right of the new line of defence, at the centre and front of which was the camp of Zurich.

The two armies being thus situated, the archduke passed the Glatt (4th of June) and took up his head-quarters at Klotten, pushing his advanced posts within gun-shot of the French entrenchments, menacing the right of the French, and having the command of all the heights. After having reconnoitered this position, which was very strong by nature, and otherwise fortified by art, he attacked the villages in the most salient parts of the line, which were obstinately defended, taken and retaken. The next day, (5th of June) the archduke bore down with his whole forces upon the entrenchments, which the French defended till night, the engagement having taken place on the whole of the line at once, and with equal bravery on both sides. Few actions have cost so much blood. In this engagement the Austrian generals Hotze, Wallis, Kerpen, and Hiller, and, on the side of the French, the generals Humbert and Oudinot, were wounded. Cherin, chief of the French staff, had been killed the preceding day. The archduke had given orders to recommence the attack early the next morning; but Massena evacuated Zurich during the night, and took post on Mount Albis; his left flanked by the Rhine, and his right by the Lake of Zug. The archduke established (June 7th) his head-quarters at Zurich.

If any doubt can yet be entertained of the changes which have recently taken place in the art of war, or, to express it more exactly, in the development of the means by which it is carried on, and which have extended far beyond the limits to which it seemed circumscribed, as has already been observed in speaking of the war among the mountains, this second epocha of the campaign would as it were force conviction, by taking a retrospective view of the numerous engagements, or rather of the continued conflict between the army of the archduke and that of Massena. Both ancient and modern history furnish examples enough of battles as important, of engagements as bloody, of manœuvres as masterly as these; but never at any period were so many and such great objects brought into action together; and the reason is, because there is no longer any proportion between the extent of the scene and

and the number of the actors, and because armies are forced to multiply themselves, as it were, by their movements, in order to fill up spaces so immense, from whence arises the great frequency of engagements. When once an army is in motion to dislodge the enemy from a post, or to take a position in order to secure itself from a general attack, at whatever point the action begins, it extends itself rapidly over the whole theatre of the war. This is what took place in Switzerland, where, from the day of the attack of the fort of Luciensteig (14th of May), to the evacuation of Zurich (6th of June), the two armies were continually engaged from the peaks of the Glaciers to the confluence of the Reuss, the Limmat and the Aar, which take their source on those snowy heights, and form the three lines of defence already mentioned. In this extended space the same battle lasted nineteen days; for such is the denomination which ought to be given to those engagements, so connected with each other, that the strongest positions were only posts or points of a general line, and which were all attacked and defended at the same time, continually forced marches, unceasing engagements, dreadful conflicts, the duration of which is not reckoned by hours, but by whole days, and by numbers of days. The last operations in Italy furnish examples of the same kind, and prove that the armies were so habituated to that uninterrupted series of engagements, to such precipitate strokes, that a few days manœuvring, during which, however, the advanced posts never ceased their bloody skirmishes, was almost considered as a cessation of active war between the two armies.

The attention of Europe was turned to this part of the great theatre on which great and unexpected changes were continually taking place, from events no less important. It appears that the principal part of the plan concerted between the archduke and Suwarrow, was to cut off successively the communications of the two French armies of Switzerland and Italy, and to open, in the speediest manner possible, the communications between the two imperial armies, by the conquest of the north of Italy, the Milanese, and Piedmont. It has been remarked with what ardour and constancy those two generals alternately detached troops, the one from his right in Italy, and the other from his left in Switzerland, to support the continual attacks of the corps of general Bellegarde, whose aim it was to dislodge the French from the whole chain of the Rhætian Alps to St. Gothard, which operation became more difficult from the stubborn resistance, the active and skilful war, which the French generals Lecourbe, Desolles, and Loison, waged against him.

Moreau, too weak to keep up a line of defence from Mount St. Gothard to the sea, parallel to the attacks made against him, had been forced to abandon both this great support of his left, and his communications with Massena, after receiving by Switzerland all the reinforcements which he could have expected in the difficult situation in which Massena found himself; thus situated, he fell back on his right, to cover, with what forces he had left, the Ligurian republic, and to preserve, untouched, the barrier of the Apennines, so as to give Macdonald the means of effectuating his retreat. Suwarrow, by taking possession, with his main army,

army, of the interval which Moreau was forced to abandon, by keeping up continual attacks, and a war of posts in the passes of Switzerland, and by determining to finish the conquest of Piedmont by the taking of Turin, which the Russian general had not been able to penetrate, served Moreau's views to their full extent. Suwarrow had so unskilfully manœuvred his immense army, that he could neither surround Moreau, dislodge him from the Apennines, nor collect a sufficient force in Upper Tuscany to take the offensive against the French divisions, successively augmented by the vanguards of general Macdonald. Every retrograde march, by which Moreau had fallen back to the French frontiers, would have doubled the space which his colleague had to measure. Even as he was situated, Moreau's camp at Coni was nearly fifty leagues from Macdonald's advanced post on the frontiers of Tuscany, at the same time that he drew as near as he could towards the French frontiers, in order to favour the arrival of the feeble reinforcements which came to him by the Col de Tende. From this place he detached a division, under general Victor, to cross the Ligurian republic, to join the army of Naples, to put Macdonald in a situation to act on the offensive, and open the frontier passes, so as to reach Genoa. The French had retaken Mondovi, and blocked up Ceva; but general Vukassowich, who had possession of Carmagnole, Alba, and Cherasco, disengaged those two places. Moreau, by these manœuvres at Coni, drew off, as much as lay in his power, the attention and principal forces of the allied army.

Suwarrow, after the taking of Turin, had sent the principal divisions of his army into the valleys of Susa, Morionne, Aust, and Lucerne, where the Vaudois had taken arms in favour of the French, raising alarm on the old frontier of France, and threatening to open an immediate passage across the Alps, and to turn, by the department of Mount Blanc, the last line of defence in Switzerland. The menace and the alarm were equally vain. Moreau's position on the flanks of the Russian general, which he had neither been able to foresee nor prevent, and a French army in his rear, rendered every further progress impraticable. Suwarrow had hoped to keep Moreau continually in his front, and imagined that he should thereby have prevented the junction with Macdonald more easily than if he had stopt his pursuit, and taken his positions at the heights of Genoa, where, however, he would more readily have accomplished his purpose.

After thus disposing of part of his forces, Suwarrow marched in person against Moreau, who, straitened in his positions, after leaving a strong garrison in Coni, withdrew (7th of June) to the Col de Trende, communicating with this place. The other principal passes of the Alps, Mount Cenis, the Pass of Susa, and the Little St. Bernard, were put in a respectable state of defence; and neither at Briançon, nor in any other part of the frontier, were there any bodies of French troops considerable enough to operate any of those diversions which, as the French army was situated, were as easy as they would have been useful. General Xantrailles, whose division had been destined by Massena to reinforce Moreau's left, after reducing the insurgents, had limited his operations

operations to the taking a position in the Upper Vallais, not daring to hazard a descent towards Italy. The sieges of Tortona, Alessandria, and Turin, were pushed on in the mean-while with great vigour.

It has been already observed that the allied forces were too disseminated, and, though superior, two fifths in number to those of the French, were not considerable enough to finish so many enterprises at the same time: but the archduke seeing himself master of St. Gothard, and having nothing to fear for his left, detached general Bellegarde to join the army of Italy, with the greatest part of his division, while the remainder under the orders of general Haddick, took positions at Domo d'Ossola, with the view of giving assistance to the army of Italy, or crossing the mountains into Switzerland, according to circumstances. Bellegarde, with eighteen batallions and 3500 horse, passed through Milan (6th June), and marched to Tortona. Macdonald, as has been observed, had arrived at Florence (24th of May) with his army, the effective force of which it is difficult to determine after such long marches, and joined (26th of May) the troops which occupied Tuscany; and it may be conjectured that, with the corps of general Montrichard, he had nearly 30,000 men, and that the force of his army might amount to 40,000 effective, when he had assembled the garrisons, and when general Victor had joined him with the whole of his division; a more considerable force than this was scarcely possible, after leaving garrisons at Fort St. Elmo, Capua, Gaeta, Rome, Civita-Vecchia, Ancona, and some other posts necessary to cover his retreat. He had left the greater part of his baggage at Rome, Viterbo, and Romiglione, in order to accelerate his march.

His first care, in entering Tuscany, was to clear the passes on each side the Apennines. General Ott had gained possession of the important post of Poptremoli on the Apennines, on the extreme frontier of Tuscany and the Ligurian republic, and the point of communication between both, which he had strongly fortified. Kray was at Catellucio, from whence he was superintending the blockade of Mantua, and pressing the evacuation of the Bolognese, where the resistance of the French had so effectually covered the retreat of the army of Naples. The imperialists had driven them from the posts of Ferli and Cervia, surprised Fort Lago, between Ravenna and Bologna, taken possession of Cesena and Rimini, and were besieging Fort Urbin. Notwithstanding, however, the reinforcements of general Kray, who had left not more than twenty battalions and a few squadrons before Mantua, the division of general Ott encamped between Parma and Pontremoli, and those of Hohenzollern and Klenau were too weak to enter Tuscany and act on the offensive.

Macdonald strengthened at first his right wing, commanded by general Montrichard, who, after detaching the brigade of general Clauzel to occupy Bologna, repulsed general Klenau, and raised the siege of Fort Urbin; the left wing formed the division of general Dombrowsky, and the Polish legion had orders to march upon Sarzana and Pontremoli, and retake this last post from the imperialists.—Macdonald left general Rusca's division at Florence, which joined him at a latter period, and transferred his head-quarters to Lucca, where

where he was at the beginning of June: from that moment he could communicate freely with Genoa, become acquainted with the true position of the forces of the allies, and combine a plan of operation with general Moreau. He might, undoubtedly have filed off by Sarzana and Spezzia, and entered by the river di Levante; but, independently of this passage being held to be impracticable for artillery, he found himself in a more favourable situation than he could have hoped for, and enabled even to act on the offensive beyond the Apennines, and open a scene altogether new and unexpected. This detailed account of the positions and posts occupied by both armies is necessary, in order to comprehend that singular and alternate intermingling of the armies between the right side of the Po and the sea, from the source of the mouth of this river; and without this explanation, the extraordinary and precipitate marches, the daring manœuvres and decisive actions which follow, would be almost unintelligible.

Moreau had at first taken a position at the Col de Tende; and his army, reduced to about 15,000 men, after he had detached the division under general Victor, was strengthened by a few battalions, which reached him by way of Nice: these he sent on by Oneglia to Genoa, and, filing off himself by his right, entered the Ligurian republic, covering his left flanck with the Apennine mountains, of which he held all the passes, and taking advantageous positions at some leagues from Savona, towards the sources and at the head of the Valley of Tanaro. He affected to have no other design than that of receiving reinforcements and succours by sea, and to wait, without changing his position, the arrival of the army of Naples in the Ligurian republic. A report from general Melas, who was observing his motions, proves that the allies did not suppose he had any other project; while Moreau, far from concealing his march, endeavoured to draw the attention of Suwarrow; and as he was within reach of Montserrat, and could march to Alessandria, if he received sufficient reinforcements, he did not fail to magnify the number and importance of his forces; the great movement of troops in straitened positions, and on a single way of communication, contributed, no doubt, to give credit to the false report, which he caused to be spread, of the landing of 15,000 men, transported by the fleet of Toulon to the post of Vado; the public papers were full of this circumstance, the movements were given in detail, together with the successive appearances of the French and English squadrons, and even the conferences between the general and the admiral.

Before the falsehood of this fable had been discovered, Moreau arrived at Genoa with an army of about 18,000 men, and strengthened himself with the whole of the French and Ligurian troops, under the orders of general Perignan; he raised also the courage and confidence of the French party by a proclamation, and disposed himself to second, by a diversion on the Scrivia, the movements which had been concerted with Macdonald: their plan was vast; it tended to nothing less than raising the siege of Mantua, forcing Kray to fall back on the Adige, unblocking the citadels of Tortona and Alessandria, re-uniting the two armies, and marching against Suwarrow with superior forces; and, however extraordinary such a project might

might appear, after the multiplied reverses sustained by the French, there was nothing in it chimerical.

Macdonald left the camp of San Pellegrino, near Pistoia, (8th June) with his main army, and marched on to Modena: generals Dombrowsky and Victor, whose divisions formed the left, marched, the first from Sapallo, and the latter from Pontremoli upon Reggio. The divisions of Montrichard and Rusca, which formed the right, marched from Bologna and Castelfranco: Montrichard had already forced general Klenau to raise the blockade of Fort Urbin, after two very warm engagements. These two divisions had orders to turn Modena, and to pass the Tanaro between this city and the Po. The vanguard of the centre, commanded by general Oliver, (10th June) came up with the first posts of general Hohenzollern, and drove them back to within two miles of Modena; the next day, the French column having made nearer advances, a very smart skirmish took place between the cavalry, which the two generals had sent forwards to cover the reconnoitring parties: the Austrian cavalry was at first driven back, but was supported by the regiment of Preiss, who charged the French cavalry with the bayonet. Hohenzollern repulsed this first attack, maintained his position at Sarciolo, and secured, by different posts, his communication with Reggio. The following day (12th June) Macdonald made another attack, when a very bloody engagement took place, the cavalry and infantry mingling together. Macdonald was wounded in this battle, and general Forest killed; but the Austrians were forced to abandon Modena, which was taken and pillaged, The posts on the left side of the Secchia being in possession of the French, Hohenzollern was cut off from Reggio. The firmness with which the posts and passages on the Tanaro were defended against the two French divisions, which came from the side of Bologna, favoured his retreat on Mirandola; the regiment of Priess, which formed the rear guard, and which, though several times surrounded, had cut its way through, was almost entirely destroyed.

General Klenau fell back on Ferrara; Kray, who had already drawn off the artillery with which he besieged Mantua, broke down the bridge of Casal, Maggiore, and every other bridge on the Po, and posted himself on the left side with 10,000 men, and some thousands of armed peasants, to hinder the passage of the river and cover the blockade of Mantua. Whether these dispositions made by general Kray, the want of pontoons, and the increase of the river, swoln by the rains, hindered Macdonald from executing the project imputed to him of relieving Mantua, or whether he had already fulfilled his intention, in driving across the Po an obstacle which might have impeded his progress, by attacking his rear-guard, whilst he pursued his route along the Po to Voghera and Tortona, where he was to join general Moreau, he now marched with the whole of his army upon Reggio, and entered (14th June) Parma, and the day after Piacenza, where he assembled his army, (16th June) and began his attacks against the citadel.

General Ott, who had only seven or eight thousand men, had retreated before the vanguard of Macdonald, waiting the reinforcements to be sent him by general Melas.

Melas. This general, after due intimation of Moreau's intention, had (10th June) marched upon Alessandria; general Bellegarde came up also at the same time with his division; while Suwarrow, who was pressing vigorously the siege of the citadel of Turin, and threatening to storm it, having been informed by general Kray of the success and march of Macdonald, left general Kaim to continue the siege, and hastened away with all the troops he could collect. General Vukassowich, who was stationed with his vanguard between Ceva and Modovi, received orders to harass Moreau's rear, and detach a corps upon Ormea, on the road to Oneglia. Nearly the whole of the armies of the allies were now assembled between Tortona and Piacenza, almost in the same position which they had occupied six weeks before, and for the same object, to hinder the junction of the two French armies: there was not a single manœuvre, a step to be lost; an hour during all those forced marches, an hour's delay, secured victory to the French generals.

Macdonald, who had been joined (17th June) by general Victor, marched forward from Piacenza upon St. Giovanni, a village at six miles distance, on the left side of the little river of Fidone, behind which general Ott had retreated; his advanced posts on the Trebbia having also fallen back: general Melas came up to his assistance at the beginning of the action with his vanguard. Macdonald, who had dispatched a column on the road of the castle of St. Giovanni, endeavoured, with his right wing, to dispatch the left of the imperialists, and take possession of the road to Pavia on the Po, in order to surround the centre of the position of general Melas, who had taken the command and cut off the communication with the forces which followed him. This first attack was repulsed by the Austrians: Ott's division, and a part of general Frolich's, maintained their position till the arrival of Suwarrow with a strong advanced guard of Russian troops; the engagement then became general, and lasted till night, when the French withdrew to their positions between the Tidone and the Trebbia.

The next day (18th) Suwarrow, having assembled all his troops, took measures for a decisive engagement. Macdonald also made preparations, ranging his army in line of battle, on the left side of the Trebbia. The allies formed four columns; the first, or that of the left, on the side of the Po, was to march by Calendano upon Ponte di Mora; the second followed the road on the right of Piacenza; the third marched upon Vaccari—these three columns were composed of Russian troops; the fourth on Rippalta and San Georgio, destined to turn the left of the French, was formed by the divisions of Ott and Frolich. These dispositions, and the necessity of letting the troops breathe, retarded the attack till five in the evening: as soon as the columns came up, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground before the French line, there were no other manœuvres than a furious shock on the whole front of the two armies. The French were beaten, and lost this second battle, after an obstinate resistance, which cost much blood on both sides.

Macdonald, nevertheless, did not retreat to Piacenza, but withdrew behind the right side of the Trebbia, meditating another effort against the troops of Suwarrow, whose

whose infantry, particularly, was borne down with fatigue. The next day (15th), therefore, while they thought him in full retreat, Macdonald attacked the allied army, in his turn, with the greatest impetuosity. He repulsed, at first, all the advanced posts on the Trebbia, sent across the Po one of his columns, at the same time that another passed the Trebbia to turn the right flank of Suwarrow, whose troops were almost surprised. General Melas sustained the first attacks with the Austrian cavalry; the carnage was horrible, and all the country, from St. Giovanni to Piacenza, between the Tidone and the Trebbia, was strewed with dead: this latter river was choked up with corpses. The Polish legion, under Dombrowski, surrounded by Russians, formed themselves into a square battalion, defended themselves with desperation, and were almost entirely destroyed. Notwithstanding all his efforts, Macdonald's army was forced to repass the Trebbia. Suwarrow, complimented on his victory, is said to have answered in the words of the general of antiquity—"Victory! another such, and we are ruined!"

During the night, which followed this third day of dreadful and desperate combat, Macdonald re-entered Piacenza, which he evacuated the next day, obliged to abandon 3,000 men, who were wounded, among which were the four generals, Rusca, Salm, Olivier and Chambran. Macdonald, who had himself received several wounds, as had also general Victor, made his retreat in good order on two columns, of which one followed the great road of Parma, and the other the foot of the mountains. He pretended to be directing his march upon Modena, and to be returning to his camp at Pistoia; but he took posts at Fornovo, ascending the Valley of Tanaro, and took the road of Sestri, to enter into the Ligurian republic, and effect his junction with Moreau. Genera's Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern, whose corps he had dispersed in his march upon Piacenza, united at Parma, and went in pursuit of him.

Suwarrow had repaired, by the quickness of his march, and the gain of the battle of St. Giovanni, the fault of having divided his forces by insulated operations, which had given Macdonald time almost to finish the most difficult of retreats, and to reach, without obstacle, the places, positions, and reinforcements, which had doubled his means. It was a premeditated design on the part of Suwarrow: it may be said that fortune justified his temerity; for it is evident, that with less activity, and without the extraordinary march, the combinations of the two French generals did not leave him the chance of victory; he would have found them with their forces united at Voghera, where he could not have attacked them without hazarding the fate of his army. In fact, while he was attacking, with the whole of his forces, Macdonald's army in Trebbia, Moreau, after having marched a strong detachment upon Bobbio, commanded by general Lapoype, sallies forth from Genoa as from an entrenched camp, with an army, fresh and reinforced, of about 25,000 men, and marched by Bocchetto, Gavi and Novi, upon Tortona. The Austrian divisions, under general Bellegarde, were attacked and driven from their positions at St. Guiliano, Cassini, Grando, and Spinetta, and forced to retreat precipitately across the

Bormida. Among the advantages of this victory was the raising the blockade of Tortona. Suwarrow, following up his victory at St. Giovanni, had continued the pursuit of Macdonald beyond Piacenza, and hoped to have come up with him on the Tara, and, by rallying the corps of Klenau and Hohenzollern, surround him before he crossed the mountains; but, on receiving news of the victory of Moreau over general Bellegarde, he abandoned the pursuit of the army of Macdonald, which he confided to general Ott, and departed with the strongest part of his army to meet Moreau, and stop his progress. This countermarch was not less rapid than the preceding. It was whilst he was on his return that Suwarrow received news of the surrender of the citadel of Turin, against which batteries of 300 pieces of artillery had been erected (18th June), and plied so briskly, that in two days the fire of the besieged was extinguished, a great number of officers of artillery and cannoneers killed, and magazines destroyed. The commander Fiorella, demanded a capitulation, and obtained terms similar to those which had taken place at Milan and Ferrara. This unexpected event was, at this moment, of so much the greater importance to the allies, as the corps of general Kaim, now free, was already on foot to join the grand army. The efforts and activity in the defence, on the part of the French generals, who had not as yet received the reinforcements which they expected from France, engaged Suwarrow to press the rallying of his troops in every quarter. General Vukassowich had orders to bring nearer the main body the column of Russian auxiliary troops newly arrived on the Adige; in short, the army, which was slowly forming at Naples, and which had only a few insulated posts before it, occupied by Macdonald's rear-guard, was summoned to hasten, with all possible speed, to the north of Italy. Suwarrow's army, reinforced by the corps under general Haddick, amounted to 60,000 men. Moreau, after another engagement (25th June) with Bellegarde and Kaim, having an army but a third of the number of the allies, was obliged to fall back on Genoa. Thus, at the end of June, the allied forces were masters of almost the whole of Italy, and of nearly half of the Helvetic republic, when a sort of involuntary truce, or suspension of carnage took place on both sides the Alps, while both armies waited for reinforcements to begin anew their labours of death.

The waste of life in this short campaign of four months has been already stated as much more considerable than has ever been known in any modern war. It is extremely difficult to appreciate exactly the losses of each party, from the continued exaggeration of the respective reporters, who always aggrandise the loss of the enemy, and, in many cases, make incredible diminutions of their own. Italy has at all periods been the principal slaughter-house of mankind; but history furnishes no example where the contending parties have been so numerous and varied as the present. Germans, English, Turks, Russians, French, Greeks, Poles, and Italians; people of different languages, opposite customs, and most hostile faith, have met on this theatre. Interests the most adverse, and sentiments the most discordant, have joined in friendly alliance against one powerful object of dislike;

like; and these regions, where nature has been so lavish of her favours, and whose voluptuous inhabitants had been effeminated by the arts, became at once the theatre of desolation, and of all the mischiefs and horrors of war.

Though it be difficult to make a just valuation of the diminution of the human species in this long battle of so short a campaign, yet, in taking for a basis the losses which have been confirmed by the official reports of both parties, making due diminution even upon those verified statements, and enumerating in this loss only half the number of wounded who perished in hospitals, or who were rendered unfit for service, which is no exaggerated calculation, a probable and approximated valuation may be made of the losses sustained by the three principal actors in this tragical scene.

In the Voralberg, at the attack of Feldkirch, in the Grisons and the mountains of the Tyrol, it is calculated that there perished 22,500 men; on the Danube, 13,000; on the passage of the Rhine by the Austrians, and the taking of Zurich, 13,500; and in Italy, 64,000. In subtracting this number from the forces which the belligerent powers brought into the field at the opening of the campaign, stated to amount to 300 or 370,000 men, and estimating the losses occasioned by sickness, and prisoners unexchanged, it will be found that the armies were diminished, in the space of four months, more than half of their effective forces. It appears certain, at least, that from the opening of the campaign to this period, when scarcely half of the operations had been accomplished, nearly a third of the troops employed had been destroyed or mutilated; and, in this melancholy picture, no estimation is made of the expedition into Egypt, nor of the winter campaign, when the king of Naples invaded the Roman territory, and had taken refuge in Sicily after losing his own.

During these transactions in Italy, the combined fleets of France and Spain appeared in the Mediterranean. There were no objects more fitted to confound the designs and calculations of men, who pretend to rule the destinies of nations, than events so contradictory and distant from all probable calculation. The armies of the French republic had now met with reverses as constant and as great as had been their victories; the republic had lost not only its superiority of numbers, but the means of raising armies equal to those of its enemies. On the ocean, where no one would have conjectured that either France or Spain would have hazarded a squadron, where all the objects of war seemed bounded on the part of England to the easy observation of the wrecks of the fleets of three maritime powers, blocked up in ports, cut off from each other by nature, and as it were by the situation of England, a combined French and Spanish fleet appears on a sudden acting on the offensive, the strongest from its number and the rate of its vessels that had kept the sea since the re-union, when they menaced the English coast.

The English, at the beginning of the spring, had not more than twelve or fifteen vessels in the Mediterranean; all the rest of their forces were employed or destined for the coasts of the Ocean. There was not a port which was not closely blocked up; not a road on the eastern coast of the Channel which was

not guarded. In a state of such incontestible superiority, opinion is justly accounted a real and effective force; for it always magnifies the means of the stronger party, and depresses those of the weaker. No estimation was scarcely made of the wrecks of the Dutch navy, which had escaped admiral Duncan. The Brest fleet, weakened by partial losses, seemed so unprovided, that if any opportunity had offered for its leaving the port, it dared not run the hazard. It was, besides, constantly watched by lord Bridport with a fleet, the force of which was varied according to circumstances. In short all Europe was convinced, that the Spaniards beheld with no pain a state of things which reduced them to a kind of neutrality, or rather armistice; and which, without wanting in their engagements to their allies the French republic, left them the hope of preserving their marine, at the price however of the annihilation of their commerce, and of the interruption of their communications with their extensive colonies. The manœuvres of lord St. Vincent, the alternate diminution and complement of his fleet, served also to give credit to this opinion.

This inflexibility, nevertheless, to maintain a chain of cruisers around the shoals and rocks of Holland, France, and Spain, wore the English fleets. It is well known that these long cruises, with squadrons make a more rapid consumption of vessels, and weaken crews, than engagements and distant expeditions. The activity of the dock yards was, however, equal to these causes of destruction; and already, before the season for constantly keeping the sea approached, new squadrons were ready to reinforce or replace those which had held their station during a very rigorous winter.

The French, on their side, redoubled their exertions to put in motion what remained of their marine. They were anxious to appear again at sea; to attempt to disengage their allies; to try fortune once more, either by an engagement or an unexpected expedition. All the vessels at Brest that could keep the sea were put in commission; the difficulties of such an armament, and the empty state of the arsenals, so long deprived of the convoys of the north, led the English ministry into a mistake respecting the extent and progress of this armament. The minister of the French marine, Bruix, visited Brest, to hasten the preparations of the fleet; and the more anxiety and publicity which he showed in his operations, the less credit was given to the real forwardnes of the expedition. At the moment that it was judged impossible, he hoisted his flag as admiral on board the Ocean of 120 guns; three other vessels of 110, and twenty one of 74, completely armed, having their complements and troops for landing, eight frigates and two sloops, were ready for sailing. A favourable wind, which sent the English to sea, afforded him an opportunity of slipping out (26th of April), and of taking his route towards the Bay of Biscay.

The next day lord Bridport, who had only sixteen sail of the line, took his station again before Brest, when he perceived that the French fleet had escaped his vigilance. He beat about in vain to discover the track they had taken; the fog which had concealed from him their motions did not permit him to make longer researches, and he set sail for Ireland.

The

The news of the sailing of the Brest fleet reached Plymouth on the 4th day (30th of April). It was known that lord Bridport had taken care to cover the point which was most menaced, to ward off the most dangerous blow that could be struck at this period against England, and that he was then cruising off Cape Clear, on the south of Ireland. Never, in any of the preceding wars, was there such an opportunity for trying the resources of the English marine, and the perfection of the springs of this vast machine; a few days were sufficient to reinforce and almost double the stationary fleets already mentioned. The surprise caused by this bold manœuvre of the French made no change in the general plan. Fourteen sail of the line left Plymouth and Spithead immediately; the greater part were destined to reinforce lord Bridport, who, by the 10th of May, had 24 ships of the line and 6 frigates, and was a few days after joined by admiral Collingwood. A squadron of 5 sail of the line and 3 frigates, under the orders of vice-admiral Whitshed, was destined to reinforce the fleet of lord St. Vincent before Cadiz. Vice-admiral Dixon left Yarmouth with 5 sail of the line to reinforce the squadrons cruising off the mouth of the Texel; and lord Duncan took the command of this fleet, to which were added 5 Russian vessels, under the orders of Admiral Tate. The Russian admiral Mackaroff left Sheerness with 4 sail of the line for the Mediterranean. Within a fortnight, therefore, after the sailing of the Brest fleet, lord Bridport could rally at Cape Clear 30 sail of the line; lord Duncan blocked up in the Texel, with 22 sail, the Dutch fleet, being now augmented to 15 ships of war, and threatening to sail; and lord St. Vincent, with the reinforcements from admirals Whitshed and Mackaroff, had augmented his fleet to full 30 sail.

No certain news had as yet been received in England of the route and destination of the French fleet, when every measure was taken, that, wherever it had gone, it should meet on no tack with forces inferior, and, on the coast of Ireland, with forces more than equal. The French admiral, as if conscious of those dispositions, had attempted to strengthen his fleet with a squadron of 6 Spanish sail of the line from Ferrol; but this junction, so difficult at all times in the Bay of Biscay, did not take place, and the Spanish squadron of 5 ships of the line, 1 frigate, and 3000 troops, anchored at the Isle of Aix (7th of May). Amidst this prodigious display of English naval force, and indeed of almost all the means of navagation, the French fleet, which had been so well served by the winds to enter the Mediterranean, and which was considered as having taken shelter there, and, if not as distant, still more separated from the Spaniards than it was at Brest, risks the sea, appears on the coast of Italy, and, once again escaping the vigilance, and mocking the combinations of the English admirals, goes and joins at Carthagena the Spanish fleet, which admiral Massaredo had conducted thither under favour of the movement of that of Brest, which at that time fixed the principal attention of lord Keith. The winds having favoured this bold manœuvre, the two fleets sailed from Carthagena, passed the Straits, and had anchored in the Road of Cadiz before the English admiral had any certain knowledge of its movements, and of its union with the Spanish; and, by the time he

had recalled his cruisers, and taken advantage of the same wind to pass the Straits, the combined fleet, taking with it the French vessel the Censeur, and a few other Spanish vessels, left Cadiz, making a total of 47 sail of the line (21st of July), and a few days after anchored in Brest water.

This expedition had something in it bold and daring; but the expenditure of so many millions for a naval parade, when the same money otherwise expended might have saved both Switzerland and Italy, afforded another instance of the extravagance and folly of the French directory. No doubt had been entertained in France, on the first sailing of the fleet, that the dexterity which had been displayed in the onset would have ended in some splendid and decisive stroke, either the capture of lord St. Vincent's fleet before Cadiz, the destruction of the English and Russian ships before Palermo, or the affording such effective assistance to the army of Italy as should turn the tide of victory in favor of the French. None of these objects, all of which seemed easy of execution, were performed; and the French had the mortification of seeing their fleet return to Brest idle as it went, bringing indeed with it the Spanish fleet, to the no less mortification of the English, who, with double the number, might have been supposed able to have prevented both the junction and the arrival.

CHAP. XI.

Situation of the domestic Affairs of the Republic. Projects of overthrowing the Directory. Address from the Citizens of Chamberry to the Council, denouncing Scherer. Vote of the Council to send it to the Directory. Nomination of Scherer by the Directory to be Inspector-general of Holland. Motion for the Liberty of the Press. Remonstrating Message of the Council to the Directory. Address from the Council of Five Hundred to the People. Discussion of the Liberty of the Press. Conspiracy against the Directory. Means of carrying it into Execution. Permanence of the Council. Dismission of the Director Treilhard. Election of Gohier. Negotiation for the Resignation of two other Directors. Success of the Negotiation. Characters of the Directors who resigned. Reflections on the pusillanimous Forbearance of the Legislative Body. Choice of New Directors. Denunciations against the Minister of Police and Scherer. Alarming Message from the Directory on the State of the Republic. Law for embodying the whole of the Conscription, and raising an Hundred Millions. State of the allied Forces. State of the Armies of the Republic. Projects of the French Government to swell the Armies. Reflections. Macdonald's Retreat into Tuscany. Further retreat to Genoa. Evacuation of Leghorn and Re-establishment of the former Government of Tuscany. Capture of Alessandria by the Allies. Military position of Moreau. Resurrection of the Jacobin Society at the Manège. Further Denunciations against the Ex-Directors. Decree of Accusation against them by the Councils. Resignation of the Ministers under the late Executive Government. Projects of the Jacobins. Hostilities

Hostilities against Sieyes. Propositions made at the Manège. Denunciation of the Plan of Jacobin Organization. Expulsion of Jacobins from the Manège. Law on Hostages. Effects of that Law. Complaints of the Directory against the Licentiousness of the Press. Operations of the allied Army in Piedmont. Attack on Mantua. Capitulation of Mantua. Observations on the Surrender of Mantua. Positions of the French and allied Armies in Switzerland. Operations of the French and allied Armies on the Rhine.

AFTER this detail of a campaign, so full of great events, and so fatal to the French, we return from the history of the external affairs of the republic to a survey of its domestic situation, which, at the period to which we have brought its armies, seeking refuge in the mountains, from the pursuits of the conquerors, had undergone a considerable change. The late elections had brought no accession of strength to the directory, notwithsanding the unconstitutional efforts it had displayed, in attempting to influence the electors, while the strength of their opponents in the council was considerably increased by the daily news from the armies of further defeat and ruin. No member stood yet forward to denounce openly and undisguised those assassins of their country: the horror which they had inspired, and the corruption which they had disseminated, having bounded the opposition to occasional harangues in the senate, and indirect attacks from the press. The overthrow of the directory had long been meditated; but the mode of execution, without incurring personal danger, had not yet presented itself; and no man in the councils chose to be the first to mount the breach. The directory were aware of the extent of the hostilities directed against them; nor were the leading members of the opposition ignorant, that their names had been for some time consigned on the list of directorial proscription. To delay the attack, however, was to insure the ruin of the country; but as it was deemed the safest mode to make the first approaches under the cover and sanction of the people, an address to the two councils and the directory, presented from the citizens of Chambery, was made the signal of attack. In this address, the principal complaints against the directory were couched under questions, such as the councils, if they could freely have emitted their votes, would have formed into articles of accusation. The citizens of that frontier commune, calling themselves the advanced sentinels of the Alps, demanded why the conscripts were compelled to return back to their homes from the absolute want of subsistence, and of every means of equipment? why the enormous dilapidations of the military administrations remained unpunished? why the ignorant Scherer, signalised as a traitor by Hoche, remained so long minister of war? and by what fatality this successor of Bonaparte, as general, was suffered to consummate the ruin of the armies? why so many names, dear to victory, were replaced by others unknown, or famous only for their crimes? why the influence of that disorganising spirit, which had hovered over the armies ever since the congress of Radstadt, still dominated on the soil of the republic, besieging authority, continually creating phantom to frighten it, representing

the sincerest friends of the republic as its most cruel enemies, and thus digging under its feet an abyss to swallow it up together with liberty? Hence, say they, destitutions are reduced into a system, particularly at the eve of elections; hence persons holding themselves forth as clothed with extensive powers, attempting to direct the choice of the people, disavowing the principle of its sovereignty; hence the destruction of public spirit; hence the liberty of the press, that first bulwark of republics, now become only a name; and he who dares utter truths, confounded with the disturber of the public peace—the same fate attending both.

The address stated that there were other sources of discontent, but that for the present they confined themselves to pointing out the leading causes; but it may be observed, that the citizens of Chamberry, in asserting these truths, had only skimmed lightly over the dark abominations and traitorous corruption which pervaded almost every office of the state, and, above all, the war-department. It was sufficient, however, for the council, who had now matter to work on, and who therefore ordered the address to be printed, and sent to a commission and to the directory. The directory took no other notice of the address, than to name the person complained of as a traitor to the place of inspector-general of the French troops in Holland. The next attack was made in the council (28th May), by a motion of order on the liberty of the press. The liberty of the press, it must be remembered, had been put under the special protection of the directory, by an article of the law of the famous 19th of Fructidor; the council had now discovered, and declared, that the use which had been made of this protection was the passing ruinous contracts, the commission of enormous dilapidations, which the agents of those in power, under the shelter of laws which buried vengeance against the denunciator, transacted in security and silence. The liberty of the press was considered by the directory as so alarming an innovation on their prerogatives, that every engine was set at work to prove that the liberty of the press had done much mischief, and could not fail of doing much more, if it were permitted at the present moment. The partisans for the liberty of the press gained the ascendency, and the council, ordering the motion and introductory speech to be printed, adjourned the discussion for ten days. In the meanwhile, several commissions had been employed on various objects of inquiry into the state of the republic: and as the directory had suffered them to work on, without designing to notice their operations, it was agreed, on the motion of Boulay de la Meurthe, in a committee of the whole council, to send a message to the directory. In this message, after recapitulating briefly what were the respective duties of the executive and legislative powers, they represented, that the directory were placed as the advanced post, the sentinel of the state, to watch the designs and motions of other nations, and, that when they perceived that the existence or just rights of the nation were endangered, although they might provisionally act alone for its safety, yet they were bound without delay to give notice to the legislative body, who would then decree the measures best suited for the preservation and dignity of the people they represented. They observed, that every thing indicated

dicated that the safety of the nation was threatened from without, and that public peace was endangered within; that having to support an extensive war, it was but six months since the arms of the republic were every-where victorious; but that it appeared the enemy at present had gained advantages; that the public voice indicated, that powers which had hitherto taken no part, at least openly, in the war, were now in a state not merely of threatening, but of real hostility; that in such circumstances, the council expected such communications as were prescribed by the constitution, but which had never been made; that public notoriety likewise informed them, that disturbances and even insurrection existed in many parts of the republic, of which the same notoriety also indicated several causes; that before they entered further into the subject, they thought fit to address the directory, to be informed how far their knowledge extended, both as to the causes of these evils, and the means of preventing them; that in that state of things, a longer silence on their part would be alarming both to the people and the legislative body, and therefore they invited the directory to give them, without delay, information with respect to the double object of their solicitude.

With this message to the directory was voted an address to the French on the motion of Français de Nantes, who was one of the most prominent in the opposition to the measures of the executive power. This address was manly and energetic, and, though couched in terms sufficiently respectful, was considered as an appeal to the people against the usurpation and despotism of the executive power. The discussion on the liberty of the press was opened at the time of the adjournment, and gave occasion for the speakers to declare other sentiments than were required by an abstract question of this nature. The directory saw the storm gathering more thick around their heads; but as the tide of public opinion had set strong in against them, any attempt to stem the torrent by too open a display of force, would, as they well perceived, only hasten their ruin. The opposition party had now been greatly strengthened by the arrival of Sieyes, whose dispositions against his colleagues, notwithstanding his known character for dissimulation, were not equivocal. A conspiracy was now materially and substantially formed, the object of which was nothing less than the subversion of three members of the directory, Merlin, Reveillière Lepeaux (the infatuated chieftain of the Theophilanthropists), and Treilhard; for Barras, equally corrupt, but less despotic than the others, had averted the storm by signifying to the opposition that he was accordant to their views. The leaders of this opposition consisted of nine members, the chief of which were Lucien Bonaparte, Français de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meurthe. These men were marked by the directory, who still held the reins of power with sufficient force, if any favourable opportunity occurred, to sacrifice them to their resentment; and this was so well known to them, that, unless when their presence in the council gave them that plenary inviolability which belonged to their character as representatives, they did not think it consistent with their personal safety to make their own houses their place of residence.

In proportion as their opposition became firm, their partisans increased;

creased; and, as open hostilities were in some sort declared, each party endeavoured to strengthen itself by such means as would ensure success, if recourse to strength should be found necessary. The directory had its guard and the command of the troops around Paris; the whole of these the opposition had gained over to its party, and having organised a considerable force, of which the discontented officers of every rank at Paris formed an important part, they made themselves secret masters of the Military School, and of all the apparatus of war, which the directory might otherwise have brought against them. Thus entrenched, they became more bold in their attacks; but it being wiser and more dignified to carry their purposes into execution by a legal method, than to exhibit the scandal of a revolution by force of arms, they resolved on making the council the instrument of their designs. Accordingly, on pretence of not receiving any answer to their message, the council declared itself permanent, and formed a special commission of eleven members, clothed with very extensive powers (15th of June), which was little less than the signal of taking the government into their own hands.

A delay of three days to answer the message was demanded by the directory who found that not only the season of contempt, but even that of resistance, was past. The council seeing the genius of the executive power bending so easily under their own, began to meditate other enterprises than waiting for answers or apologies; and having already two members of the directory on their side, thought the victory would be more easily accomplished if they could gain the majority of that body. The three other directors, however, stood firm to their prerogatives, entrenched themselves behind the constitution and the laws, which, though they had made no scruple to violate, they considered as a bulwark still tenable; but on this rock they split. The 13th article of the constitution stated that "no member of the legislative body can be elected member of the directory, either during the time of his legislative functions, or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions." Now it was discovered that Treilhard had quitted his legislative functions on the 30th of Floreal, in the fifth year of the republic, and had been named director the 26th of Floreal in the following year; this violation had hitherto remained unknown or unnoticed, and indeed its discovery would have imported but little, had an earlier reclamation been made; but in the present circumstances the voice of a single director was of importance, as his exclusion gave the opposition the majority in the executive power which they desired. Treilhard instantly acknowledged the violation, and obeyed the mandate. This man's directorial conduct had been marked by no personal act worthy of praise or blame, except that of ordering priests of almost every description, whether nonjuring or constitutional, into banishment, and also that of being a passive sharer in the crimes of his colleagues; he had sufficient understanding to discover that he was not born to be the ruler of the state, and therefore was satisfied, except in the case of the clergy, when he wrote himself at the back of the reports, "Bon à deporter," to lend his name to others more presumptuous or ambitious of power. The council immediately proceeded

proceeded to the election of another director, to fill up the vacancy: their choice fell on Gohier, who was president of the tribunal of revision, and who had, during some part of the revolution, exercised the office of minister of justice.

The council were now in possession of the absolute majority; but having learned, or pretended that the two other obnoxious members of the directory, Merlin and Lepeaux, had been plotting to regain their empire, by the use of forceable means, they worked themselves up to the resolution of achieving what they had begun, and of not dissolving their permanence till they had disembarrassed the republic of those unworthy rulers. Nor were the council led to indulge more lenient dispositions by the answer to their message, which was now returned by the directory, accusing them as the causes of all the evils which had befallen the republic, by with-holding the necessary supplies. The constitution, however, had made no provision for the exclusion of a director from his office, except that of arraigning him before the high court of judicature. This project was suggested; but as in the present ferment of the public mind such a procedure would have been attended with great inconveniences, it was agreed that a voluntary resignation, if it could be obtained, would be more accordant with the public interest than any act of violence, however just or merited. Accordingly several representatives, in their private capacity, had interviews (29th Praireal) with those directors, but wasted their talents of persuasion in vain. The directors found that a decree of accusation was about to be hurled against them, and wisely concluded, that it were better to meet it in their official capacity than to undergo the same disgrace deprived of the importance derived from that station. The following morning the same instances, and the same refusal, were repeated. Hitherto no official notice had been given to the directors of the intentions of the council, who, finding more hesitation on their part than they had expected, agreed to send a deputation, as individuals, to make the same requisition as had been made the preceding day by some of their colleagues. The deputation informed the two directors of the object of their mission, and invited them to give in their resignation, to which they at first replied, as before, That they were resolved to abide, as directors, the consequences of the act of accusation. Further instances, however, on the part of the deputation amongst which, that of promising them that no act of accusation against them should take place, if they submitted peaceably to the will of the councils, at length determined them, and the deputation returned to prevent any further discussion on this act, carrying with them the compromise in the resignation of the two directors.

The executive directory now consisted of Barras, Sieyes, and Gohier. The former, as has been observed, having made his previous submissions, was employed by the opposition as an instrument in the subversion of the rest; his neutrality at least was of considerable service. Barras in days of revolution had been noted for his courage. He mounted his horse the 9th of Thermidor, the 13th of Vendemiaire, and the 18th of Fructidor; his colleagues pressed him to mount at the present crisis, but Barras peremptorily refused, alleging that his horse was foundered. The two directors

directors left the Luxembourg, covered with the execrations of the people. From Merlin much had not been expected; he had been known through the revolution to have been alternately a tyrant and the valet of tyranny; he was the reporter of the law against the suspected, which sent the people in crowds to the scaffold; and, in the latter part of his administration as director, he did not belie the reputations he had already gained by that infamous table of contents for proscription. To Merlin was specially committed the nomination of administrators, judges, and commissaries, throughout the republic; for though the two former were constitutionally named by the people, these elections were regularly broken, whenever the persons chosen were not initiated in Merlin's revolutionary principles. The power given by the laws of the 19th of Fructidor, fifth year, had been carried by this director to an extent, mocking all ideas of common sense, or even revolutionary justice. His ruling passion was the love of domination, and it was the complaisance with which his colleagues left him this indulgence that occasioned his own ruin: the compromise was fatal to every party; for while Merlin was permitted, without restraint, to scatter his mandates of destitution, arrest, and banishment, Rewbell and Barras were left to plunder the state, and Reveillière Lepaux to persecute the catholic religion, and make and re-make constitutions for Cisalpine, Roman, and Luccan republics This last director, on the first nomination of the executive power, had been chosen as a counterbalance to the violent and jacobinical sentiments of his colleagues. He supported by no means the reputation which had been lent him; but, on the contrary, became more violent and intolerant than they. The greater part of his time had been employed in composing homilies for the Theophilanthropists, in hunting out non-juring priests, and herbalising in the National Gardens. Nature had not been liberal to him either in physical or mental gifts; the structure of his body and mind were not unlike both,—distorted, mean, and insignificant. What he wanted in energy was made up by virulence. Merlin was known to have a taste for despotism, and therefore no one was disappointed. Reveillière became the ape of tyranny, because he would not be behind hand with his prototype, of whom he always remained an humble imitator.

But in holding up to public indignation those men whose passions had made France swarm with factions, from the arbitrary measures which they had taken to suppress them, and who, partly from ignorance, and partly from treason, had caused the ruin of the allied republics which the valour of the French armies had won, it would be uncandid not to acknowledge that the circumstances under which they acted were often dangerous, and almost always difficult. The legislative body, it must be owned, if it be not a sharer in their guilt, is at least deserving of censure, for the complacency with which it beheld so long and unrestrained an abuse of power; nor will its conduct admit of excuse, in not having annulled the extraordinary power it had conferred at the epocha of the revolution of Fructidor, and which had been applied to such unworthy purposes.

The first business of the councils, on the resignation of these directors,

ters, which was called by the pompous name of the Revolution of the 30th Prairal, was to fill up the vacancies of the directory. Amongst a numerous list of candidates offered to their choice, their nomination fell on Roger Ducos and Moulins; the one an ex-legislator, but little known, and the other a general of terrorist creation, raised from the lower classes of the people to that dignity. It may seem extraordinary, that, after having suffered so much from corruption and folly, the councils should have fixed their choice on men who had given no proofs of patriotism or virtue, whose talents were inferior even to those whom they had rejected, and who had no experience whatever in public affairs. The choice of these insignificant men was a sort of compromise with the violent party in the council, or rather a cession to their will by the leaders of opposition, who, judging that knowledge is power, imagined that the wisdom of Sieyes would be the guide of the rest; while the violent party courted their influence in the new directory less by the size of their understanding than by the number of heads. Many of that party had concurred in the nomination of Sieyes, not from any love towards him, but from hatred to his colleagues; and it was that principle which led them to join with the moderate party in the subversion, with the secret hope, that, when that event took place, they should have no difficulty in attaining the guidance of the revolutionary machine.

The overthrow of the directors was the signal of denunciation which fell fast on the heads of their agents. Duval, the minister of police, was signalised as having been the creature of Merlin; and several acts of an arbitrary nature were cited against his administration. He withdrew from his functions. But on the head of Scherer, the ex-minister of war, and ex-general of the army of Italy, the storm of public indignation raged with unbounded fury. The table of the council was heaped with piles of accusation against him, and he was instantly denounced by the legislature to the directory: but his accomplices in power were too numerous to lead him to apprehend punishment. He dared for a long time the menace of public vengeance; and withdrew rather from the fear of popular effervescence, than dread of the law. The government, when they heard that he was fled, sent to arrest him. As every tongue was free during this political Saturnalia, every truth was spoken, and often more than the truth: but the whole of these accusations were summed up in the report made by Français de Nantes, in the name of the commission of eleven, on the third day after this revolution, which presented a strong and well-drawn picture of the late directorial government. The same commission proposed to the council the project of a law, the various articles of which were a recapitulation of principles which seemed to have been forgotten, corrections of abuses of power, and the means of preventing such from taking place in future.

But while the council were debating on articles to guard against the abuses of power, the new directory were employed in probing the wounds, and prescribing remedies for the diseases of the republic. The result of their discoveries was sent to the council (26th June), in a message which, contrary to the usual mode, and notwithstanding the

the reclamations of divers members, was ordered to be read in public. The message contained a number of alarming truths. It stated, among other instances of the immediate danger of the country, the removal of honest and wise men from almost every public function, which were filled by men ignorant, or hostile to the republic; every avenue to justice stopped up, or open only to corruption or violence; the interior of the republic in a state of disorganisation, a prey to ruffians, whose crimes remained unpunished; the armies defeated, and, for want of recruits, almost in a state of dissolution; the public treasury, from having been the private bank of intrigue and dilapidation, completely emptied; the ordinary supplies insufficient for the immense exigencies of the state; and extraordinary means to be resorted to, in order to keep the political machine in motion. The directory, after descanting on those evils, and the urgency of repairing them, invited the council to adopt such speedy and effective measures as should ward off from the political body the dissolution with which it was threatened.

The council sent the message to the commission of eleven, who had already prepared what appeared to them the most effective and instant remedies, and who proposed a law to the assembly, the principal articles of which were the levy of the conscripts of every class from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five, who were immediately to be put into active service,—and a loan of an hundred millions, to be raised on the richer classes of citizens, the mortgage of which should be the national domains yet unsold. These propositions were followed by another address to the French nation, inviting them to co-operate with their representatives in the work of national regeneration; and recapitulating the labours of the council for the last three weeks; after which the commission of eleven, which had begun to create jealousy and unnecessary disquietude, proposed its own dissolution, which was followed by that of raising the permanence of the assembly, after which the business of the state went on in the usual mode.

The late directory, when they declared war in the month of March, had never thought it possible that the first reverses, caused by a presumptuous ignorance of the real forces of the republic, would draw on, in the space of three months, the loss of all its conquests in Italy; and that the whole chain of the Great Alps, newly added to the natural defence of the frontier of France, would only weaken the whole of this defence, and engage the efforts of the coalesced armies towards those parts of this same frontier, where the danger would be the greatest.

The two imperial courts, admitting that they had already fixed the basis of their plans of operations, had not foreseen that so vast a field would have been so soon given up to them; or that, when the French generals and French troops were unable to keep it, that they would have defended themselves with so much address and courage, and would have sought to prolong a struggle with forces so unequal. Neither of the parties had calculated their means or resources, in so unexampled a waste of men, horses, and stores of every kind. The epocha of the revolution of the 30th Prairal was precisely that of the last engagements in Italy, which were succeeded by that kind of

of forced armistice already mentioned. The allies might apparently have taken some advantage of this commotion, and the moment of a change so considerable might have been more favourable than any other to their undertakings; but they were in no situation at that time to act offensively on any point. Excepting the armies at the siege of Mantua, and those of the archduke and Massena, who were watching each other reciprocally at the distance of a canon-shot, all the rest of the French and allied armies were in motion. Suwarrow had detached from his main army a division in pursuit of Macdonald: united to the divisions of generals Bellegarde and Kaim, after the taking of Turin, this army formed a total of about 50,000 men between Tortona and Alessandria, which they were now blocking up. About 20,000 men were employed near Coni and in the upper valleys. The division under general Haddick at Milan was 12,000 The different divisions, when returned from Tuscany and Venice, made an addition of 25,000: the new auxiliary Russian corps might be estimated at 8,000; and, when Mantua fell, 25,000 troops, reinforced by those of the Tyrol, would form another reinforcement; so that although these troops were thus dispersed and unprepared for any grand combination, nevertheless, about the middle of August, Suwarrow counted on 140,000 men, independent of Sardinian and Cisalpine troops, the latter of whom had imitated the defection of Lahotze, and followed him to the siege of Ancona, not comprehending the assistance which might be given by English and Neapolitans.

The archduke had under his orders, on the nearest calculation, not comprehending Suwarrow's army of observation between the Danube and the frontier of the Tyrol, about 90,000 men; Srzarray's army was about 20,000; the Russian forces on their march and in depôt amounted to about 45,000: so that the total of the allied forces, ready to act against the frontiers of France, amounted at least to 300 000. The English and Russian expedition, then preparing against Holland, was estimated at 40,000 men.

Such were the dangers which threatened the republic, and which were neither palliated nor concealed by the new government, and which the councils were equally eager to make public, exaggerating even, and as it were triumphing in the evil,—seeking in its excess motives for the violence of the remedies which they had already, and were still going to prepare. The French armies had been dreadfully thinned since the opening of the campaign. Moreau's army in the Ligurian republic, joined to the wrecks of Macdonald's, was reduced to about 40 or 45,000; the body of troops which occupied the places, entrenchments, and passages of the frontiers, did not amount to more than 25,000; Massena's army was 60,000; the garrisons of Strasbourg, Mentz, and the different corps along the Rhine, were about 30,000; Brune had from 8 to 10,000 men in Holland: the troops at Brest, and in the western departments, amounted to 25,000: so that the whole of the forces of the republic, in the month of July, did not exceed 195,000, not comprehending the troops of the Batavian republic, which might amount to 20,000 men.

It was a calculation similar to this which determined the speedy levy

levy of every class of the conscription, and the resolution of raising the army of the republic to the number of 500 000 men. This terrible mode of recruiting had succeeded in a situation as extreme as the present, and could only be attempted by similar means, and in the agitation of a great crisis; but it was a daring experiment, particularly at this period, the result of which was fitted to confound all the calculations of political œconomy, to make an army of 250,000 men spring up on a sudden in the territory of France, after eight campaigns, and a waste of more than a million of men in the prime of life, which new host was to be at once equipped, armed, and fit for action.

The formation of battalions in the departments was also resorted to. The calculations, which were officially presented, stated the whole of the forces which the republic would have in its pay, in the course of three months, at upwards of 550,000 men. To render these forces effective without, and complete this rising in a mass, it was decreed to form anew the national guard, the moveable columns of which were to be employed in home service, and to reinforce the garrisons of frontier places. Such were the efforts made use of by the republic to balance the continually-increasing forces of the coalition; but a wide interval existed between the decree of government and the execution of these formidable projects. The consideration of this estimate, this kind of general review, leads insensibly to the melancholy reflection, that if the army of Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria, and that of the Turks, be added to the foregoing enumeration of the French and allied forces,—if we reckon the troops embarked, and the crews of more than 400 ships of the line and frigates armed on the Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic, it will be found, that at the close of this century, called the age of knowledge, at the end of this golden age, promised us by a vain philosophy, more than *twelve hundred thousand combatants* are engaged in the work of death. The study of history, the deepest researches into the nature of man and of society, the principles of government, the cultivation and progress of the arts, all the inventions of genius, all the discoveries of science, all the perfected instruments of civilisation, are, in the hands of the men of the 19th century, machines of war, and instruments of desolation. It would seem as if men had laboured so long in multiplying their communications only to facilitate the art of destruction, and to add new furies to the horrors of war.

We left Macdonald making his retreat into Tuscany, after the bloody battle near Piacenza, where 20,000 men had been killed and wounded. This retreat would have been extremely difficult, if Suwarrow had continued to press upon his rear-guard with the whole of his forces, and had turned them on the side of the mountains, whilst generals Klenau and Hohenzollern, who had rallied between Reggio and Modena, had attacked it in the flank, and retarded their march; but the success of the diversion, operated by Moreau, had recalled Suwarrow and the main of his army towards Alessandria, Macdonald retreated into Tuscany, marching in two columns; one by the road of Modena, which he surprised (23d June), and the other by Tolnovia. The right column drew re-

Inforcements into Bologna, which, garrisoned chiefly by Cisalpines, continued to make a most spirited defence, and also into Fort Urbin; and whilst Moreau supported at Bobbio the division of general Lapoype, in order to protect the left of the army of Naples, Macdonald resumed his former positions at Lucca and Pistoia (27th June).

General Victor's division, after ascending the valley of the Taro, occupied, together with that of Lapoype, the passes of the Apennines; from that moment the communication by the route called La Corniche, by Sarzana, La Spezza, and Sestri di Levante, were covered, and Macdonald had nothing to fear lest this last outlet should be shut against him.

The Austrian generals, Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern, soon perceived that the rear-guards which Macdonald had left behind him were very weak; those they pursued, and forced them to evacuate Modena and Bologna. Fort Urbin surrendered to general Ott at the end of a fortnight. Macdonald was unable to make any longer resistance to the imperial forces beyond the Apennines; the desertion of the Cisalpine general Lahoize having weakened his right, and the progress of the insurgents of Arezzo exciting the people of Florence, he determined to finish his retreat, and evacuate Tuscany altogether. Though it was more than uncertain whether the artillery and baggage could be transported by sea from Leghorn to Genoa, on account of the English squadrons cruising in before those ports, Macdonald did not hesitate in attempting this desparate measure, and from the first days of July he sent off his column of artillery with a strong escort, which was destined to reinforce the garrison of Leghorn. He left Florence (8th July), broke up his camp at Pistoia, marched upon Lucca with the rest of his army, reduced to about 13 or 14,000 men, and began to file off by Sarzana. This march was slow and painful, and it was only towards the end of the month that the head of the column reached the environs of Genoa.

Tuscany was immediately reinforced by the allies, united to the insurgents of Arezzo, the mass of which was increased, so as to form a corps of 30,000 men, under the orders of general Ingheranni. The advanced guard of general Klenau entered Florence (8th July), when the people rose, and, destroying evry mark of the domination of the republic, re-established the ensigns of the old government.

The garrison of Leghorn, and that of Porto Ferrajo, formed the last rear-guard, and retreated also by Sarzana. General D'Argubet, who had made preparations for a vigorous defence, and reinforced the garrisons of Fort d'Antigano, threatened by the insurgents, received orders (16th July) to evacuate Leghorn. He concluded a capitulation with the old governor, the Tuscan general Lavillette, by which he secured the retreat of the garrison of Porto Ferrajo and the free return of the sick. The evacuation was executed with order and fidelity, and the old administration was re established the same day; the last French troops evacuated Pisa and Lucca, and general Macdonald, forced to leave behind him or destroy his heavy artillery, his camp-equipage, and the remains of the rich spoils of Italy, finished his retreat. This army, which, after its re-union to the di-

visions which occupied Tuscany a month before, amounted to upwards of 30,000 men, was now reduced to nearly 18,000; but not a corps of this army, surrounded by superior forces, and whose total ruin seemed inevitable, had been forced to lay down its arms, neither on the field, nor in any post, unless it were in a few forts, such as those of Urbin, Sienna, and St. Leon, which surrendered only when their defence would be of no further utility.

Suwarrow, who had joined general Bellegarde between Tortona and Alessandria (26th June), called in the corps of generals Kaim and Vukassovich, and marched upon Moreau, who, having fallen back on Novi, soon evacuated this post, and retreated by the Bochetta into the Ligurian territory.

Thus terminated that series of marches, manœuvres, and engagements, which, for six weeks past, had kept the troops on both sides in continued action. Moreau employed himself in reinforcing his posts at the outlets of the valleys, and had taken position at Sarena to secure his rear and his communications with Nice, waiting the arrival of the wrecks of Macdonald's army in this vast entrenched camp, too extensive, without doubt, for an army of 40,000 men, who were to occupy the opposite extremities on the side of Tuscany and France, but too circumscribed, from the want of resources and the difficulty of communications.

The main of the allied army encamped on the river at the entrance of the Valley of Orbe, which position covered the attacks of Tortona and Alessandria: general Bellegarde, who, after the irruption of general Moreau, had been unable to carry on the blockade, and had limited himself to covering that of Alessandria, was charged with the regular siege of this last place, which Suwarrow hastened in proportion to its importance for the rest of his operations. The first parallel being finished (14th July), and twenty-one batteries ready to open, the French commander, Gardanne, was summoned, and refused to surrender. The works were continued with unremitting ardour, and the fortress was heated by the constant play of 210 pieces of cannon: six days after, not only was the second parallel finished, but the covered way was taken, lodgments made, saps carried to the foot of the ramparts, and batteries erected to open a breach. General Gardanne, thinking it impossible to sustain an assault, proposed a capitulation, which was accepted (22d July), and the garrison, consisting of 2,600 men, remained prisoners of war. Suwarrow fixed his headquarters in Alessandria, the conquest of which had cost him dear, in the loss of general de Chasteler, the chief of his staff, and whose activity and talents had been so eminently useful to him during the siege of Alessandria. Moreau, who had not sufficient forces to attempt the relief of the place, to complete his junction, extended his line to the frontier of France, without abandoning either Genoa or the Bochetta (the defence of which he augmented), nor the other passes of the Apennines; he fixed his head quarters at Cornegliano, and took there positions and posts at Ultri, Savona, Vado, and Loano, which had been occupied by the French army in 1796. General Colli had been detached with a small corps, and occupied an entrenched position between the Bochetta and Serra Valle: after having made

made those dispositions which could alone secure the possession of the Ligurian territory and the successive arrival of reinforcements, Moreau resigned the command of the army to general Joubert.

The victory of the moderate party over the late directory and their adherents was complete, for every class had contributed to their subversion, as every class had suffered, in a greater or less degree, the effects of their nefarious administration. One faction had, however, been the principal object of their watchfulness, if not of their persecution, which was that of the jacobins, whose energies they dreaded more than all the rhetoric and denunciation of the more moderate and enlightened party. The successors of those determined foes to a just and rational liberty had not been inactive during this struggle; they had, indeed, as many at least of this caste as were in the council, contributed greatly towards the victory, and were, therefore, determined to share in the triumph. But as the instant formation of a government prevented the plenary execution of their projects, they began their operations with opening popular societies, the great engine of revolutions, where, by the discussion of political questions, they hoped, if not to overthrow the government, at least so to awe it, that the power and authority of the state should fall virtually into their hands. The committee of inspectors of the council of the elders had had the weakness to grant them a place of meeting within the district of that council; this was the Manège, where the constituent, legislative, and conventional assemblies, had formerly held their sittings. This society was made up principally of men covered with revolutionary crimes, a considerable number of representatives, who were in hopes of profiting by their future influence, and others among the multitude, whose opinions change with every party, and who always side with the strongest. It is said also that a few well-intentioned men had mingled themselves in the society, to direct its operations, or neutralise such as tended to mischief and anarchy.

The formation of this society was attended with much disquietude and some disturbance. Its inauguration had been made by the planting trees of liberty and the singing of patriotic songs. It was amidst this ceremony that the Parisians, who had smarted too severely, not to hold in horror every thing that bore any relation to jacobinism, mingled in the festival and committed various acts of disorder. The police of the legislative body being under the direction of the military guard, the soldiers interfered between the people and the members of the society, and precautions having been taken to assure the public peace, the society was for a time left in tranquil possession of its place of sitting.

The conduct of the late members of the executive government had opened a wide field for discussion, and no theme could be more popular than that which the society took in the provocation of the punishment of traitors and dilapidators. Numerous addresses, from various quarters, covered the tables of the councils, either demanding the trial of the ex-directors and their agents, or denouncing specific acts of plunder and dilapidation, amongst which those of the ex-minister of war always found a distinguished place. Some of those acts bore so near a resemblance to trea-

son, that the true motive, the rage for plunder, was overlooked; such, for instance, was the sale of one hundred and fifty thousand musquets fit for service, of tents, new clothing, knapsacks, cartridge-boxes (by order of Scherer), at so low a price as excited, according to the citizens of Rochelle, where the sale took place, astonishment amongst even the plunderers themselves. Whatever might have been the opinion of the councils respecting the policy of agitating the question, it was impossible at the moment to resist the torrent of denunciation. A motion had been made in the council to send the addresses, containing charges against the late executive government, to a commission of five members; and it was on the report of that commission, and after a discussion of two days in secret committee, that the council of five hundred voted that there was room for accusation against the four ex-directors, Merlin, Reveillière Lepaux, Rewbell, and Treilhard, and that they should be proceeded against according to the forms of the constitution. The greater part of the ministers had already been dismissed or given in their resignation. Duval, the minister of police, had been replaced definitively by Fouché de Nantes, a repentant terrorist, whose political career had been deeply stained with revolutionary crimes. The minister of the interior, François de Neufchâteau, ceded his place to Quinette. François had acted various subaltern parts in the course of the revolution. Imprisoned, during the reign of terror, for the publication of an aristocratical comedy, he purchased his safety, if not his liberty, by making terrorist ballads for revolutionary committees. He supplanted Benezech, previous to the 18th of Fructidor, as minister of the interior, and on the revolution of that day took the place of the proscribed and upright Barthelemy. In connivance with his colleagues, at the season of change, the lot was made to fall on him, and the reward of his submission was his re-nomination to the ministry of the interior, of which the ignorant Letournaux had been the lieutenant. Having extended his complaisance towards the directory further than he was warranted, at the epocha of the election, in influencing, by a circular letter, the choice of the electors, he became obnoxious to the violent party, and being a man of ordinary talents with respect to administration, and of little weight, his voluntary secession blunted the edge of resentment. Talleyrand, the minister of foreign affairs, gave in his dismission, which was not accepted till it had been reiterated, when he was replaced by Rheinart, the late minister at Florence.

The minister of finance, Ramel, had long weathered the storm of public denunciation. No minister had been made more adroit in plundering; his place was an inexhaustible mine; and as he had had the sagacity to let such others explore it as could secure him the tenancy, he had hitherto bid defiance to every menace. But the day of dismissal, if not of account, was come; his ministry was entrusted to Robert Lindet. Bernadotte succeeded, as minister of war, to Milet Mureau, a man of whom little is known, either of good or evil; and Bourdon, a person equally insignificant, occupied the ministry of the marine, which had been held by admiral Bruix: Cambaceres took the place of Lambrech, as minister of justice.

But

But this general change of men and measures did not accomplish the plan of sturdy regeneration which the exclusive patriots meditated, and to which they had hoped to render the events of the 30th Prairéal subservient. They had succeeded in forcing certain of the ministers to resign their places, but they despaired of final success while Sieyes remained at the head of power. Sieyes' aversion to jacobinism and the partisans of that system (from whatever motive it arose) had raised a swarm of enemies around him. He was the continued theme of their animadversion, and a regular battery of daily calumnies was erected by the grand committee of jacobins against him, of which the principal points of attack were his usurpation of the place of director, to which, according to them, he had not been more constitutionally elected than the ex-director Treilhard, his attachment to royalty, in evidence of which was cited his famous declaration, at the time of the flight of the king to Varennes, of his preference of a pyramid to a platform in the government, and his secret negotiations with the court of Berlin, the leading object of his long mission, in order to place the French republic under its protection, and to set a Brunswick or D'Orleans on the throne. Amidst those attacks, of which some of the authors were members of the council of five hundred, Sieyes preserved a dignified silence, watching, however, the occasion, when the vehemence of the party would push them to such imprudence as should give him the means of ample retaliation and of avenging his personal injuries, whilst he seemed only to punish the violation of the law. The society of the Manège was the head-quarters of those exclusive patriots; and, lest the public should be deceived in the title which it should apply to the society, a member of their body, a representative of the people, stated explicitly at their tribune that their name was jacobin, their society that of the jacobins, and that they were determined to remain jacobins to the last. In conformity, therefore, to the principles of these sectaries, at the period when they disorganised and desolated France, their successors opened their sittings at the Manège with propositions for the punishment of the guilty and the devourers of the substance of the people; for the reduction till the peace of all great salaries to that of the indemnity allowed to the members of the legislative body, with invitations to this body to levy the war-tax on a certain number of rich individuals, for the utter extermination of mendicity, the rooting out of prostitution, shutting up gaming houses, suppression of anti-republican theatrical representations, the renewal of the popular manufactories of saltpetre, the epuration of the offices of ministers, the re-arming the patriots, all which projects were followed, as usual, by denunciations against every person in place. It was not the executive power only that fell under the animadversions of those regenerators—their menaces were poured out alike on the legislative body, and the embassadors of the republic at foreign courts were denounced as its greatest enemies, from the considerations of their being the immediate agents of persons at the head of the state for the restoration of royalty. But though the government was as yet forbearing, the legislative body could not, consistently with its dignity, suffer those turbulent rivals

so near its throne. The inspectors of the council of the elders, who had been reproached for suffering the jacobins to assemble within their precincts, having signified to the society their orders to quit the Manège, the society unanimously resolved that they would not withdraw from the place without being legally constrained, since, as they alleged, their withdrawing would be the signal of the murder of all the patriots throughout the republic.

The refusal of the jacobins to obey the orders of the inspectors, led them to make a report of the proceedings to the council, who had previously determined that no popular society should hold its sittings within their precincts. A solemn order of the council, in support of that already signified by the inspectors, did not appear sufficient to Courtois, one of the members. He denounced the whole society as conspirators, whose intention, he asserted, was the overthrow of the constitution, the assassination of two of the directors, and the dismissal of the other three—the replacing of the legislative body by a convention, and the return of the reign of terror. In a secret committee he continued to explain the detail of this conspiracy, from which it appeared that the society had named a committee of instruction, composed of thirty-nine approved brothers among whom eleven chiefs constituted another committee, the depository of great projects, who were under the control of a secret directory, on whom reposed the hopes of the society. The developement which he gave to their system, and which he represented as being still more atrocious than that of their predecessors under the reign of Robespierre, led the council to order the final expu
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grants, and the ci-devant nobles, comprehended in the revolutionary law of the third of Brumaire of the third year, their grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, and individuals who, without being relations, or ex-nobles, were known to form part of the assemblies, or bands of assassins, should be personally and civilly responsible for whatever assassinations or robberies were committed in their communes; that the administrators of departments should take hostages among these classes, whenever disorders should take place, and should be even authorised to take them as hostages before any declaration of such department or commune being in a state of disorder should be made; that these hostages should surrender themselves in such places as should be pointed out; that a delay of ten days should incur constraint by force; and flight, the punishment of emigrants;—that if a murder was committed on any public functionary, defender of the country, or purchaser of national domains, or any person of this description carried off, four of those hostages should be banished for every person so murdered or carried off, besides paying a fine of six thousand livres; that every hostage should likewise be solidly responsible for the payment of four thousand livres, in case of any murder in his commune, to be paid into the public treasury, and of six thousand to the widow, and three thousand to the children of the person assassinated, which indemnity was to extend to every person mutilated; that this responsibility should be extended also to whatever damage or waste was committed against property; and that the law was to receive its due execution till the general peace.

Such was the convulsive law which the council of elders passed without investigation or amendment, and which bore a very near relation to the famous law of the suspected, framed by Merlin at the beginning of the reign of terror. The effect it produced was such as might have been expected; a number of acts of injustice were committed against individuals, who had no means of withdrawing themselves from its influence; but in such departments of the west as had never been thoroughly subjected to the republic, this law was the signal of almost general revolt; and not only several of those who had been formerly chiefs of the insurgents, and who had given up their opposition to the republican government, returned again to arms, but others, who had hitherto remained tranquil, preferred a state of insurrection against tyranny to a submission to laws which were not less unconstitutional than they were unjust and atrocious.

The project respecting the liberty of the press, which had been introduced as the vanguard of the attack against the late directors, since the object had been attained, was rejected by the elders; the tide had taken a contrary turn since the 30th Prairéal, and its licentiousness, especially against the government, so much exceeded all bounds, that the directory was compelled at length to make a formal complaint to the legislature. After stating the indecency with which every act of government was treated, and the traitorous motives attributed by those jacobin and royalist journalists to those who held the legal reins of authority, they observed, that their mischievous intentions were not confined to France, but tended to the dissolution of the state by the

perfidious intentions which they likewise attributed to those powers who were friendly or allied to the republic. "Here," observed the directory, "it was stated that Spain entertained the most hostile views against the republic, while its fleet was at anchor in its ports: there, they associated the cabinet of Berlin with that of London; and though their declamations were demonstrative of the most shameless ignorance, it was impossible not to discover the influence of the common enemy, anxious to make the French themselves the instruments of alarming neutral powers, and alienating those which were friendly. "For two years past," added they, "all the efforts of the coalition to draw in Prussia have failed before the true interest of the country, and the will of the monarch. Our enemies hope that one means of moving that government from its system yet remains; this they are now employing, in confiding to French journalists the task of insulting Prussia, or misleading the public opinion respecting that power, and of preparing and inviting, in some sort, a rupture, which all the direct incitements of hostile powers have not been able to accomplish." A commission had already been formed for the suppression of the licentiousness of the press; to this commission the message was sent, after the council had declared itself with equal energy against the mischiefs of which the directory complained.

Amidst this war of domestic factions, the French government met with as severe a blow as any it had yet suffered, in the loss of the first bulwark of Italy, the citadel of Mantua. Suwarrow, after the taking of Alessandria, had marched a part of his army anew into Piedmont, had invested Coni, attack strelles, and sent general with a corps of 12,000 me Valley of Aust, to pene the Vallais, as the former of this division had becom since the retreat of the F yond the Apennines, an rival of the second auxil sian corps. The column under the orders of the Rohan had not discont skirmishes in the uppe or ceased harassing the posts of the French. Th reinforced, undertook more serious enterprises that of the Little St. Bern caused great alarm, a the French to keep co forces in these quarter ral Hatry, who comman complained of the nake which the important fr Dauphiny were left; ev indicated that the grea would be directed tow part, if once the Fre could be constrained to Var.

But the great and inesti vantage which the allies g the battle near Piacenza tranquillity in which gene army was left to continue of Mantua. The fruit tory, which Suwarrow eager to obtain, the takin tua, was to justify his pro tify his plan of operations mit him to send as effecti to the archduke as that had received from him

Nothing was spared the surrender of Mantua; tity of artillery was a near 600 pieces and mo destined for this siege; a a bore judged for a long less, was also transporte

Two Austrian regiments, and the corps of Russian artillery, reinforced the besieging army. All the country-people, forty miles round, were obliged to labour in their turn at the works.

The garrison of Mantua consisted of 10,000 men, under the orders of general Latour Foissac, an engineer under the old régime. General Kray attacked the place on the southern side, and carried at first the outward posts, such as the Cerese, the head of the bridge which covered the sluice, and the communications with the works of the Fauxbourg du Thé, separated from the main land by an arm of the Mincio. The trenches were opened opposite to this Fauxbourg during the night of the 13th and 14th of July, under favour, it is said, of a kind of truce, during which the commander of the place celebrated the anniversary of the French revolution. The fire from the town, which was very brisk, when the opening of the trench was perceived, did not hinder the first, and soon after the second parallel from being connected and perfected; the batteries were finished and mounted in less than a week.

This principal attack was seconded by those directed on the other forts, detached from the body of the place on this side the lake, such as the horn-work of the gate Pradella, and Fort St. George, against which approaches were made at the same time. The principal sluice having been broken, and the draining of the water having facilitated the works and the establishment of new batteries, which were to protect the passage of Bajuolo, general Kray attacked the entrenchments in the dykes between Cerese and the Fauxbourg, which were carried sword in hand. The next day (July 26th) the French evacuated Fort St. George. The horn-work of the gate Pradella, which, from the opening of the third parallel at the fort of the glacis, they apprehended might be carried by storm, was also abandoned, after spiking the pieces. The allies lodged themselves in this work, from whence they commanded the body of the place: the garrison was said to be so weakened as to be ineffective for the service; the greater part of the officers were in the hospitals; the batteries of the Isle du Thé were dismounted; and the quantity of bombs, which fell in this part of the works, rendered every manœuvre of the artillery, every kind of defence, impossible.

Thus situated, the commander accepted (28th of July) the capitulation offered him by general Kray, and gave him up the keys of Mantua, which had been in the hands of the French since February 1797. Two days after the garrison marched out with the honours of war by the citadel, and grounded their arms on the glacis. Conformably to the capitulation, this garrison was to be escorted to the frontier of France, and not to serve till exchanged. General Latour Foissac, and all his staff, were detained prisoners, and conducted to Gratz, to remain three months, after which they were permitted to return into France on their parole, not to serve till they had been exchanged.

That Mantua had been traitorously given up admitted of no doubt at Paris, and in proportion to the value of the place was the indignation against the commander who surrendered it, and the late government who had entrusted to a man

said

said to be of suspected character a place so eminently important. The directory ordered a court-martial to be formed to try Latour Foissac, as well as the commander of the citadel of Turin, who was likewise suspected of treason. The former has since published a justification of his conduct, and demanded the trial ordered by the directory, which, if it take place, may probably throw further light on the suspected proceedings of part of the members of the late government. Of the importance of this surrender for the ulterior operations of the allies, a judgment may readily be formed. Italy almost entirely re-conquered,—for Rome and Ancona could not long resist all the forces of the allies,—all their means, all their magazines, collected together at the moment of the arrival of the reinforcements, threw so great a weight into the balance, that nothing could compensate to the republic the advantage of the diversion caused by Mantua, which place had, in the present circumstances, and in the general state of affairs, an importance almost incalculable. As long as it occupied general Kray and his army, Suwarrow could not act with vigour either against Switzerland or Nice. The new plan of defence of the frontier of France was established during this state of suspense and observation, to the advantage of the party inferior in number; and every day that it was prolonged was actively employed in repairing losses, and preparing new obstacles to the great exertion, the general attack meditated by the allies. Suwarrow, by the fall of Mantua, regained the full liberty of his movements, and turned back to the simple combination of mutual and alternate succour between the archd and his own. In short, t of Mantua, which was for general Kray of the Magnan, was at that tim sensible loss the Frenc could have experienced.

During these transactio no event of importance in Switzerland. The res mies were so nearly bala it was impossible to effec great till the equilibrium en. After the dreadf which had taken place rich, the archduke and M not know the whole for respective positions till mutually, but vainly, att dislodge their advanced g archduke having attacked tion of Mount Albis (8th without success, and Mass in his turn, that part of t an army which was befor and which forced him, standing a first advanta back to his former positi archduke gave the cou his left in the canton o to general Hotze, who head-quarters at Kloten. had fixed his at Lenzburg ed his lines, called in his Lecourbe, whose rear-gua general Loison, had been nued action with the Aust under generals Bellegarde dick, amid the valleys in t bourhood of Saint Goth which reduced that cou state little better than frightful desert.

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he whole of the ad-
had gained. Mas-
e, made attempts on the left of the archduke in the little cantons, which he knew had been weakened by detachments of the divisions under Bellegarde and Haddick: various actions took place, posts were taken and retaken, and no advantage remained to either side. A similar attempt was made by general Hotze (14th July) who had resumed the command of the left of the archduke's army, upon the right of the French,—the left of the Austrian army having been reinforced by successive troops which had poured in from Germany and the Tyrol during the last six weeks. These attacks made on the left of the Lake of Lucerne, had no better success than that made by the French, who, however, brought back among their prisoners the Austrian general comte de Bey. This first offensive movement of the archduke's left was combined with those which were preparing in the Upper Vallais, where a great number of inhabitants, armed, and formed into companies, had joined the allies, and had been continually harassing the posts of general Thurreau.

CHAP. XII.

Naples. Disposition of the Inhabitants towards the French. Ret Republican Party to the Forts. Attack and Capitulation of the cans. English Squadron before Naples. Capitulation broken b the King. Massacre of the Republicans. Supreme Tribunal—O count of its Proceedings. Treaty between the Courts of Vienna a Change of the Civic Oath in France. Accusation against the negatived in the Councils. Discontents of the Jacobins—Spre Society—Conduct of the Government relative to the Jacobins Projects of the Jacobins—Jacobins' Society in Paris finally s Situation of the hostile Forces in Italy and Switzerland. Plan tions of the Allied and French Armies. Suppression of Massen of the Directory, Feigned Attack of the French on the right of trian Line at Zurich. Attack of the French on the Austrian Ce feat of the Austrians. Survey of the Alps. General Attack in t taths on the left of the Austrian Line. General Defeat of the from the Lake to the Summit of St. Gothard. Fruitless Attem Archduke to stop the Progress of the French. Reflections on War tains. Position of the French and Allied Armies in Italy. Plans of Attack of the Allied and French Armies. Battle Death of Joubert—Defeat of the French—Advantages resulting Victory to the Allies. Engagements in the Ligurian Republic. tions of the French and Allied Arms in the Piedmontese Alps. of the French on the Lower Rhine. Progress of the French Army i Rising in a Mass of the Inhabitants of Suabia. Philipsburg b March of the Archduke from Switzerland into Suabia. Chan Archduke's Plan of Operations.

THE defeat of the army of Naples was not the only catastrophe which befel the cause that army was commissioned to defend. A far more dreadful scene of horrors succeeded this event. The evacuation of Naples, as might have been expected, raised the hopes and kindled the ardor of those who, notwithstanding their submission to the laws of the new republic, felt no disposition to obedience when it was no longer exacted by superior force. The tyrannical conduct of the French agents, for the most part a horde of robbers and ruffians, under the control of no law but the rage for confiscation and plunder, and fitted only to make the name of liber able wherever they direc pestilential steps, had alie minds of numbers; and of the defeats of the Fren in the north of Italy, w been industriously dis among the populace, t make the insurrection gen French party, which wa the minority, but which have consisted of the m derable of the inhabita for rank and fortune, sa was impossible to resist rection, and much less the forces which were p against them on every s cularly the troops under

s then at the gates of
n army which he had
maintained in Cala-
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ttacked, but repulsed
with great courage.
ed hostilities for ten
nal sent flags of truce
s of the government
e Castello Novo, and
ad taken refuge in the
mo. In concert with
mander of St. Elmo,
nto capitulation with
ook the title of Vicar
of Naples. One of
articles of the capi-
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vernment and the pa-
fortresses, as well as
arrison and the na-
should march out
ars of war, with arms
and should be con-
oulon." It was also
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stle of St. Elmo was
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combination of con-
and other circum-
republicans remained
venteen days, during
ey were no way mo-
e English fleet under
appearing before the
s, began by blocking-
of the vessels destined
m to Toulon. Soon after arrived a frigate, escorted by two English ships of the line, on board of which was the king. Scarcely had he cast anchor, than he published an edict, by which he declared that no permission had been given to enter into a negotiation with rebels, and that cardinal Ruffo had not the faculty of derogating from this principle of sovereignty. He annulled, consequently, the convention which had been made, and ordered the punishment of the rebels. The execution of this edict took place immediately. The vessels were instantly boarded; the republicans were dragged to the prisons, their houses were pillaged, and an inquisition was set on foot for the discovery of all such as had manifested sentiments favourable to the new order of things. Some of the most celebrated of the republican party were hung up on the spot.

Amidst the transactions, the French who had embarked, and the garrison still in the castle of St. Elmo, received orders to depart instantly. The republicans who had taken refuge in the fortress hoped to have saved themselves by taking the French uniform, and mingling in the ranks; but the appetite for blood was too keen; each soldier was examined with the scrutinising eye of vengeance,—such as were not French were dragged out of the ranks, and fell the victims of the royal edict. As soon as the French were gone, the city (as is asserted) was delivered up to every kind of excess and outrage. More than 800 houses were given up to pillage and to the flames. The Lazzaroni became once more the instruments of royal vengeance. A special commission was appointed, which pronounced sentence of death,

death without much formality, on such as had taken an active part in the late government: little other formality, indeed, was necessary, than the identification of their persons, since the crime stated in the royal edict was but too apparent. Almost the whole of the members of the executive and legislative commissions perished by the hands of the executioner. Exaggeration of evil is natural to the wretched. Those who had the good fortune to escape the massacre speak of horrors unexampled in those times, which scarcely find a name among a civilised people, and with which the cruelties exercised under the reign of terror in France bear no kind of competition. The court of Naples, scandalised at the reports which had circulated through foreign countries, published officially what it deemed a refutation of those calumnies: asserting, that the persons accused of having exerted themselves in favour of French liberty had been tried by competent tribunals and by upright magistrates; that all those who were accused had not been put to death; and that this punishment had been reserved only for the most atrocious criminals; in justification of which a list was published of part of the proceedings of this supreme tribunal. Among other names in this official scroll were inscribed those of Julian Colonna, prince of Stigliano, and the duke of Cassano, who were beheaded; Eleonora Fonseca, the marchioness of Piemontello, and eigtheen other women of rank, with the bishop of Vico, who were hanged; the duke of Carraciolo, major-general Spano, and others, colonels, majors, and ecclesiastics, sent to work in the galleys; the duchesses of Cassano and Popoli, shut up for Penitentiary Hospital. preme tribunal had been prevent the repetition o rors which had taken pl first weeks of vengeance official account, after de names of the criminals been punished, it is obse in this list were not com a greater number of diffe and qualities who perish first moments of the re ment of order, and befo mation of the supreme The people, it was add how to distinguish the th-ir king, and execute towards them.

The protestations of th Ruffo against the violati capitulation which he with the republicans, an ing been authorised, by from the principal mi grant the condition sp the treaty, had no effect. sons continued to be fille sands, and the tribunal faithful to the executio royal edict. The authority as viceroy, was restrai junto of nine counsellor votes guided his operations in which was so much th be suspected, as he had not creet in his murmurs agai violations, and had indulge of resentment beyond suitable to those who thou faith was no more to be rebels than with heretics, the will and interests of s were paramount to every c sideration,

It is doubtful whether of re-establishing order wisest which this court co adopted in the present sta litical change and fermen

more solid support had
ously obtained by the
of a treaty, offensive
ve, between the govern-
aples and that of Vi-
hich it was stipulated,
ntracting parties should
ot, till the continental
he perfect consolidation
ty in Italy, the latter
ops, and the former,
hich troops should be
ndent of other engage-
capable, in extraordi-
f augmentation.

the council of elders
cipitatedly adopted the
ages, it still continued
that wise suspicion
ry thing that came up
her council, where the
re more inflamed, and
nt less corrected. A
f several days had taken
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e civic oath. The ex-
" hatred to anarchy"
leased the jacobin so-
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s, an unmeaning and
phrase, the same sub-
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five hundred, where the
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e hatred to royalty and
hich had hitherto been
finitely, was modified
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f royalty, and of every
anny in France; which
confirmed by the elders,
onformable to common
the interests of the re-

position for the accu-
ne four ex-directors hav-
one the three constitu-
ings in secret commit-
council of five hundred,
gth rejected, notwith-

standing the public voice in its favour. The apologists of those ex-directors were less anxious to defend their administration than the purity of their intentions. They insisted on the difficulty of the circumstances in which they were placed; on the numberless assurances they had heretofore given of devotedness to the cause of the republic; on the political consequences of a measure which, exposing before all Europe, as criminals, men by whom they had been governed since the establishment of the constitution, would seem to invalidate all the great political operations which they had directed; they represented that it was not probable that they had been influenced by treasonable motives; and that to be deceived in political opinions, to adopt false systems, to be unsuccessful, to be intoxicated with power, were misfortunes rather than crimes. They asserted, that if scaffolds were erected for the first magistrates of the republic, it was not with them that factions would stop; that the example would provoke new violence, and that less scruple would be observed towards those whom ignorance or passion should qualify as enemies of the republic; that the same scenes would be re-acted as had taken place after the events of the 31st of May, when the axe of the tyrants thinned even the benches of the national representation; that no authority would in future be clothed with any respectability, the members of which should be given up thus hastily to punishment; that factions would never cease to threaten their successors with a similar catastrophe; and that with such terror continually before their eyes, it would be impossible for governors to feel confidence in

the execution of great and extraordinary projects, which might be necessary, at times, for the safety of the country.

In addition to these general considerations, several were urged that applied personally both to the ex-directors and to members of the councils, amongst which was the promise made at the tribune to the ex-directors, that if they would give in their dimission, the pursuit against them should be dropped; and that many of the measures for which they were accused had received the approbation of the councils. The general and particular considerations, not to mention others still more personal (for a considerable portion of the members had been aiders, abettors, and instruments, in part of the crimes charged against the members of the directory), led the council to put a final, and perhaps a prudent stop, to the further examination, notwithstanding the multiplied proofs of their guilt. Reveillière Lepaux, Merlin, and Rapinat, had printed pieces, which they styled justifications; Rewbell was more prudent, and had only attempted to defend himself occasionally at the tribune. The public in general acquiesced in the decision of the council, from the considerations that had been urged, but with keen regret that men, who had brought the nation into so deplorable a state, whether from incapacity or treason, should escape the punishment due to their errors or their crimes.

At a season of calmness and moderation, these ex-directors would not have had so good a deliverance; but if the discontinuance of the pursuit appeared to the public an act of cowardice, or of bending lesser considerations before the great principles of justice, the made of sterner stuff, wer posed to quit ground w so tenable, but, by an branded those as conspir should vote for their This society, driven from nège, held its assemblies i in the Fauxbourg Saint which had been granted the municipal officers of rict, and the administrat department, the offices were filled with their This church, like that they formerly sat, belong religious order of the which they hailed as a omen. Far from being tenanced by the repul council of elders, they their debates in the same virulence and insolence a government as had hither their proceedings. It w Paris alone that those j organisations took place Toulouse, Marseilles, B Valence, and various o and towns throughout the witnessed with terror the tion of those political unio had so lately covered the with blood, and whose was whetted to the perpe new crimes from the s nishment they had und the time of the royalist after the fall of Robespie crimes of equal magnitud tent had shown by a dig regular administration o The mother society at already entered into corre with those affiliated clubs were scouring the southe ments, to plant the j gospel; addresses were cl signatures, in various c of denunciations against

ting government, and
e return of the reign of
to take a general hold
ic mind.
versary of the fall of
terror, and the punish-
espierre, had taken place
struggle. The jacobins
ribune with black, sig-
their mourning for the
at day, while the peo-
e constituted authorities,
the Champ de Mars, to
as a day of thanksgiving
Sieyes was then pre-
e directory; it was usual
ts to deliver discourses
nblic days analogous to
of the meeting. The
es of the times gave
rourable opportunity not
ressing his personal feel-
ting the jacobins, but,
al capacity, of conveying
le republic the abhor-
hich the government
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crimes and tyranny of
those memorable and
enes was pointed and
nd the public assurances
government diminished
the inquietudes of the
he council of elders re-
faithful to its alliance
ion of a project sent up
ncil of five hundred,
amnesty in favour of
ho had figured during
f terror as the valet of
, and who had been
to banishment for his
This' noted personage,
ended by Garrat, who
his share in the ini-
sactions of those times,
ore consigned to the ex-
posterity, by the reca-
f what are called his
s: but the most impor-
tant point gained by the discussion, was the firm resolution shown by the council of elders, to oppose the council of five hundred in every thing which bore relation to the admission of the principles or partisans of that reprobated system.

The jacobins imagined themselves too firmly seated to fear any thing from attacks of enemies so feeble, and the patience of the executive power served only to embolden them. But a longer forbearance on the part of government would have been unpardonable weakness; and as matter for complaint was easy to collect, the directory transmitted, in answer to a message from the council of elders, denouncing the society of jacobins, a report of the minister of police, in which the societies of Paris and the departments were represented as directed by foreign agents, alienating the public mind by calumnious denunciations, and openly violating the constitution. The report of the minister received a more ample developement in the speech delivered by Sieyes in the Champ de Mars, on the anniversary of the tenth of August, when, in a strain of indignant eloquence, he held up the members of those societies as "traitors subsidised by the common enemy, or slaves only to their passions, anxious either for the speedy return of royalty, or preferring rather the return of that terror so justly abhorred by the French." The jacobins and the government were now in open hostilities; the declaration of Sieyes, and the report of the minister of the police, furnished them with new matter for discussion; the necessity of saving the country, incapable of saving itself, and of putting themselves in a state of defence, became the order of the day, and proof was

about to be alleged that the chief conspirators against the republic were the members who composed the executive power. Further hesitation on the part of government was hardly to be expected. The directory passed a decree which shut up the society. The seals were placed on its papers and doors, the military force put an end to its further meetings, and domiciliary visits for a month were ordered to take place, to clear Paris of the swarms of royalists and jacobins that had poured in from the departments to share in the new revolution that was expected to take place in consequence of the patriotic energies of the latter party.

While these events were passing at Paris, the armies, though far from being in a state of inaction, had taken time to recruit their forces, so considerably diminished in the four first months of the campaign. Massena, posted on Mount Albis, behind the Limmat, continued to prevent the approach of the archduke beyond Zurich; while Moreau, keeping firm the chains of the Apennines, and covering Genoa, hindered Suwarrow from executing his threatened invasion of France. The conquest of Italy, which the court of Vienna was so anxious to terminate, and of which it did not think itself assured till it was completely evacuated by the French, led the archduke to weaken his forces on the side of Switzerland, where the most important blow for the success of the general plan of the allies might have been struck. Perhaps, if such means had been given or preserved to the archduke as to force the evacuation of Switzerland, and if Piedmont had not been invaded till the summits of the Alps had been occupied by sufficient forces and the most dangerous inlets towards th
of Italy had been closed, th
vate views of the Austrian c
might have been equally at
the frontiers of the Tyrol
the ancient state of Venice se
and the victories of Suv
might have further advanc
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the allies.

The destination of the new
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mistaken by the French g
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generals in Italy to make t
efforts to maintain themsel
long as possible in the Li
republic, were sending into
zerland, towards the centre
line of defence, the best part
reserve of the interior, t
with the new levies, and f
an army on the Rhine to
that which the archduke was
to assemble, in order to per
through Switzerland, into th
partments on the east of
which formerly composed
the provinces of Dauphiny
vence, and Franche-Comté.
plan of the coalition was t
once developed; but as the
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As the French plan, at the
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duke had assembled his for
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ion of which would
a way into the heart of
France, but of which the defence could not be secure, till the imperialists had been dislodged from the highest summits of the Great Alps, and the French had again possession of those passages and communications with Italy, to the season when the snows came to shut out both parties from those desert rocks, those abysses covered with blood, and into which so many brave men were about to precipitate themselves, to dispute and decide the advantage of the general position, and, perhaps with the fate of Switzerland, that of France; and lastly, the Lower Rhine, where the imperialists had reinforced by degrees their army of observation, and to which a Russian corps and the contingents of the empire were to be added.

To order general Joubert, who had now been promoted to the command of the army of Italy, to descend the Apennines; to give battle to Suwarrow, and favour this movement by that of different corps of the army of the Alps, under Championet; to engage Massena, in a general action, to drive from the little cantons, and from St. Gothard, the left of the Austrian army, enfeebled by its being too extended, since the detachment of the corps of Bellegarde, Laudohn, and Haddick, to the army of Suwarrow; to operate on the right side of the Lower Rhine, as yet empty of troops, and covered with rich harvests, reserved for the allies, a powerful diversion, which should force the archduke, if not to come to the aid of general Stzarry, at least to lead him to expect no assistance from Suabia, menaced at the moment in which he should be vigorously attacked;—such, from the Lower Rhine to the Mediterranean, was the plan of

attack indicated and executed by the French, but of which the results were so different.

It was on the frontier of Switzerland, as has already been observed, that France was most endangered, and where the government consequently had sent most reinforcements, which, reaching the main army successively, by different roads, were directed at the same time on the centre and wings of Massena's army, whilst the archduke could receive the Russian divisions only by Schaffhausen, on the rear of his right, and altogether at a fixed and known period. This augmentation of forces was to be very considerable, and composed of good troops, particularly of excellent infantry; but it was their first essay in a mountain war, in which they were immediately to be employed; and consequently, however excellent in other respects, were not equal to those corps of Austrian troops mixed with Mountaineers, Tyrolians, and Swiss, who had defended the Voralberg, retaken the Grisons and St. Gothard, and the greater part of the little cantons.

Although Massena had for some time past received orders from the new directory to resume immediately the offensive, he had resisted that imprudent anxiety so far as to incur its displeasure, and even receive orders to quit the command of his army. The report indeed was accredited at Paris that he was in intelligence with the archduke, and had betrayed the confidence of his country. Massena, on the contrary, calculating the time in which the Russian troops could arrive with the greatest possible diligence, preferred ripening his plan, and, by delay, striking a surer blow, since every day augmented his numerical force, which the archduke was unable to hinder, or procure f self the same advantages. pears also that the want of re and the difficulty of subsist country which had been by so long an abode of tw armies, and was so little pro had retarded his preparatio even disgusted a part of his

It was about the 17th or August that the first column Russian army of 26,000 me the orders of general Rims kow, were to reach Schaff it was only the 11th that began his operations; he h forced his right wing, com by general Lecourbe, as he was able, without too weakening his centre against and his left, which was fla the Rhine. As he proposed tach entirely this right wi the centre, and to make its manœuvres, and attacks, whole mass of the Great Al the Vallais to the Lake of totally independent, he ende so to fix on the opposite attention of the archduke, conceal from him, by vigo tacks on the centre of his the reinforcements which sent to general Lecourbe, a der him from making th manœuvre by his left, and ing the generals Jellachi Simpschen. On the Reuss the space between St. Goth the Lake of Zurich, those occupied only the principa of a chain of positions, whi too extended; these differe amounting on the whole to than 20,000 men, could form sufficient reserves to columns which should att cut their communications, to maintain themselves, standing the advantages of

posts, or in camps
e flanked or taken in
erior forces.
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of August) in the
of Baden, by skir-
the advanced posts:
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the Limmat, which
st one of the main-
ated into the camp of
where a regiment of
a few squadrons of
to sustain a very vi-
and were roughly
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French had pushed
within a very short
e city, across which
dispatched fresh
ad also penetrated as
r of some points of
en attacked in their
or forces, and taken
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about 30,000 men,
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he imperialists. The
on, commanded by

general Chabran, passed the Sihl, surprised and drove back the Austrian posts on the western side of the Lake of Zurich, climbed the heights of Richterswyl, Etzel, and Schindelezzi, and turned and attacked an Austrian corps which occupied the strong position between Lechen and Einsidlen. This intermediary corps between the centre of the army and the left wing, which, occupying the course of the Reufs, covered the cantons of Schwitz and Uri, was almost entirely destroyed, taken, or dispersed. General Jellachich, who commanded, was forced to abandon his posts on the Lake of Zurich, and, unable to maintain that of Rapperschywl, retreated upon the centre of the army, leaving the canton of Glaris exposed. The French, pushing their advanced guard within sight of Pfefficon, threatened to turn the position of Zurich. This first success cut off the communication of the rest of the left wing of the archduke with the centre of his army, and favoured the movements and the attacks of general Lecourbe upon Schwitz, and on the whole course of the Reufs, from Altorf to the top of St. Gothard. The display of his front of attacks formed a line of about fifty or sixty miles.

In order to have an accurate judgment of this brilliant and singular expedition of general Lecourbe on the Reufs, we should take a momentary survey of the whole of the High Alps, and observe the constant progress of nature in the formation of these masses. The waters quitting the upper parts, where they are suspended as it were in reservoirs, and following the laws of gravitation, produce every where, notwithstanding their inexhaustible variety, similar effects, and, ac-

cording to their volume, their mass and velocity furrow up, to greater or less depths, the surface of the globe, round hills, divide rising grounds, and separate mountains. Thus, on the Great Alps, the torrents which rush from beneath the glaciers, fall, by different directions, into valleys so narrow, so deeply excavated by the rapid current, hat the declivities of those enchained mountains render them inaccessible in every other direction than that of the bed of those torrents; an ascent to their sources is therefore the only mode of penetrating from one valley to another; for this purpose we must chuse between them, in order to command those outlets, to open or shut at pleasure those barriers which the sport of the waters has placed between those prodigious masses, broken in the explosion of the globe. Some lateral outlets may indeed be opened by the same caprices in those great declivities, by which communications may be made from one valley to another, in following the course of rivulets, and seizing their point of contact, or the level on the opposite sides; but these transverse communications are very rare, and present many more difficulties and obstacles than the passages by the high principal valley.

The St. Gothard, the Furca, and the Grimsel, form, as it were, the knot of the four principal chains of the Alps in Switzerland; a simple and very exact idea may be formed of them by remarking that the division of the valleys, and the separation of the waters, follow nearly the four points of the compass. On the north and under the summit of St. Gothard, the Reufs precipitates itself by the Valley of Urseren, and, after digging the abysses of the Devil's Bridge, confined to its bed by the two parallel chains which separate the canton of Uri from those of Schwitz and Underwalden, forms the lake of Lucerne, the lake of the four cantons. On the east are the sources of the Rhine and the source of the river, which takes at first an eastward by the Valleys of Oberland and Splagen. On the south the Tessino flows, by Airolo, Faido, Bellinzone, into the Lake of Locarno; and on the west, under the Furca and the Grimsel, are the sources and the sources of the Rhone and the Aar, which fall into the Lake of Neufchatel and the Oberland, which water the western part of Switzerland, depositing their waters in the beautiful and magnificent basins which adorn the Alps and the Jura.

Lecourbe, who had come to repulse the corps of the general Jellachich and Simpschen, which had taken possession of this position, and of the importance and importance of which on the whole of the field may easily be perceived, divided his troops into four columns of connected attacks and whose junctions of which were to be after the difficulties which they had to surmount, and the time which the nature of the ground permitted them mutually to support each other. The posts of the Insurgents before Schwitz were the regiment of St. Gall and the Swiss corps of the little canton, vigorously attacked in front at the point of day (15th Fructidor) by general Boivin, at the head of his brigade, whilst a battalion of the same brigade turned this position by the heights of Haken and the Mitten; the imperialists were dislodged, and retreated by the Bragel mountain upon Glarus. Whilst the column of general Boivin, which had marched

even, formed again in
d Yberg, Lecourbe led
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ns, with a reserve of
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mpanies from Gersaw,
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art action took place at
of Mulhen, which was
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du-camp Montfort.
e meanwhile continued
up the lake, with his
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his staff: part of the
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on Seedorf, on the back
and the other descended
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actions took place at
ges, and at Fluellen, a
the chapel of William
e Lecourbe landed his
and lastly at Altorf,
corps of general Samp-
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day, retreating by the
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bridges on the Reufs.
ay, and at the same time
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e Reufs, general Loison,
been ordered to march
i-brigade and a reserve
rs upon Wasen, in the
Schellenen, reached it
painful march, by the
, across ice and snows,
nce of the valley, till he
little fort of the Meyen-
between the precipices
ent of the Meyen, and
were perpendicular; a
swept by artillery and
musketry, led to this fort, defended by three hundred men; the grenadiers insisted on being led to the attack, and it was carried by storm.

Lecourbe having dispersed and pursued into the Maderanerthal, on the right side of the Reufs, a few Austrian posts which held firm, and obstructed his progress, hastened to ascend the Reufs, and precede general Loison, of whose operations he was ignorant. He met on his march a battalion which this general sent to establish his communication with him. Lecourbe then united his forces, in order to take possession of St. Gothard, marched to meet his right column, which general Gudin was to lead by the heights of the Grimsel and the Furca, as he had before marched to meet general Loison, who the preceding evening had opened before him the Valley of Urseren; but having as yet no news of that general, or of what success had attended his attack on St. Gothard, Lecourbe did not stop, and judging it an hopeless attempt, the turning the passage of the pierced rock, he undertook to attack in front, and force the famous Devil's Bridge.

He marched on, therefore, with general Loison the same day, in which, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue of his troops, he had carried the fort of the Meyenthal. At four in the afternoon they came up with the first post of the imperialists, and drove them back to their entrenchments at the Devil's Bridge, flanked by the torrent of the Reufs, and by rocks which were inaccessible; presenting themselves at the head of the bridge in a column, and at the *pas-de-charge*, they pursued the Austrians, and hoped to have passed the bridge pell-mell with them; but on a sudden, and in the hottest of the fray,

the middle of the bridge and the hanging-road disappeared between the parapets, and separated the combatants by an unexpected abyss; an opening of thirty feet in breadth unveiled the torrent at the bottom of the precipice, and forced the head of the column of grenadiers to fall back, under the murderous fire of the opposite side.

The Devil's Bridge was repaired during the night, and the next morning general Gudin, descending St. Gothard by the Valley of Urseren, made his appearance on the right side. It would be difficult to describe the obstacles which the column under Gudin had to surmount in ascending the Valley of the Aar to attack the Austrians in the Grimsel: this post, as well as those of the passages of the Vallais and the Furca, was occupied by more than 2000 men, who, in positions which might have been deemed impregnable, defended themselves with obstinate courage. The camp between Oberwald and Gueschenen was attacked and carried: after having rested a night on those icy summits in the open air, Gudin pursued his march by the Furca upon St. Gothard, and fell down to the Valley of Urseren.

Thus in the same day, forty-eight hours only after the beginning of the general movement on the offensive, Lecourbe, master of St. Gothard, and of the whole course of the Reufs, had re-established his communications with the Upper Vallais, when the division of general Thureau had effected its junction with the column of the right, and had beaten and driven back beyond the Simplon, with considerable loss, the Austrian posts; the corps of colonel Strauch, which occupied the posts of the Upper Vallais, was almost entir[e]ly destroyed, dispersed, or taken.

Meanwhile the Austrian[s] retreating from Urseren u[p] sentis, by the heights of th[e] lain, had rallied on the m[ain] of the Crispalt, from whe[nce] had it in their power to [fall] again into the valley; a[nd] also closed up the entrance [of] Grisons by the sources [of] Rhine. Lecourbe, fearing [the] Austrians should strengthen [them]selves in this strong positio[n] ed St. Gothard by Airolo, [and] with the greater part of his [for]ced forces, he marched tow[ards] Lake of Oberalp, and for[ced] defile on the road to [Dis]guarded by three battalions [of] en, who commanded the [pass] and who covered the ou[t]Giamut and St. Giacomo. T[he] engagement was extremely [bl]the generals charged at th[e] of the columns; Kerpen's re[s]repulsed several attacks, but [at] ing at length to the number [and] gour of the charges, was [at] defeated, and it was only [a] small part of this corps, pur[sued] far as Tavetsch, that made g[ood] retreat on Disentis.

The archduke, who left [not] his central position nor his [re]quarters at Kloten, hastened [to] port, on the line of the Li[nth] and the Lakes of Zurich and [of] lenstadt, his left wing, thus [be]and dispersed—making great[er] tions to bring up the first [two] columns, which reached S[chaff]hausen at that moment, a[nd] which he scarcely left a day [to] pose. At the same time, in[tend]to fix the attention of Masse[na] his left, and to engage him to[o] the movement of Lecourbe, [he] sembled the surprising or f[or]

e Aar below Baden,
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is (17th August)
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the left side; eight
were already esta-
was perceived that
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obstacle, which of-
diment to the com-
e movements, and
ed attacks? When
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he Lake of Zurich

and the upper entrance of the Vallais, the successive burstings of the French columns on the line of the Reus,—when we see Lecourbe, after the attacks on Schwitz and Altorf, engage himself with confidence in the Valley of the Reufs, and meet in succession, and at given points, the columns of the right which had surmounted the greatest difficulties and engaged in the most dreadful combats to reach the place of destination,—we cannot help finding the success almost a miracle, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers on the side of the French; and due justice will be rendered by every impartial military man to the conception of the plan of Massena and Lecourbe, and to the intrepidity and intelligence of the officers and troops that carried it into execution.

Numerous reflections on the extraordinary exertions made in this mountainous war readily present themselves; it seems that, in high mountains, the military *coup d'œil* forms, extends, and proportions itself insensibly to a greater scale of objects and distances; combinations are enlarged, and multiply in the ratio of the masses of mountains and the variety of their situations. In level countries, the plans of generals are almost always subordinate to the rules of the art; marches are counted, manœuvres elucidated, resistance, time, and resources appreciated, measured, weighed,—the whole is an affair of calculation, and the data of the problem being almost always known, it is resolved before the fate of arms has decided it: but in a mountainous country the genius of the general is less shackled, and though he meet with more obstacles, he bounds over the common rules, makes new combinations,

binations, invents artificial aids, and creates for himself an untried system of war.

It is here above all that is felt that influence of the form of surrounding objects, more powerful perhaps than that of climate—those inspirations of nature, so eloquent, and so unjustly esteemed inanimate—in short, that disposition which places men every where in harmony with her works, the distinctive character which the Creator has imprinted on his heart, innate traces of which elevated minds are delighted in feeling amidst the horrors, even of the destruction of the human race. War amongst mountains is, if the expression may be allowed, the poetical part of the art of war. The physical forces are in continual exercise, and the moral flow is not less elevated. If the air which is breathed in those lofty regions strengthens the nerves, and gives the body more agility, the ideas are also more clear, the mind is more fertile in resources, courage is more daring, the movements are more impetuous, every thing is active, brilliant, and rapid as the torrent; and it has been observed, that those who have made war in mountainous countries are delighted with their trade, because they have found in it, alas! like the hunters of the chamois, exquisite enjoyments mingled with the greatest dangers.

But although the French had enchained the god of the mountains to their car of victory, the god of the valleys on the same day in Italy furnished a still greater triumph to the arms of the allies. Suwarrow persisting in his resolution of leaving no place behind him, and of getting possession of the whole of the flat country, before he made any attempt against the Ligurian republic, or against the
France, pressed the sieg
na, and blocked Coni
ly, watching the Fren
the entrance of the defile
little valleys of the Apen
general Klenau, who
to the entrance of the
East Macdonald's rear-
possession of Sarzana, of
and of all the positions
of Spezzia, where the
cupied only the Fort of
The whole of the corps
allied army drew neare
and assembled in the pl
Orba and Serivia; the
had besieged Mantua u
Kray was expected;
capture of the citadel
was to be the epocha, a
of new attacks.

Since Joubert had re
the hands of Moreau th
of the French army, he
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with which the French
had augmented his forc
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the army of Macdonald,
ed the right, had drawn
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made with a view to
rations. Macdonald
France, to take repose
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as well as most glorious
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the victory which he
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eyes of those who know
preciate the true talent o
ral, and his intrepidity
ecution.

General St. Cyr comm
right, general Perignon

of the left wing, and ved orders to march the heights, took pos- ne advantageous posi- simo, celebrated by the Bonaparte into Italy, ot Cailizano near Ceva, him the command of Tanaro and the Bor- so to the line of the ad- of the French army, a pport, and which, be- ant from the borders of orded a great facility res, and made better the means of retreat. urrender of Ceva, when ked by the insurgents, caused much injury to and under the present s, that support would considerable advan age he commander who had akness to surrender it n shot at Genoa. The right of the French ar- from Montenotte to do, pushing their ad- into the Valley of Er- of Orba, were covered hetta, and commanded his defile the rear in the e Scrivia. An advanced pied the port of Govi; ravalla had been forced e.

who had taken his head- Campo Marino, between Montenotte, behind his having reconnoitered u all his positions, de- make a vigorous effort s army into the plains, n himself there, after he e forced Suwarrow to ge of the citadel of Tor- invited Moreau to defer re, in order to aid him ouncils. Moreau gene- pted this invitation, and took a command under his orders. After having detached (13th August) from the left and centre strong advanced guards, and taken advantageous positions in the Valleys of Orba and the Bormida, Joubert formed on that side three columns of attack; the first followed the Valley of the Bormida, directing itself upon Acqui by the road of Dego; the second, descending by the Valley of Erro, marched upon Castel-ferro; the third, moving from Campo-freddo, following the little Valley of Lemer, and afterwards that of Orba, was to enter the plain by Ovado. A fourth column, stronger than the rest, and really destined to raise the blockade of Tortona, descended by the defiles of the Bochetta; this column was commanded by general St. Cyr, to whom Moreau and general Desolles had united themselves to serve as guides for an operation which they had already executed at the battle of St. Giovanno.

The same day general Bellegarde's corps, which occupied before Acqui the positions of Trezzo and Bistanga, was vigorously attacked. Joubert, who pushed the left at Basaluzzo, which permitted him to cover the movement of a column which was detached from the right below the Scrivia by Casano di Spinola, was to follow the mountains which continue on the right side of this river, and march upon Tortona. This movement, which Suwarrow could no longer hinder, but by dislodging the French army from this strong position, decided him to attack it the next morning (16th August). The attack began by the right of the allies under general Kray against the left of the French, where Joubert commanded in person. The action was scarcely begun, when this general, to whose talents and character

racter the French of all parties render equal justice, wishing to animate by his presence, a charge of infantry, crying out, *forward, forward!* was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart. He fell, repeating till he expired, *forward, forward!*

When general Kray endeavoured to turn Novi, the Russian general Pangration attacked in front, but both were repulsed; the Russian division under general Derfelden at the centre, and the left wing of general Melas, then received orders to attack the first by the road of Novi, and Melas by ascending the left side of the Scrivia; but this double attack had no better success than that of the other two generals; Derfelden tried in vain to gain the heights on the left of Novi. The two armies were now engaged a ong the whole of their line: the carnage was horrible. At three in the afternoon, general Kray's corps having been twice repulsed with great loss, Suwarrow tried a second attack against the heights of Novi, with the Russian divisions under the orders of the generals Derfelden, Pangration, and Milloradowitsch; but the resistance of the French was such, that they kept their position, notwithstanding reiterated charges of the columns. The centre of the allied army was almost destroyed in the charges, which Suwarrow sustained and renewed three times with unshaken constancy, notwithstanding their bad success, in order to occupy, or least check the centre of the French army, which he could not force. Moreau, who had taken the command after the death of Joubert, fought in person, and performed, as well as the generals St. Cyr and Desolles, prodigies of valour.

Meanwhile general Melas, with eight battalions of grenadiers, a six of Austrian infantry, wh formed the left wing of the arm having reached the first heights Novi on the side of Pietalle, and spatched general Nobili's co along the left bank of the Scri attempted to turn entirely the ri of the French army; he reac Serravalla, which he unblocke he took possession also of Arqua and marched on by the road of S ravalla upon Novi. He attack the right flank of the French w general Frolich's division: the fr of this attack was formed by first battalion of Furstenberg, a by the brigade of general Lusign who in the first charge was vig rously repulsed, desperately wou ed, and made prisoner. Gene Melas supported this column, wh formed the right and the ch strength of his attack, by a secc under the orders of general La dohn; a third, headed by the prin of Lichtenstein, had orders to p the line of the French to the rear their right, seizing at the same ti on whatever advantageous pos should be found in the interval the columns. Melas strengthen this movement by batteries corr sponding to the direction of t troops;—this manœuvre decid the victory.

Towards five in the evening g neral Melas attacked in flank, w the grenadiers of Paar, the post Novi, which had cost so muc blood from the beginning of the a tion, and which Moreau had ju reinforced in this part, to cover th retreat which he had now ordered the French were constrained t abandon it, finding themselves al most surrounded; the column c the prince of Lichtenstein having cut off their communication wit

Gar

could retreat only by
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xecuted at first in good
the artillery having
the road in passing
village of Pasturano,
which formed the rear-
the village so incum-
forced to halt, it was
disorder, and soon
y the corps of general
whom Suwarrow had
it. The French gene-
n, Grouchy, and Par-
e the last exertions to
r-guard, but could not
three were wounded
isoners, as well as the
general Colli. Night
the combat.

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valour, but with the
espair, against the mul-
ks of troops as valiant
superior in number, a
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by trees and bushes,
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ery side. This position
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tillery, advantageously
very well served. But
degree that their confi-
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f the Russian divisions
left and the centre, so
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ept the battle of Mal-
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n and prince Eugene
shal de Villars in 1709,
00 men perished,—and
nkfort on the Oder in
1759, between the Prussians and the Russians, when Frederick II. left nearly 20,000 men in the field of battle, and did not abandon it till he made as horrible a carnage of the Russian infantry,—no other battle in this century was as bloody as that of Novi. The loss on both sides is estimated at the lowest to amount to 25,000 men. As at Malplaquet, the two armies, engaged on all points of their line, did not cease destroying each as long as the day lasted; or as at the battle of Frankfort, where general Laudohn's fine manœuvre decided the victory; the advantage remained uncertain at Novi, till the moment when general Melas succeeded in turning the right wing of the French.

One of the principal causes of this carnage in engagements, and which rage is continually increasing, is the heroic intrepidity with which the generals on both sides lead on their troops, expose themselves to the thickest of the danger, and raise even to enthusiasm (for such is the expression in the official reports on both sides) the courage of their soldiers, inspiring a military fanaticism. Joubert was the victim of this thirst of glory; instead of placing himself at first within reach of judging, by Suwarrow's first movements, of his principal plan, and reserving himself in order to strike decisive strokes at the proper time and place, when he should have discovered it, he ran the risk of heading at the beginning of the action a charge of bayonets against the first corps that moved,—he fell, and this barren honour deprived his army, from the first motion, of the soul which animated its movements. His place without doubt was well filled by Moreau, who had the secret of his plan, but had not his thoughts; and never during an action is the loss

of

of him who commands sufficiently made up even by another more able.

The French army retreated during the night to the Apennines, pursued by general Karackzy, who had taken possession at Pasturano of a part of the field-artillery. Moreau covered his retreat by occupying the Red Mountain, where general St. Cyr posted himself with his division within reach of defending, towards the road of Gair, the approaches to the Bochetta; the rest of the French army rallied by degrees, and took its former positions. Moreau went to Geneva, and pressed general Championet to go and take the command, to which he was named a short time after by the directory, who had decreed the army of the Alps to that of Italy.

The victory of Novi, the whole honour of which Suwarrow generously attributed to general Melas, was so disputed, that the allies could draw no other advantages from it for the moment than the certainty of the taking of the citadel of Tortona, against which the attack was now more vigorously directed. It had hitherto been conducted slowly, on account of the rockiness of the soil; the weakening also of the French army, and the means thereby of detaching towards Switzerland a body of troops considerable enough to support the left of the Austrian army, or, if it were too late, to re-establish its positions, to close at least on that side the entrance into Italy. General Kray, with a part of his division, was charged with this diversion, and marched towards the valleys by Novara. Suwarrow, after thus detaching his right wing, and ordering general Melas to observe the French army, which kept its advanced posts on the reverse of the Apennines, marched with the centre towards Asti, to hi junction of Championet v army of Joubert, or at least him to form it beyond the decide him to evacuate the republic. This movement the French Alps had also f ject to retain the troops v cupied this frontier in th tions, and to oblige Champ strengthen rather than w the allies covered also by th ment the siege of Coni, fo it became necessary to tak tage of the remainder of season.

The citadel of Tortona pitulated on condition place should not be give the allies till ten days af vided also that during tha received no succour. T ation of Genoa became e more critical: general Kle had taken possession of Maria and of Sisfri di advanced on that side, and Nelson blocked up the p a squadron. The inhabit fered real famine; the Fr not, however, abandon thi important and so unfort the wars of Italy—the pre conquerors, and the last re the conquered.

The Bochetta, however, attacked, and the entrench tion of the French army Ligurian republic contin broken. General Klenau, pushed his posts further a coast, where the frigates English squadron protec march, was anxious to att co, an important post, four distant from Genoa; he pulsed by the division und ral Miolis, which covered on the east, between the Bobbio and the sea. Moreo

esent in this action, olis' division with der general Watrin, rned Klenau's right ghts of Toriglia and attacked him in Miolis met him in , after considerable to retreat upon the d Rappallo.

neral of the French Championet, de- the Col de Tende, Barcelonette, what- could dispose of, were to have been as already been ob- nomcnt of the gene- vitzerland and Italy, ons by his right on streiles, blocked up and by his left on and the Novellese, and the Valley of different attacks on ier of the Alps and ook place (13th to n the same day and rs as the battles of Gothard, and the ent of Novi. The ile, on Mount St. carried, sword in ral Compans; the nt Cenis took pos- ferriere and the No- of Mount Genierre Oulx and Exiles; ard of the camp of e Ubraye, led on by y, seized on the im- he Barricades.

the movements and intermediary army arcely formed under The troops which, s of Moreau, were my of the Rhine, e already assembled, visionary command of general Muller, between Mentz and Manheim, did not execute the measure which had been concerted, that of dividing the attention of the archduke, till the latter end of August, fifteen days after the actions in Switzerland and Italy. The object of this expedition was to draw off from the right side of the Rhine, and the banks of the Necker and the Mein, such resources as the imperial army would have found in those quarters, and also to secure such places and posts as might contribute to favour its march towards the Lower Rhine. General Muller had established his head-quarters (25th August) at Manheim; his advanced guard had marched towards Heidelberg and Schwetzingen, and he detached another column of troops on the right side. After having issued two proclamations, one to his army, to recommend respect to property, so often violated in this unfortunate country; another to the inhabitants, to engage them to remain at their homes, and to dissuade them from defending themselves; Muller marched upon Schwetzinggen, and afterwards upon Wisloch; Heidelberg was occupied (26th August) by the French, after dislodging Szeckler's hussars.

At the same time general Baraguy d'Hillers, commanding the left of the army of the Rhine, left Mentz with a corps composed of infantry, of light troops and horse artillery, which had been drawn from the garrisons of Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz. This corps was divided into two parts; the first marched upon Frankfort, and the second upon Aschaffenburg: that which appeared before Frankfort took possession of the gates and of all the exterior posts. The French general at first exacted the delivery of

of considerable magazines of clothing, which, he was assured, had been made for the imperial army. After a negotiation, which lasted two days, Baraguy d'Hilliers imposed a contribution on the city of 528 000 livres; he afterwards raised this kind of blockade, passed the Mein at the bridge of Sachsenhausen, and, marching by the Bergstrass into the country of Darmstadt, reached (1st September) Heidelberg, where he joined general Muller's division. These generals had pushed their advanced guards as far as Heilbron; but, after having carried off or destroyed the magazines, they were forced to retreat on the approach of the dragoons of La Tour, who had marched to the support of Szeckler's hussars. A body of imperial troops had assembled in haste between Heilbron and Ludwissburg; general Meerveldt marched also a part of general Sizarray's division by the two roads of Radstadt and Pfarzheim, and drove back the advanced guards of the French.

On the first news of the movements of the French towards Suabia (27th August) the archduke detached from Schaffhausen eight battalions of Austrian infantry, of which part took the road of Villingen, and the other that of Brisgaw. A succour more considerable, perhaps, from the opinion and the confidence which it re-established among the people of those unfortunate countries, and from the consequences of this national insurrection, the general rising of the peasants, or the landsturm, invited by the proclamations of the elector of Mentz to the defence of their homes, and organised by the baron [illegible]. This minister had discovered [illegible] energy in the beginning [illegible] of Radstadt; he put hi head of the landsturm, ed, under his direction, De Faber; the arme united themselves to th and routed a French Seligenstadt. The ele this national guard fie bound himself to con the assembling of the in permitted him to disba sturm. A third only bitants were obliged t under arms, and were ed every eight days by two other thirds that the communes. Foot the line were mingled sants, in the proportion to ten, and charged to i in military manœuvres.

This sudden alarm, sp the electorate of Me circle of Franconia, ga an auxiliary force, whi hitherto vainly solicite ardour spreading itself this time as terror duri ceding invasions, more men rose in arms, a g of which were sent ba of grenadiers and light formed, to which we companies of artillery drons of Szeckler's hu baron d'Albini gave n commander of Mentz, suffered any of the G tional guards to be shot make reprisals on the tional guards which the threw into his hands. army crossed Frankfor the banks of the Mein, ened Mentz.

The neutrality of the the landgrave was res himself was faithful in o and, in order to support ed the garrison of Darm

ample of the singu-
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in arms, a territory,
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l Muller, after as-
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re his communica-
his retreat, on the
post on the Necker,
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rmly answered the
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ke had already re-
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llied army in Switz-
lieved the greatest

part of the Austrian divisions in the entrenched positions at Zurich by Russian troops. Massena, taking advantage of these counter-marches and frequent changes on the line of the Lake of Zurich and Wallenstadt, pressed more closely upon the left of the allies. He had attacked anew at Wallishoffen the Swiss legions, commanded by M. de Roverea: this engagement between the advanced posts, where the Cossacks fought for the first time, was attended with no result of importance. The generals Soult and Molitor made a more vigorous attack on the posts of Uznach and Glaris, and succeeded in taking more advantageous positions.

Notwithstanding those menaces on the rear of his army, the archduke made no change in the position at Zurich, but continued his movement by the right flank, and crossed the Rhine with a considerable body of Austrian troops, part of which marched on the side of Brisgaw. On the 4th of September his head-quarters were fixed at Donawschingen, from whence general Stzarray had marched to the relief of Philipsburg. This operation, and the new arrangements in the allied armies of Switzerland and Italy, were made not only to cover Suabia and check the French on the left side of the Rhine; a different repartition of the armies was about to take place: the counter-march of general Kray, who had already reached Milan, and received orders to retrograde with his division, the re-union in Switzerland of the whole of the auxiliary Russian army in the pay of England, the march of the corps of the prince of Condé towards Schaffhausen, the formation of the imperial army and that of the empire, under the orders of the archduke, in Suabia, to the

amount of 60,000 men, were the first indications of a new plan of operations, since the active and vigorous defence of the French, in spite of the constant reverses and immense losses they had undergone in men and stores of every kind, had defeated all the projects of the allies, whose losses, not less considerable, rendered the further execution of their plans impracticable at that moment.

In order to return to the domestic affairs of the French republic, we shall here finish the recital of this general attack, of this series of actions, in which about three hundred thousand men were engaged at the same time, with equal fury, from the Gulf of Genoa to the Lower Rhine, without any decisive advantage resulting either to the French government or the coalition; without even any change in their respective positions from this terrible shock, by which both parties, alternately conquerors and conquered, were almost every-where equally exhausted. Impressed, without doubt, with this state of things, favourable, upon the whole, to the republic, losing retaking, before the s his former positions c Alps, unable to recov tages which he had lo cing to the safety of Italy, and to the glo row, that part of his was destined to pierce ley of the Aar, havin troops enough to throw his left, and force hi his impregnable positi he covered the weakes frontiers of France, t was about to change, tend his plan of op considered the whole land as a single point French government h the greater part of it disposed himself to act and chiefly on the left vast and formidable turning, on the side Alsace, that mass of that theatre steeped i hausted and depopulate his numerous cavalry subsist nor act.

CHAP. XIII.

ciations throughout the Republic. Royalist Insurrection in the South. the Royalists. Troubles of Bourdeaux. Measures of Safety pro- Commission named for saving the Country. Denunciation in the ainst the Directory. Proclamation of the Directory against Royal- tion of General Jourdan for saving the Country. Means adopted by n Party to carry through this Motion without Discussion. Changes istry and the Administration of Paris. State of St. Domingo. ion of General Rigaud against Toussaint Louverture. Impolicy of rectory. Civil War in the Colony. Peace restored. Actual State nch and allied Republics. Batavian Republic. Advantages and f the projected Expedition. Departure from the Downs of the First vision. State of the English and Russian Forces employed in the Ex- State of the Dutch and French Troops in Holland. Political Situ- e Batavian Republic. Denunciation against the Batavian Govern- e Jacobins of Paris. Address of the Batavian Embassador, and s of the Calumniators. Summons of Surrender to the Dutch Fleet. f the English Army under General Abercrombie. Defeat of the Revolt of the Sailors on board the Dutch Fleet. Surrender of the he English. Overtures made by General Abercrombie to the Batav- rnment. March of General Brune towards North Holland. Re- sitions of the Armies. Ill Success of the Attack on the English by and Dutch Armies. Fruitless Diversion of the Prince of Orange tern Frontiers. Preparations for the Defence of Amsterdam; Land- Duke of York and the Russian Troops. General Attack of the En- Russians on the French and Dutch Lines. Battle of Bergen. Result ion. Descent of the English in Friesland. Formidable Preparations by General Brune. General Attack on the French and Dutch Line. d Retreat of the French and Dutch Army. Surinam taken by the Embarrassment of the French Government in the Assistance given to Progress of the Archduke's Army in Suabia. Relief of Philips- feat of the French at Manheim. Menace of the Archduke to pass

JGH the directory, ting up the jacobin , had lopped off the d of this anarchical onster had multiplied l continued to threat- ous points, the ruin ic. From Amiens in the Mediterranean, ern frontier to Roche- fort, the same spirit of disorganisation and insubordination prevailed; and, as if the conspiracy spoken of in the council of the elders had not been a figure, explosions in those different latitudes took place (6th August) on the same day. Toulouse, the great focus of jacobinism in the south of France, where the exclusive patriots had

since the 30th of Prairéal, reigned unrivalled, became the theatre of civil contention, and was on the point of being besieged by an army of sixteen thousand royalists, who, it is asserted, had been set in motion by the manœuvres of the jacobinical party. This royalist army had marched from the neighbouring departments, under experienced leaders, with all the apparatus of war, proclaiming Louis the XVIIIth, and re-establishing, in the various communes through which they passed, as far as lay in their power, the ancient order of things. Various conflicts took place in the country around Toulouse between the republican columns and those royalists; the latter of whom, after a severe engagement, were dispersed, leaving upwards of a thousand men on the field, with their commander in chief and the whole of their artillery.

Bourdeaux was also for a time the theatre of jacobinical disorder. The municipal administration was in the hands of the exclusive patriots. In a fray, of which it appears that the officers of the police were the instigators, several citizens were killed and wounded; others were imprisoned; and that commune exhibited for a time those scenes of affright and consternation which marked the days of the reign of terror. Partial measures were taken by the government for the suppression of these disorders; but no effectual remedy could be applied whilst the anarchists found advocates in the seat of power, who, blaming in the legislative body the excesses of the faction, made it understood that it was not their projects, but their imprudence, which had incurred their disapprobation. The two leading members of the directory still continued to be the

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cations to royalty, and painting, in strong and vivid colouring, the desolation and calamities which would attend its restoration: but neither the wisdom of the commission, nor the profession of faith of the directory, were of any avail; the party would no longer lis en to compromise, and were determined to save the country in their own way. Having exhausted every other mode of persuasion, seeing the formation of popular societies discouraged by the government, and the jacobin journalists, the heralds of the party, suppressed,—and finding that the commission for the proposal of measures of public safety recommended such as strengthened the hand of the executive power, which it was their purpose to destroy,—they resolved to bring the question before the public, plain and undisguised, since none of the indirect methods which they had hitherto undertaken had succeeded. To give dignity to their project, it was necessary to have the question introduced by a member, whose impartiality would give weight to his opinion, and whose energy would carry it through the opposition which it would necessarily meet with from the moderate part of the council. Angereau had been employed in moving for the organisation of the popular societies: the instrument of their present projects was general Jourdan, for it was a step of no little importance to the party to have experienced military men at their head. Jourdan represented the dangers with which the republic was threatened; the treason which had prepared the defeat of the armies; Italy lost for liberty; fortified places given up by perfidy, or forced to surrender for want of subsistence; the armies a prey to dilapidators; the fron-

tiers threatened; the Batavian republic invaded, and its fleet given up to the enemy, through the most base and infamous cowardice. Such he described the situation of affairs without: within, a vast royalist conspiracy, he asserted, was thoroughly organised, having its committees and chiefs at Paris; on every side the torches of civil war lighted, and the patriots sacrificed. But admitting the statement to be true, and that these dangers really existed, it was by no means a clear point that the remedy proposed would not have increased the evil; the hands by which this remedy was offered made its application with great reason suspected. The party had hoped to have carried this question by acclamation, knowing how fatal any discussion would be to their project; and therefore, when a member of the opposite side presented himself at the tribune to speak on the motion, they drowned his voice with their tumult, and occasioned one of those scenes which had so often disgraced the deliberations of former assemblies. Their aim was to have terrified the majority into compliance, having adopted the measures employed in those revolutionary periods of surrounding the hall with a crowd devoted to their purpose, the orators without seconding those within; and measures were equally taken, had the council of five hundred adopted it, to push it with the same vigour through the council of the elders. But the majority stood inflexible; and, on the menace of the president, Boulay de la Meurthe, to dissolve the assembly, the discussion of the question was permitted to take place.

The member under whose auspices the resolution was introduced, and who had proposed the same measure in the coun seven,—Lamarque, after that the republicans, tho vided respecting the mea agreed with respect to the the question, endeavoured that the declaration cou tended with no danger; idea was entertained of ove the constitution; that no boured a thought of int the revolutionary regimen; it was necessary to give impulse to the national fo raise it up in a mass for the of the country; that the would not interfere with mony of the supreme au but that, on the contrary, licity of the means wo strength to the execution. Bonaparte, who on vari sions had first mounted the in the time even when thei tory was omnipotent, and first warned his countrymen the ambitious and impoli jects of that body, with re the allied republics, as against their despotic and c machinations at home, p himself first at the tribune bat the motion, having opposed it at the commi seven. He observed, that but of two modes of sav republic, that of plenary co in the directory, and the ment of the spirit of op He added, that the counc elders, which had so often country, would again save recommended again a firm dence in the present di against which no proofs treason or ignorance had stated, treating as chimeri projects of dictatorship, whi enemies had so peremptori buted to them. This spee

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the party friendly to the motion, when it was combated with great force of eloquence and strength of reasoning by the president of the council. Many other incidents occurred during the debate, which gave fresh room for declamation to the party for strong measures, among which was the dismissal of Bernadotte from the ministry of war, which was proclaimed in the council, and gave colour to the assertions already made, that the directory was meditating a *coup-d'état* on the representation. At length the previous question was put and carried by a considerable majority, when the nominal appeal being demanded, the proposition of declaring the country in danger was negatived by a majority of 245 voices against 171.

No question since the revolution had caused greater apprehensions, or more lively agitations, than this abstract proposition for declaring, what every one felt to be true, that the country was in danger. The citizens of Paris, almost at all times indifferent with respect to the state or struggle of parties, took serious interest in the discussion of this question. During the two days that it lasted, the groupes which surrounded the courts during the sittings augmented in number at the close of each day, filed off into different quarters of the town, to prompt the inhabitants to insurrection and disorder. Deputies were insulted, and even assaulted in going in and out of the council; the overthrow of Sieyes and Barras, and cries for pikes to save the country, issued from the mouths of this turbulent multitude, whom the guard endeavoured less to restrain than to watch, and prevent more material mischief. The triumph of the moderate party was complete, nor did

the directory lose the opportunity of following up the victory, by making considerable changes in the municipal and departmental administrations in Paris; replacing men who had thrust themselves in after the 30th Prairéal, of whom those that were at all known were infamous for revolutionary crimes, and who had mingled in this project of saving the country, by a previous organisation of the means, had the question been carried. These men were replaced by others of weight and character, whose names gave credit to the places which they filled. One remarkable exception, however, took place with respect to the minister at war, Bernadotte, who had been drawn, perhaps inconsiderately, into the protection of the measure; the directory sent him his dismission, and imprudently replaced him by a terrorist of famous memory, the besieger of the city of Lions, Dubois de Crancé.

It was not France alone that was geven up as a prey to contending parties; a civil war had broken out at this period, and for a short time raged with dreadful fury in the chief of the French colonies, St. Domingo, between Rigaud, general of the southern departments of this island, and the general in-chief, Toussaint Louverture. It appears that the conduct of this latter general, in his administration of the colony, had long been displeasing to Rigaud, who could not enter into Toussaint's policy of keeping well with all parties, of making a salutary compromise with circumstances, and lessening, as far as was consistent with the colony, the horrors of war. The accusation against Toussaint was couched in a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the southern part of the colony. In th (2d of June) Rigau that he had been a grants, and, amon whom he had him the colony, had f with Toussaint, a ated him to that ge those calumnies be reproaches or ill- tions, he should b with merited con these reproaches into menaces aga and against the re served that Touss him with raising revolt against the he had shown, on the greatest respec tuted authorities, English and their ever he found them would still do, had of those places gave them the libe stated, that his gr his attachment to republic, and his h enemies; that the in contempt of the ing under foot th republic, and the lony, had ordered made on the sout colony; that had attack been a pe tween himself and would have withdr the sake of peace; of the west had ta attitude, without t ing him acquainted he was resolved to force, and not ab to the fury of the grants, who were comed by Toussai ments of the wes wherever he had t

hat Rigaud, though Toussaint, had re- structions from the ment, who did not re than Rigaud, the of this general, to ny was indebted for eriods when the mo- as incapable of ren- otection. Toussaint, ch of directorial in- ess inclined to subject m a subaltern agent; gaud be accused of nceived hostile mea- more probable that not ceremonious in o rid himself of a er were really the a bloody and de- ment took place be- ps of both generals; were taken and re- oussaint was about to advantages he had an order arrived at which deprived Ri- mmand, and invested the whole authority. udent measure tran- estored to the island, which Rigaud had so *republicanly* proscrib- ded to the south as arts of the island. vise measure of the nment, peace was re- colony, aided by the his negro chief, whose o France, notwith- conduct of his own or the seductions of ined unshaken, and ated, amidst ruin and kind of prosperity Far different, at this the situation of the try, ready to be given furious and contend- the western depart- ments hoisting openly the standard of revolt in favour of royalty; the south about to open again the scene of terror and bloodshed; while the allied republics, the great advanced posts of the French, the Neopolitan, Roman, Cisalpine, had been utterly swept away; the Helvetic half invaded, the Ligurian hanging on the thread of existence, and none but the Batavian republic remained intact, the great bulwark of the northern departments without the old line of the frontier of France.

As the topographical situation of this last republic placed it beyond the reach of the allies till the northern territory of the French republic had been trodden by the coalesced continental armies, the restoration of the ancient order of things in this part of Europe, the avowed end of the present destructive war, fell naturally to the lot of England; since of all the enterprises which could be combined against the republic, none could be more desirable to the British government than the re-establishment of the prince of Orange, which, while it deprived the French government of great resources which might yet be drawn from this mine, not yet exhausted, might force it to employ in that quarter a part of the forces destined to complete the army of the Rhine. The success of this great diversion would have secured to the allies the means of opening again the campaign in the Low Countries with an English, Russian, and Stadtholderian army, and of fomenting insurrection among the inhabitants, a great part of whom were still ready for revolt. The raising up of the party of the stadtholder by force of arms was a leading object with the British cabinet, as in possession of the mother country,

country, of all the colonies, and the Dutch marine. England would become almost absolutely mistress of the peace; the Scheldt would have been closed, and such a political dyke raised between France and Holland as would secure to England the only guarantee of the duration of its influence on the continent.

Whether the British cabinet had deferred this decisive stroke till the moment when it might be supposed that the French, from their great reverses, would be obliged to withdraw the rest of their army from Holland to defend their own frontier, or whether the project of this tardy expedition had been really conceived at the moment when the Brest fleet entered the Mediterranean, it was only about the beginning of the month of June that preparations for it began at Southampton and Yarmouth. The insurrection in Ireland had been crushed; the French were too seriously engaged in every other direction to occasion any further disquietude at that season; it was, therefore, in full security, that the English government combined with Russia a grand continental expedition. This expedition, under the command of general Abercrombie, who had assembled at Southampton a corps of twelve battalions, and a few troops of cavalry, was at first talked of as being secret; but these preparations were soon augmented, and pushed on with the greatest activity, and it was well known long before it sailed that the secret expedition was destined for Holland. Of this knowledge, the French undoubtedly made some advantage; yet it would perhaps have been difficult to have kept entirely secret its destination; nor was the divulging it perhaps so impolitic as may at first sight appear; for, still not simply a military operation, as no doubt was entertained the presence alone of a fleet army would determine the partisans of the house of Or and draw in the terrified maj to receive the allies as deliverer appeared probable that the co knowledge of the end of the pedition, the éclat and the im sity of the preparations, woul fail to increase the confidence boldness of the English party, derange and disorder, in the degree, the counsels and desig the republicans. The colle of an army of 20 to 25,000 in two divisions, the naming ports and roads where the prin embarkment was to take plac the mouth of the Thames; duke of York appointed gene chief; the news of an embark of a Russian army on the Baltic declarations in favour of the holder; the arrival of the y hereditary prince at Lingen; were the certain signs, the po indications of the intentions o English government.

But though no mystery wa served with respect to the prin object of the expedition, and force to be employed in car it into execution, the directio the attack was carefully kept se The only station of the transport the conveyance of the troops th ened Zealand, the mouths of Meuse and Scheldt; and, on other side, the distance of the sians, their long navigation, importance of a diversion dir trically opposite, and towards eastern provinces, which looked upon as being best disp in favour of the stadtholder, it credited that the Russians, ente by the Weser and the Ems, w

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battalions of infantry, of 600 men each; of different corps of cavalry, amounting to 500 men, and a fine train of artillery, making in all 27,000 men: the Russian army, which was on its passage, amounted to about 18 or 20 000 men: so that the duke of York, when the winds (which must have blown in contrary directions to assemble the whole of those combined troops) should be favourable, would have under his command in Holland an army of at least 45,000 men.

The force of the Dutch government consisted at that period of nine ships of the line, and a few frigates, under the command of admiral Story, anchored in the inner channel of the Texel, behind the island of this name, and the fort or rather point of the Helder, the northern extremity of the province of Holland. Its regular land forces, raised with extreme difficulty, were estimated at about 20,000 men. It was but a short time before that the French government thought fit to excite the Dutch to form an army, and organise a national guard. The first act of independence was become necessary, since the army of 24,000 men, which, by the terms of the treaty, was to be kept up by the Batavian republic to garrison its fortified towns, and defend its territory, was far from being complete. The Dutch had already complained, that, after having for a long time paid as a tribute, either in money or kind, for the support of this auxiliary army, there was not in Holland the half of this force at the moment in which it was threatened with an invasion. This complaint was justly founded. The French government, pressed by the attacks of the allied armies, had been forced to march upon the Rhine

Rhine and into Switzerland a great part of the troops which were in Holland, and especially the cavalry, which had been newly clothed and remounted there; so that there did not remain more than 8 or 10,000 men on the Dutch territory. General Brune, who commanded them, and whom the directory of the Batavian republic commissioned, in conformity to the treaty, to take the command in chief of the troops of the two nations, and to make every disposition for defence, made provision at first for that of Zealand, where he left a division of French troops; and charging generals Daendels and Dumonceau, the one with the defence of the coasts of the province of Holland, and the other with that of the provinces of the east, kept a reserve ready to march upon whatever point was threatened.

The political state of Holland, and the views and conduct of the three parties which then divided the nation, are also objects deserving attention. The anarchists, who for a year past had been anxious to regain possession of power, and to overthrow the moderate party, which had kept them in obedience with wisdom and vigour, had then ceased their opposition to the measures of the directory, and served the common interest of the friends of the new constitution, or rather the anti-stadtholderian party. The partisans of the house of Orange, seeing their cause supported by foreign forces so preponderant, waited, in silence, till some decisive success should have destroyed the confidence which the government showed in its means of defence; till a first success on the part of the allies should have precipitated towards a decided change in favour of the re-establishment of the stadtholder, that sluggish mass, crowd of men, who in every try, in every revolution, ha the rule of their conduct, a measure of their interest, co instinct of their own preserva ingenious in covering with th blance of wisdom their aff desertions from one party t ther, quick and ardent in j ing their apostacy, and mak parade of their devotedness conqueror.

The Dutch government ha more actively and orderly in i parations than had been exp it pressed the raising of levie lected stores of every kind had neglected no means of de Freed in some measure fro cobins at home, it entangl self at this period in a disput those of Paris, who, not s withstormenting their own g ment, had undertaken the s sion of the Batavian republic. the same confidence that the lished the conspiracy of the l government in favour of r they charged also every perso held an employment in the vian republic, particularly t preme magistrates, with bei toriously sold to the stadth and ready to co-operate in a views of the English cabinet any other period these ass would have been regarded a calumny; but at the moment invasion, when the governm an allied republic ought to b Cæsar's wife, not only not but not even suspected, it w sential to destroy even the ren idea respecting their fidelity to the French nation, on whose tection their safety in that sta crisis principally depended. Dutch embassador at Paris, S melpennich, addressed a manl enc

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Story a summons, or rather an invitation, to acknowledge the prince of Orange, and to give his squadron the example, which it would not fail to follow, of hoisting the Orange flag, and of going over to the English fleet; adding, that 20,000 English were already landed at the Helder. Story answered peremptorily in the negative, and the Batavian government took advantage of this incident to support the courage and spirit of the public by a proclamation. A summons of a similar kind was sent by general Abercrombie to the commander of the Helder fort, and met with the same refusal.

The winds were contrary to the English till the 26th of August; and on that same day the fleet, which had remained in view, anchored along the coast, from the mouth of the Texel as far as Calants-Oge: it was composed of 15 ships of the line, from 45 to 50 frigates, sloops, and cutters, and about 130 sail of transports. Early the next morning general Abercrombie landed all his battalions of grenadiers and light-infantry under the protection of the guns of his fleet. Daendels, who had united his division at the Great Keeten, marched towards the Downs with a few battalions of light infantry. An engagement took place at the moment when the English were about to take possession of the Downs and march forward. Colonel Luch was killed: the rest of Daendels' division, the 5th demi-brigade, a regiment of cavalry, and a part of the horse-artillery, came successively up, and joined in the action. The advanced guard of the English, continually reinforced, gained ground: the Dutch battalion of Herbig charged with the bayonet, and was

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in its turn taken in flank by the English light infantry. This warm engagement, and which cost the English about a thousand men, lasted till four in the afternoon. The Dutch fought to a considerable disadvantage, on the sandy and unequal ground of the Downs, on account of the incessant fire from the ships, under which they could not prevent the landing from taking place: they were therefore obliged to abandon the shore to the English; and Daendels withdrew to his first position at Keeten. Finding himself, therefore, cut off from the Helder, he sent orders to colonel Guilquin, the commander, to spike the cannon of the batteries, and retreat instantly by the dyke of Kægras, and rally on his right. This manœuvre preserved, indeed, the garrison of the Helder, which was necessary for the ulterior defence of the country, but it opened the Texel to the English fleet; whilst, if the garrison had quitted the Helder sooner, and left a rear guard, it might have acted on the flanks of the English at the moment of landing, and, according to the event of the combat, have gone back to their post, or retreated with the rest of the troops under Daendels. But it is almost impossible to hinder a landing, protected by a squadron, on an open shore. There is but one moment to seize, that in which the first troops are establishing themselves, and looking for a position, in order to take advantage of the first shock produced by a brisk and general attack.

The two following days Daendels kept his position, the left at Petten, the centre at Zand, and the right at Keeten. He had scarcely 8000 men, comprehending the garrison of the Helder; his left, below which t might, in pursuing the a landing, seemed bu tuated; this determin make a retrograde mo therefore declined batt right wing, which had the following day (Au Avenhorn, his left bel and his centre at Schei in which position he self more within reach reinforcements from and Dutch troops, wh recting themselves fron by forced marches, tow Holland, when no fur tainty remained respecti of attack.

Brune reached Alk days after (Sept. 2), position, with his divis left of the line. Gen crombie, master of th peninsula of the Helde his landing, entrenche vanced posts towards his occupied with his left the Helder, and the batt had been evacuated. moment the passage of was also occupied by t and admiral Story was quit his anchorage to pu to the Vlieter, the chan the north, in order to reach. A great part of t convoy and frigates h chored (29th August) i of the Texel, and the w freshened from the nor Story determined to take of the first tide to fall the road, and chase or convoy. It was at thi that a revolt broke out a crew aboard the Wash which their insubordin already offered sympto pretence that the admiral

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order (30th August)
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Admiral Mitchell,
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in indignant terms against the treason and cowardice of his crews, and declaring himself prisoner of war, as well as all his officers. The same evening the Orange flag, which for two days past floated on the towers and batteries of the Texel and the Helder, was hoisted on all the vessels of the Dutch fleet. Besides that fleet, composed of eight ships of the line and three frigates, which surrendered to admiral Mitchell, three ships of the line, five frigates, and five East-India vessels, were taken in the Nieuve Diep, as well as the artillery and stores which were in the place.

The Batavian republic had nothing left but a few vessels dispersed in the ports of Zealand; and it is not one of the least of the political singularities which characterise the end of the present century, to see the Dutch, without marine, forming a land-army to defend the entrance to Amsterdam by the sea; to see them defending their sand-banks and marshes against the prince of Orange, and the British forces giving battle on swamps, and taking military positions between canals,—a kind of warfare the antipodes of that of the mountains, presenting, nevertheless, almost as great obstacles, without offering the same advantages. Cavalry and horse-artillery, two armies sufficiently numerous for a campaign in the Low Countries, composed of 80,000 men, take their positions on this faithless and almost floating soil, and mingle in horrid fray amidst a labyrinth of dykes and marshes.

The defection of the fleet, against which the Batavian government ought to have provided, since the mutinous disposition of the crews was not unknown to it, having led general Abercrombie to presume that the Batavian government would

would be disposed to enter into negotiation with him before the arrival of the French troops, demanded from general Daendels an escort or passport for general Don, who was to offer at the Hague particular communications from the English government. This passport was refused, and general Abercrombie was invited to send his communications in writing. The government sought to efface the impression which this overture might make on the public, and sent a commission, composed of the director Vanhoeft, and of four representatives of both chambers, to general Brune at Alkmaar, to testify to him, and to make known to the army, the firm resolution of the Batavian government to defend itself to the last extremity. The publication of new assurances of promises of speedy succours, made by the French directory, came in aid of those marks of confidence.

The landing of general Abercrombie's army being finished, and the attack by North Holland entirely decided on, Brune directed by Haerlem upon Alkmaar all the forces that were at his disposal. Means were taken also for the defence of Amsterdam on the side of the Zuyder Zee, and the slip of land called Buick-sloot, the proximity of which might have led to apprehensions of a bombardment. The Batavian division under general Dumonceau, of six thousand men, passed through Amsterdam (3d September); all the French troops who were on the side of the Hague, and on the coasts, or towards the mouth of the Meuse, filed off by Egmont upon Alkmaar. In every village the citizens took arms; requisitions for two, three, five hundred men, in different towns, were answered by the appearance of eight, ten, [illegible] hundred; and, in some pl[illegible] whole of the inhabitants [illegible] to join the army in North H[illegible]

While these reinforceme[illegible] arriving on every side, the [illegible] moved forward, and took [illegible] the Zyp, a low and in[illegible] ground, about eight mile[illegible] tent, at the entrance of th[illegible] sula, and defended by a d[illegible] hind which they entrenche[illegible] selves, defending it with [illegible] rous artillery; the advanc[illegible] of their right extended fro[illegible] to Eenigenburg; those of [illegible] re a little behind, and p[illegible] the great dyke, were at St[illegible] Volkoog, and Schagen; [illegible] their left at Havinghuy[illegible] Zydewind.

In order to concentre h[illegible] Brune (September 4th) [illegible] French and Batavian [illegible] change their position by [illegible] and take post before Alkm[illegible] marched the advanced [illegible] Schoorl and Groot, the [illegible] possible to the sea and the [illegible] guard of the right of the [illegible] army. Skirmishes betwee[illegible] vanced posts took place[illegible] the centre of the two armi[illegible] side of Oud Carspel an[illegible] hoorne.

The English had as yet [illegible] no other reinforcements th[illegible] of the duke of York's [illegible] consisting of 4 or 5,000 me[illegible] general Don; the Russi[illegible] under the orders of the [illegible] Hermann and Essen, had [illegible] met at sea by the aviso wh[illegible] been sent to order them to [illegible] wards the Texel, but met [illegible] sively at the point of rendez[illegible] Yarmouth, where they w[illegible] tained by contrary winds, [illegible] did not permit them to tur[illegible] the rest of the English [illegible]

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General Dumonceau marched at first by Schoreldam, attacked and carried the entrenched post of Krabbendam, but he could not force the entrenchments of the Zyp; some battalions gave way altogether, and he was obliged to fall back. The right wing, which had marched forwards with great ardour, was thrown into the greatest disorder by the cries of "Save who can, we are entirely surrounded!" which came from the end of the column, and which led the greater part of general Daendel's infantry to take flight.

After this general and fruitless attack, which cost much blood, the French and Batavian army resumed its former position; the left a little below Petten, and the advanced posts of the centre at Schoreldam. New reinforcements joined the Batavian army; general Brune ordered the authors of the rout to be tried by a court-martial, and the conduct of other officers to be examined. The same day that this action took place, (September 10th) the duke of York left Yarmouth with 80 sail of transports: during these operations the young prince of Orange had made a diversion or false attack on two points of the frontier of Over-Yssel, distant from each other, but equally important, if he could have gained possession of either. He summoned the little fortress of Coevorden, which borders the country of Bantheim, and pushed forward, on the side of Arnheim, at the confluence of the Yssel and the Rhine, a body of his partisans, who penetrated as far as Wester-Woort, on the left bank of the Yssel, at a league from Arnheim. These attempts were fruitless; the stadtholder's proclamations did not excite the least movement in the

country. The national guards of Arnheim and Oldenrad marched with cannon, attacked and dispersed the little army of the prince, who, having received news of the taking of the Dutch fleet, embarked at Embden with his officers, to go and join the army of the duke of York. The Dutch fleet in a few days after sailed for England. The sailors of both nations, it seems, were equally discontented; the Dutch, because they did not understand that they had surrendered to the English, but only to the stadtholder, and to remain in Holland under the Orange flag; the English, from a sentiment of national pride, disdaining such sort of conquests. Their respective princes, since the Duch sailors had become stadtholderian, wished to see them in harmony: but the union of the two colours did not prevent them from remaining enemies, and subject to foreign rule and discipline; the Dutch were left to ruminate on the consequences of their fruitless defection.

The excellent position which general Abercrombie had taken, and the happy experiment which he had made of the force of his entrenchments behind the dykes of the Zyp, permitted him to extend himself by his left, or at least to pass strong detachments to procure the resources of which he stood most in need. The English fleet of boats which had entered the Zuyder-Zee took possession of Medenblick; and this first maritime attack having given inquietude to Amsterdam, the preparations for the defence of the road were hastened with all possible energy: vessels were sunk in the mouth of the channel, called the Pampus; the batteries of Dimmadam and Durkerdam were mounted at the entrance of the port; an officer of the French marine was charged with th manœuvres, and the Fr ral D'Hinnisdel took th of the place, and of all ment of the Amstel.

General Brune, who ing a considerable re from the Low Countrie was pressing the Batav ment to augment their l tional guards, limited keeping general Aberc in his close position, v ever, he could not p from waiting the arri ceiving the Russians a division of the English t advanced posts of the Batavians were within n of the entrenchments themselves fortified by both positions became spectable every day. action took place (15th between the advance wards the centre of Warmanhuysen, of wh glish had taken possessi which they were dislo neral Dumonceau, at t detachment of grenadi fantry, at the moment York reached the Texe ed his troops, which, joi at the Zyp, made ab men. Two days aft division of Russian tr 13,000 men, under th general Hermann, a Yarmouth. Scarcely troops landed, than t York marched forward, them take possession of Petten on the right of t

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vision of English, drove back the French advanced posts, which were at Kamp and Groot; he then pushed forwards, with the intention of surrounding the division under the orders of general Vandamme, who, having no longer any support for his left, was forced to retreat. The Russians took possession of Schoreldam, and soon after of Bergen, an estate belonging to the prince of Nassau, with a considerable village, around which were very fine woods, into which the French troops withdrew, or rather concentred themselves, after having yielded to the impetuous attack of general Hermann, who was now only half a league distant from Alkmaar. The Russians therefore had already passed the rear of the centre of Brune's line, whilst the duke of York, with a strong division of English troops, mingled with some Russians, attacked him in front.

In this position, Brune marched the rear-guard of Dumonceau's division upon Bergen, by a bridge of communication, which he had established within a few days on the canal which leads to the Zyp, ordering Daendel's division to draw closer to the centre, which had been weakened by this movement. The Russian column, which had advanced too far, found itself attacked on a sudden on both its flanks by Vandamme's division, and by part of Dumonceau's, without power of communicating with the centre of the English. Having surrounded the village of Bergen by his left, on the side of the Downs, and by his right, on the side of Alkmaar, Vandamme attacked with the bayonet; the village was retaken after a conflict, which was so much the more obstinate, as the Russians were in hopes of being able to maintain their first advan-

tage till they were supported by the English; they fought like men driven to desperation, and, when broken and dispersed, defended themselves in the church, and in the houses, where great carnage ensued. The French general Gouvion distinguished himself in this affair. The retreat of the most considerable part of general Hermann's column was cut off, it was almost entirely destroyed, and lost its artillery. Hermann was himself made prisoner, and general Essen, who commanded under him, was dangerously wounded. A great advantage on the side of the French was the accurate knowledge of the ground on which they fought, an advantage of no little importance in a country so minutely intersected, and of which the Russians, who had landed the preceding day, were totally ignorant. The Russians laboured also under another disadvantage, which was that of not having taken the repose necessary for undergoing so great a fatigue after a cruise by sea, which is more debilitating, in general, to troops than long marches or engagements.

General Dumonceau, who was also wounded at the beginning of the action, maintained, or re-took his position, but his division suffered much, because it had to sustain the efforts of the centre of the English army, and prevent it from giving succours to its right. General Daendel's division, which occupied the position of Oude-Carspel, and formed, as has been observed the right of the line of the Batavian army, was attacked by the English as warmly as the left had been by the Russians. After having stood firm till past mid day, it was dislodged with the loss both of men and artillery. This division, already weakened by the succours which general Daendels had sent to that of the centre, and in which the
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From the day of the battle of Bergen, nothing of any importance for a week or ten days passed between the two armies. That of the duke of York, in resuming its post of the Zyp, had re-established and strengthened its right, flanked by the sea with the towns of Enchuysen and Medenblick on its left. From those posts, the fleet of gunboats continued to attack and harass different points of the Zuyder-Zee; and, masters of the Lemmer, the English made a descent in Freisland, summoned Harderwick, and attacked Staveren, without reaping, however, from those attacks, the fruits they expected, on account of the situation of the interior; nor did they produce any resources, which were becoming less abundant every day. The left Russian division arrived in the interval, and the combined army prepared to renew its attacks; it appeared, even by the speeches in parliament, and by the bill proposed for the employment of militia out of the kingdom, that the ministry were decided to pursue their plan, without suffering themselves to be shaken by the difficulties which the nature of the country presented, the unexpected efforts of the Batavian government, and the aid of France, much more extensive than had been deemed possible at this epocha of the campaign.

Brune, still inferior in strength, was waiting a division which Kellerman had organised in the Low Countries, and of which he was hastening the march towards North Holland. The Batavian government also neglected nothing to complete and augment its battalions. From the concurrence of both republics, the defensive position of the French and Batavian army became every day stronger: Brune had strengthened the different entrenchments which covered his left, chiefly before the village of Bergen; the woods which surround it, the Downs which covered and commanded it, on the side of the north, in the direction of the avenue of Schoreldam, rendered this part of the position very respectable, and the same ground from the Downs to the sea was not less favourable for the defensive; the centre and the right were almost impregnable, the swelling of the waters had allowed him to extend the great inundation of the Huyger-Waard, and, if it were not entirely complete, at least almost all the country had been rendered marshy and impracticable, and all the roads and passages between Alkmaar and Medenblick were cut in every direction.

In the rear of this line, the Polder of the Beemster being almost entirely inundated, and covering Edam and Purmerend, the front of the defensive was reduced to two leagues and a half, or three leagues at most. This observation is so much the more important, as the English and Russian army passed all at once from an attack too diverging to the contrary excess; since, if it succeeded in passing the position of Alkmaar, instead of being able to extend itself, in order to take advantage of its superiority, it was obliged to double its lines, and to narrow the interval of its columns; the disadvantage of this kind of attack is obvious, and so much the more in the case of a retreat, as the ground presents itself in an inverse mode, and obstructs the rallying, instead of favouring it. It was on the second of October that the duke of York made a general attack with the whole of his forces: as he could not manœuvre by his left, on account of the inun-

dations, nor hazard an engagement in difficult passes to turn the Waard, he directed once more his principal effort against the French divisions which formed the left of General Brune. The advanced parts of this left and of the centre of the French and Batavian army were at first attacked and dislodged, from Groet, Kamp, Schoriel, and Schoreldam, by the Russian and English troops. The disposition of the duke of York's attack was in four columns; that of the right, formed by three brigades of infantry, nine squadrons of dragoons, and a detachment of artillery on horseback, was led on by general Abercrombie; this column followed the sea-shore. Two columns of nearly the same force, composed, one of Russian troops, and another of English, marched upon Bergen, and, after having followed the road at the foot of the downs of Camperdown, extended themselves by the right to the heights. A fourth column, in which was the young Prince of Orange, kept in check Daendel's division. After the posts of Schoreldam had been carried, the engagement took a more serious turn before Bergen; general Gouvion, who commanded in this village, supported the attack of general Dundas, and was firm in maintaining it, till Abercrombie, who had already passed Bergen, and endeavoured to turn by Egmont the position of Alkmaar, supported by the fire of the gun boats which were stationed along the shore, had ordered his column to file across the Downs, and, taking advantage both of the inequalities of the ground to place his light-artillery and cover his attacks, had driven back as far as Egmont every thing that had resisted him. This last post, commanded by general Vandamme, was not defended than that both were evacuated during the night, bloody engagement taken place in H generals were woun in the attack and th party charged several bayonet.

The centre of Batavian army at Koe-dyke was att same success; a fe placed along the ca had greatly contribu to the taking of Sch the progress of the courage and addres Highlanders were ticed, they fought tions, and forced wi obstacle to gain th troops which wer them.

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and Dutch army; and Brune, after sending back to Haerlem part of his baggage, took means to secure himself in the position he had taken. While the English were threatening the seat of empire in Holland, Surinam, the last of its valuable colonies in South America, fell into their hands (19th of August), like the Dutch fleet, without striking a blow. The colony, it appears, was in no situation to make long resistance, which in any case must have been ineffectual; and the representations which had been continually made by the governor to the Batavian government of his weakness, had remained without reply; or rather in this, as in other cases, the Dutch had relied upon, and paid the French government for assistance, which the latter had as constantly promised and neglected.

This resistance, however, on the part of the Dutch in Europe, which had not been counted on by either side, and which the slowness of the junction of the three divisions of the expedition had so strongly favoured, gave the French government time to feel all the importance of the defence of Holland. The succours sent there, were in reality employed to guarantie the frontiers of the Low Countries, into which the English, after having conquered Holland, would have easily turned against the French republic the same arms, the same means, as at this moment the republic directed against them. Nevertheless, this new war in Holland had considerably increased the embarrassment of the French directory, by hindering it from forming its army of the Rhine, or at least carrying it to such a proportion of force, so as to make it act on the offensive, maintain itself on the right side, and subsist, above all, at the expense of the empire. General Muller, after having been reinforced by detachments drawn from the garrisons, had not been able to collect more than 20,000 men, with which he could only make a diversion, unable to maintain himself before the archduke, who was on the march against him with superior forces. The retreat of this prince from Switzerland, with the strongest part of the Austrian army, had not produced the effect which was expected, and Massena had not been able to push, as far as he had thought it possible, the first advantage of the successes of the generals Chabran and Lecourbe against the centre and left of the allied army, although circumstances appeared greatly in his favour; but the demonstrations of the archduke, who threatened to force a passage to turn the left of the French army, between Brisach and Basil, kept Massena in suspense: besides, if the extent of his position be considered, after he had occupied the canton of Glaris, and encircled the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, it will be found that he could not undertake an attack with sufficient forces on the excellent frontiers of General Hotze, on the line of the lakes,—that is to say, the left flank, and the rear of the Austro-Russian army; nor dislodge it from its position before Zurich, without risking being cut off himself from his right.

The archduke, whose head-quarters were still at St. Blaise, appeared to threaten Basil and Huninguen, while he made his army file off by Donauschingen upon Lewisburg. The main of the Austrian army, which was encamped (11th September) between Echterdingen and Waldensbruch, continued its forced

marches in the same direction; general Nauendorf's advanced guard, and general Stzarray's division, had already detached their light troops upon the advanced posts of the French, who had evacuated Bruchsal, and raised the siege of Philipsburg. They had attempted two days before to scale the entrenchments on the side of Rheinsheim and Wiesenthal, but the rhinegrave of Salm had repulsed them with loss, and the town which he had so courageously defended was entirely relieved. This second bombardment of Philipsburgh lasted five days and five nights, and, in this short space of time, the town, a few houses excepted, was reduced to ashes. It was the hottest bombardment which had taken place during the war of the revolution.

General Muller retreated at first by Waghausel; he evacuated Heidelberg (15th of September), and, sending his artillery and baggage, beyond the Rhine, encamped before Manheim, near Neckareau. The retreat of the French continued in good order by the bridge of Manheim, and the corps of the army of the Rhine divided on reaching the left side; 6000 men filed off to Mentz, and another division to Spires and Germersheim. A rearguard of about 6000 men, under the orders of general Laroche, remained in the entrenchments of Manheim, and in the works of the place, which had been re established, or but imperfectly raised. The archduke had used so much diligence, that having been able to collect a corps of 25,000 men, in the plains of the Neckar, (16th of September,) he marched in person to the village of Seckinheim, and began the attack with the divisions under the orders of generals Stzarray and Kospeth. These were at first repulsed; but hav second attack with the the grenadiers, the re right side of the Neck the remaining entrench carried. As from the the attack the imperial taken advantageous the banks of the river, manded the bridge retreat of the French the gates of the town more than half of gene division was taken pri losing almost the w rest. The archduke, tory, marched upon S one of the points the m ly and alternately occ parties during this w now possession of bo Mein, below Frankfort quarters of the landst of the militia of t of Mentz, was trans Niederrard to Hochst was used in hastening of pontoons, and great were apparently mad the Rhine with the A and that of the em the archduke was empl lecting and organising total force amount 60,000 men.

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CHAP. XIV.

Declaration of War by Russia against Spain. Conduct of the Emperor of Russia towards Denmark—Submission of Denmark. Sweden. Answer of the Court of Spain to the Russian Declaration of War. Removal of the Pope from Florence into France—Death of the Pope—Particulars of his Abode at Valence—Reflexions on the Fate of Pius Sixth. Situation of the French Army at Rome. Investment of the City by the Neapolitans and Insurgents. Engagements between the Garrison and the Neapolitan Troops. Surrender of Rome to the English. Honourable Conduct of the English Commodore. Conditions of the Capitulation. Abolition of the Roman Republic. General Insurrection in the Western Departments of the French Republic. Dreadful Effects of the Law of Hostages and the forced Loan. Desparate State of the French Republic. Arrival of Bonaparte in France. Introductory Reflexions on the Expedition to Egypt. Preparations of the Turks and English against Egypt. Political and scientific Operations of the French in Egypt. Organisation of the French Army for an Expedition into Syria. Political and Military Situation of Egypt. Defeat of Mamalukes, and Capture of El-Arisch. Slowness of the Preparations of the Ottoman Porte. Causes of the Insurrection and Submission of Passwan Oglou. Arrival of the English Squadron before St. John D'Acre. March of the French Army across the Desert. Capture of Gaza. Jaffa taken by Storm. Defeat of the Turks near ancient Samaria. Capture of the French Fleet of Artillery near the Promontory of Mount Carmel. Siege of St. John D'Acre—Operations of the Siege—Assembly of an immense Turkish Army near Cana—Total Defeat and Rout across the River Jourdan of the Turkish Army in the Plains of Esdrelon—Renewed Attacks on St. John D'Acre—Arrival of Turkish Reinforcements—Passage of the French through the Breach into St. John D'Acre—Repulse of the Besiegers. Impracticability of taking the Fortress—Last desperate Attempts—Preparations for raising the Siege of St. John D'Acre. Proclamation of the Porte to the French Army. Retreat of the French Army back to Egypt. Result of the Expedition into Syria. Combined Expedition of the English and Turks against Egypt. Operations of the French Generals in Egypt during the Campaign of Bonaparte in Syria. Defeat of the Mamalukes. Landing of the Turks at Aboukir. Military Dispositions of French and Turkish Armies. Dreadful Engagement between the Turks and French. Victory of Aboukir. Preparations by Bonaparte for his Return to France. Departure of Bonaparte from Egypt, and Arrival in France. Intercepted Letters from Egypt. State of the Country and of the French Army. Defeat of Mourad Bey in Upper Egypt. Destruction of the Turkish Army on the Coasts near Damietta.

THE cabinet of Petersburg, which had entered into the alliance against the French republic for the restoration of order and civilised society in Europe, and which appears to have been guided by as disinterested motives as any of the other powers, since the

status

status quo before the French revolution appears to have been the object of its pursuit in the aid in gave to the general cause, not satisfied with carrying on hostilsties against every republican ally of the French, had declared war against the court of Spain. The motive of this declaration, as set forth in the manifesto, was, the assistance given by Spain to the French republic, the lawless government of which the emperor was resolved, with the aid of his allies, to overthrow. He represented, that the Almighty having crowned all his undertakings hitherto with success, this government, the object of divine wrath, was now drawing near to its last moments; yet having been aided and encouraged by Spain more than by any other power, through fear of its vengeance, after having tried every means to open to this power the true road of honour and glory, by engaging it again to join its forces to those of the coalition,—yet as it persisted obstinately in its errors, the only further mode which he found it expedient to make use of was that of war, which he consequently declared. The court of Denmark had also incurred the displeasure of the cabinet of Petersburgh, and an order was issued, that whatever Danish vessels were in the ports of Russia should immediately quit them. It appears that the Danish government had given more encouragement to what are called French principles than Paul thought fitting for the re-establishment of order, religion, and civilised society in Europe,—but the anger of this imperial reformer was assuaged on the appearance of a royal ordonnance at Copenhagen, which limited the liberty of the press. By this ordonnance, all anonymous writings were forbidden; the pain of death was against all writers who voke insurrection; s tacked the constitution of monarchical gov should seek to spread should bring the roy his family into conte be banished; writings Christian religion, or tend to bring into co religious systems, subj thors, with great pro same punishment, si religion is to cut off which hold society tog who insulted foreign to be confined in pr these exceptions ever to be at liberty to w he pleased. Sweden obedient, and, on the the emperor, acceded ance at least to the co court of Spain was n sive; the king, in h Paul's manifesto, decl alliance which he had the French republic, had excited the jealou powers, he tried, and try, to maintain; that the coalition newly less the chimerical and sire of re-establishing of introducing confus neering over such na not enter into its ambi that Russia had been in the exercise of thi its emperor having that no way belonged t the court of Spain wou to notice the incoheren lent language of the R festo; but that it wo to repel every aggr presumption, and a sy combinations, might d it.

An event took place at this period, which, as it had a certain connexion with the affairs of the French republic, ought not to be passed by without notice. This was the death of Pius VIth, the history of whose pontificate has been cursorily related in the transactions of the last year. At the time when the allied forces entered Italy, and victory began to declare itself in their favour, the French directors, who had continued to exercise a sort of inspection over the person of the pope, and who had at that time lodged him in the Chartreuse, near Florence, gave orders for him to leave Tuscany. His illness, and the danger of removing him to Cagliari, in the island of Sardinia, at that moment, was substantiated by a consultation of the faculty. The French directory, however, fearing that his residence in Italy might be attended with danger, a fear, absurd, and chimerical, when almost the whole of Italy was in revolt at their own despotism, ordered him to be transferred across the Alps to Briançon, in which fortress he remained until the progress of the Russians threatened the invasion of the frontiers, when he was again transferred to Valence, a town on the banks of the Rhine.

At Valence he was lodged in the citadel, where he occupied the apartments of the ancient governor, commanding a fine view across the river. Here it was that Pius the VIth terminated peaceably his career. His apartments were on the ground floor, with a very fine garden, in which he was often drawn about in a rolling chair; for the swelling of his legs and thighs did not permit him to walk. During the ten weeks that he dwelt in Valence, he did not above once go out of the precincts of the castle. The Spanish commissary, who had remarked that the motion of a carriage was favourable to his health, obtained the consent of the municipality for him sometimes to take an airing; but through excess of prudence, and not to give occasion for public explosions of pious zeal, he made use of this permission only once. Few persons, therefore, had the means of seeing the pope during his abode at Valence, although several presented themselves, some to render homage to the head of the church, others to indulge their curiosity.

From abroad he received frequent marks of consolation, which he felt sensibly. The young Labrador scarcely suffered a single day to pass without visiting him during his dinner. His features, worn down by so many calamities, grew animated, when he saw this agent of the only power which could publicly discover any interest for him. To him he confided his little vexations, prayed him to obtain for him what he wanted, to prevent such and such little contradictions from taking place, and due respect was almost always paid to the intercession of the Spanish agent. The hard treatment which he had endured did not extend to that of stripping him of his pontifical garments. From the time of his departure from Rome till his death, he wore a long white, or purple tunic, bordered with ermine; a red calotte, and pastoral cross. Wherever he stopped, and even in France, he was suffered to celebrate divine service with as much pomp as the little number of ecclesiastics who surrounded him, and the straitened place which served him for a church, would permit. His way of living, on the whole,

whole, was uniform and tranquil; he divided his time as at the Chartreuse, between prayer, the reading of a few pious books, the table, and walking; some hours were consecrated to his correspondence, which was still extensive. He answered whatever consultations were continued to be addressed to him as head of the church. He slept little during the night; rose early, but immediately after dinner, according to the custom of Italy, he took a long nap.

From the time of his leaving the Chartreuse his health had visibly declined, the swelling of his legs and thighs made rapid progress, and all the lower parts of his body grew successively paralytic. Such was his state, when a question arose about changing the place of his exile. Valence appeared too near the comtat of Avignon, which was then in some agitation. The directory decreed that he should be transferred to Dijon. Pius was extremely affected at this news, and uttered some complaints, the first which had escaped him since his departure from Rome:—"Alas!" cried he, in a mournful tone, "why will they not let me die in peace?" It was inhuman, indeed, that they should have taken this decision, from vain terrors, to make this dying old man begin another journey, to tear him away from this uniform and tranquil regimen, which alone prolonged his days. The decree of the directory was the real sentence of death to this unfortunate pontiff: his situation, which grew worse every day, suspended the execution, and spared the French government the odium of a gratuitous cruelty. The palsy spread from his thighs to his intestines, when the physicians began to despair of his life; a diarrhœa, which took place, seemed, give him some relief. time past his head had sound as it was at th every other symptom speedy dissolution commissary saw him his death, and found resigned. Religion, encircled him with was become his only last moments. Surro small number of frie remained faithful to away life on the 29t 1799, in the 82d yea and the 24th of his po

His pious followers stored to him the last devotion, and rendere mains the last duties o they were embalmed in a lead coffin, and in and with the concurr municipality of Vale in a coffin of wood, sealed, at the same ti arms of Spain and the liberty—a singular u crowned the destiny of nate Pius VI!

On this occasion vari circumstances, which brought around him, r memory:—The Fre commanding the escort ducted him without t Rome was named Ca (Inferno) was the na country-house to whic drew after the earthq enna; the French mini whose inspection he r Florence, was a prote lastly, the seal of the c and the insignia of t in the name of which dethroned, had paraded and exiled into France, together on his tomb.

mer splendor nothing remained but a modest wardrobe; a little linen and some clothes was all his property, all of which he could dispose: these he bequeathed to the companions of his misfortune; but the constituted authorities of Valence pretended—paltry and sacrilegious barbarians! that this slender legacy belonged to the French nation.

The archbishop of Corinth alone remained at Valence, waiting the success of the repeated reclamations which he had made to the French government. He requested that he might be permitted to carry back to Italy the body of Pius, a few jewels of little value, a few pieces of plate, and, particularly, the sacred vases of which he had made use. But the directors of the French republic did not enter into his feelings, and showed no great dispositions to comply with this pious demand. The archbishop was still waiting with anxiety the decision these unfeeling depositaries of authority, when a powerful advocate appeared, whose presence was necessary for the redress of many other wrongs than those which were the object of the archbishop's reclamation.

A month had scarcely elapsed from the death of the pontiff ere his late seat of government fell once more into the hands of his allies. The defeat of the French had produced the same effects in the Roman republic as in other parts of Italy. Macdonald, in his retreat from Naples, had left at Rome about 3,500 French, including those employed in the different administrations. The defeat of the republican army at Piacenza was the signal of general insurreciton against the French in the Roman state, as it had been at Naples and Florence. The approach of the insurgents and their numbers instructed the French what had been the state of the armies in the northern part of Italy. All communication was cut off from without, where the inhabitants of the country, who had been the objects of the exactions and depredations of French commissaries and agents, were but too well disposed to yield to the suggestions of the priests, who were incessant in their provocations to every act of hostility against every thing which bore any relation to the French or the existing Roman government. In Rome also every part of the government itself was disorganised;—the army was without bread, without shoes, and without pay,—the magazines without arms or provision for a siege. The evil became so great, that the embassador, Bertholio, consented, at length, to lay aside his dictatorial power. The consulate was suspended, A committee was chosen of men of character and ability, composed partly of Romans and partly of French. The city was put under military law. The garrison was under the orders of general Garnier.

Rome, invested thus on every side, was left to its own resources. The insurgents of Tuscany had reinforced those of the Roman republic, and blockaded the city on one side; those of Naples, aided by troops of that country on the other, having possession of all the posts and places around Rome.—The garrison made an incursion into the country as far as Viterbo, but were repulsed. The number of insurgents and of Neapolitans increased daily on the right, and menaced Rome on the side of Frescati. General Garnier resolved, at length (8th August), to attack them; but against

against the position they had taken, and their vast superiority of numbers, no impression could be made, and the French were compelled to retreat, after an ineffectual struggle. This check encouraged the assailants; and the French general, fearing lest his retreat on Civita Vecchia should be cut off, ordered the troops at first to fall back on this place. But a sentiment of national honour led him to change this determination, and it was decided that the women, children, baggage, and part of the artillery, should be sent off, but that all capable of bearing arms should remain to the last extremity. Pressed still more closely by the insurgents, and the post of Frescati becoming still more dangerous, the Roman national guard, headed by the princes Santa Croce and Borghese, joining themselves to the French, the general resolved on another attack (20th August), and this time victory decided itself in their favour. The combined army of Neapolitans and insurgents were attacked on three points at Frescati — the engagement lasted only two hours. The entrenchments were taken, and the army put to flight, after a dreadful carnage. The Neapolitan prince of Bocca Romana, who commanded, narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. The French took twenty pieces of cannon, colours, a great quantity of stores, and returned to Rome, leaving the country strewed with the bodies of the Neapolitans and insurgents.

It was from the papers which fell into the hands of the French, on the flight of the Neapolitans, that they were informed of the fate that awaited them. They found that the combined armies had become masters of Capua, Gaeta, and every other point on the south of Italy. They soon perc that it was not only in Neapolitans against wh to struggle — the Austr amount of 2,000, took of Civita Castellana; litans and insurgents r at Frescati, under th marshal Bourcard; a Russians were on the English squadron blo Vecchia, and summon surrender.

Of the French garri upwards of a third part hospitals. The counci cided on entering into with the English, who same capitulation as had at Gaeta. The instru the court of Naples co posals for delivering up litan patriots; but thi was rejected with indi French declaring that never consent to an sc worthy, but would rat own lives than those of The demand was mad quence of the instruct Admiral Trowbridge quity of the instruction ed no inducement to d He knew what had p violation of the capitul ples; and when the monte, whose name the fatal list to be co ment.oned to the Fre who peremptorily refu ver her up, the Engl with an expressive m arms, for he did not sp guage, showed at onc bation of Garnier's refu abhorrence of a deed man of honour would d self by becoming the in

The capitulation hastened also by a consp

had been formed against the French in Rome, of which the general of the national guard was the chief. The French set sail for France, carrying with them the Romans and Neapolitans attached to their cause. No one at Rome, nor in the Roman state, was given up to assassination, as at Naples and Capua. The Neapolitan army entered Rome (30th September), the trees of liberty were cut down and burnt, and the arms of the republic destroyed. The Neapolitan flag was hoisted on the castle of St. Angelo, the seals were put on the apartments of the Quirinal palace, on those of the Vatican, containing a number of precious monuments packed up, and which the French had neglected taking away, and on all the offices of the republic. The mob paraded the streets, committing excesses in the houses of such as they deemed revolutionists, and carrying about in derision the bust of Brutus, which a few months before they had worshipped.

The French government, in gaining a second victory over the jacobins, by the decision of the council against the motion for declaring the country in danger, had by no means crushed that ardent and restless spirit, which, finding its food in revolutionary tempests, waited for some new disasters, when the danger would become so imminent, that such a declaration would be unnecessary. But this turbulent faction was no sooner silenced, than the government had to contend with another class of malecontents, who, taking advantage of the disastrous circumstances in which the republic was involved, had erected themselves into a power, and opened again the theatre of insurrection in the western departments. The despotic law on the hostages furnished a just and well-founded pretence for those who wanted none, in endeavouring to overthrow the republic, and added greatly to the motives for opposition in such as had hitherto balanced between tranquillity and dissatisfaction. Partial insurrections had for some time past disturbed the peace of various departments, but at the latter end of August a general insurrection broke out in the department of Mayenne, on the right of the Loire, when the insurgents, who had hitherto kept in the woods or villages remote from places of general communication, appeared in force, with leaders at their head, and took possession of several towns, deposing the constituted authorities, seizing their papers, taking republican hostages, and proclaiming, by public advertisements, their political profession of faith, which was for the restoration of the old regimen without any modifications. As little resistance was made to them, both from the weakness of the republican forces in that quarter, and from the general discontent which pervaded that part of the republic, the spirit of insurrection spread so rapidly, that, in a short space, no less than twenty departments were more or less in insurrection, so that the most alarming apprehensions began to be entertained from a point against which no security had been provided, except in arbitrary and impolitic laws, which had served only to augment the evil.

The folly of the law respecting departmental hostages became now fully apparent, and yet the legislative body had not dared to repeal it; no less disastrous was the law respecting the forced loan of an hundred millions; during the time that it had been put into execution, not

not a tenth part of the sum intended to be raised had been collected, and more than the loan demanded, had been lost to the public treasury, by the total cessation of those transactions which brought supplies to the state, such as the heavy duties on stamps and registering, every one fearing to make any display of riches, lest a taxing jury should find him guilty of immoderate wealth, and sequestrate his money for the public service. But notwithstanding these and numerous other inconveniences attending this law, all of which were obvious and obtrusive, the same obstinacy in impolitic measures, the same pertinacity in wrong, so infatuated the minds of the council, that, from the continued resistance which they made to remonstrances, clear as the light against the nefariousness of those measures, and the danger which attended the execution, it seemed as if they would have beheld the state tottering to its base, rather than have receded a point which they imagined would have betrayed weakness, and which the whole of the nation would have considered as an act of the highest wisdom. If at any period the country was ever in danger, it was clearly so at the period of Jourdan's motion,—but another defeat in Switzerland, and the Russian was in the heart of France,—but one more fortunate blow for the enemy in Holland, like that of the capture of the fleet, and the projects of the allied cabinets might have begun to wear an air of probability. At this period France was closely invested on every side, its treasury was empty, the means of replenishing it exhausted, its constituted powers in a state of almost open hostility with each other, the people without confidence, the terrorist faction retiring for the moment, only to strike a stronger and surer blow; the western insurrection, that canker of the state, produced with the revolution, and which had never ceased to gnaw it to a greater or less degree, now burning fierce, and threatening its very vitals;—such were the evils which at this moment assailed the republic, so that scarcely any thing could have saved it from the ruin with which it was menaced, but events that seemed impossible, such as decisive victories over hosts of powerful invaders on every side, or the interference of some great and powerful object to restore confidence, to re-animate courage, to heal divisions, and concentrate authority which was every where spurned at or disputed. But however desperate seemed at this moment the situation of the republic, and its means of extricating itself—however impossible appeared its emancipation, this unlooked-for deliverance came, not more in the important victories which crowned the armies of the republic at once, and in almost every quarter, than in the unexpected presence of the personage they ushered in, the general Bonaparte.—It is with the African and the Asiatic transactions of this fortunate and singular chief that we continue the narrative.

When in the history of French political transactions of the last year we dwelt on the imprudence of sending the flower of the French armies and the best part of the French marine to the gulfs of Syria, while war was still raging on the one side, and peace was halting with unsteady foot on the other, imagination had not painted all the dire consequences resulting from that expedition. It were useless to dwell on this point, since the simple narration of the events which took place, most of which may be attributed

tributed to the fatal policy which dictated or consented to that expedition, justify too freely the opinion then given.

In that part of the history which related to this expedition, we left Bonaparte in tranquil possession of Egypt, after repeated victories gained over the Mamalukes, and after quelling a violent insurrection of the Turks, which had taken place against the authority of Cairo; but notwithstanding the profound calm which succeeded this last storm, the conquerors could not give themselves up to perfect security; England could not politically suffer the establishment of such a colony so near its East-India possessions, and had therefore combined with the Porte a project of general attack, to expel, if possible, those dangerous neighbours from their new conquests. The principal preparations were made in Syria, under the orders and by the care of the pacha Djezzar, who was to be supported by an army which was to traverse Asia Minor. The attack on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria, was to be favoured by a strong diversion towards the mouths of the Nile, and by different attacks executed by the wrecks of Mourad Bey's army in Upper Egypt, united to other hostile parties. It was to direct the execution of this vast plan, and to co-operate in it by maritime means, that commodore sir Sidney Smith had left Portsmouth, the preceding autumn, on board the Tyger of 84 guns, and sailed for the Levant, where he hastened the preparations for this campaign in Egypt.

Commodore Hood continued to block up, with four ships of the line and five frigates, the port of Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile: he had experienced the impracticability of burning and destroying the fleet of transports and French frigates, without the aid of a debarkation of troops considerable enough to attack Alexandria itself. The reinforcement of light vessels, which the combined fleet of Turks and Russians at anchorage under the Isle of Scio had sent to admiral Hood, and which appeared before Alexandria at the epocha of the insurrection at Cairo, had been of no service: the reports that were spread of the burning of the French vessels in the old port, and the official news published by the Ottoman Porte, on the report of the pacha of Rhodes, had no better foundation.

Bonaparte, meanwhile, informed that the arrival of commodore Smith was to be the epocha and the signal of offensive operations, resolved to prevent him, and to march into Syria, to destroy the preparations made by Djezzar. The two months which intervened from the entire submission of Egypt, to the moment when the troops destined for the expedition of Syria were to march, were employed in finishing military surveys confided to different officers, and in journeys which the scientific members and artists of the different classes of the Institute had undertaken.

The most considerable of those labours was the survey of the Lake Menzala, under the direction of general Andreossi, who sounded the roads of Damietta and of Cape Bongan, performed the same operations at the mouth of the Rhebi, and entered the Lake of Menzala, where he was attacked, but without success, by troops of Djermes, set on by the Arabs. Andreossi, after having taken an exact chart of the Lake Menzala, visited the Natron Lakes, accom-

panied by Berthollet, to make new experiments. It is inexpedient to enumerate all the names of such as were employed in those labours, the most complete which have ever been undertaken in any part of the globe. Let us hope that their results will not be lost to the republic of letters and science. The time is past, when, in order to secure an uncertain advantage, in a supposition of circumstances still more uncertain, useless state-secrets were made of discoveries the most important to commerce, to navigation, to the sciences, and the common interests of humanity. These charts, drawn by Andreossi and other officers, the great bases of which have been determined by the observations of Nouet and Mechain, will, we understand, be published, as well as the drawings of Dutertre and Denon, and also the level of the Canal of Suez, made with rigorous exactness.

The resolution of this last problem, that of the existence of the canal which joined the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, occupied particularly Bonaparte. He had detached, towards the middle of November, under the orders of general Bon, a corps of 1500 men, who had taken possession of Suez; thither he went himself, at the latter end of December, with Monge and Berthollet, where he at first took a very detailed survey of the town and the adjacent coasts, ordered the construction of certain works, provided for the defence of this important post, and made several regulations favourable to commerce. It was here, among other deputations, that he received that of the Christian monks of Mount Sinai. These pious Cenobites brought him the humble offerings of the fruits of their mountain, and, presenting to him th protection and tole originally and signe met, requested that be still continued un regimen; and Maho was countersigned by

In order to leave the subject, Bonapa his way to the north o the entrance of the c lowed it for the s leagues. Passing afte fort of Adgeroud, desert, and returning he found again, in Honoreb, the vestige canal on its entran cultivated and wate Lower Egypt. Hav himself of those tw charged Peyre, engine and roads, to take t ginning his operatio During this survey was informed of the Djezzar, whom the had named Pacha o had already sent a b towards El-Arish, at of the desert on the s the division of the ad commanded by gen was also collected at the frontier of the side of Egypt. This ceived orders to occ tify Cathieh, where Grange marched wit gade, and took posse post on the same da parte returned back where he gave his the organisation and army of Syria, and fo and different comm troops which were Egypt. This army four divisions of inf the generals Kleber,

and Regnier, amounting to about 10,000; a troop of 800 horse, under general Murat; 1700 engineers and artillery, 400 guides, horse and foot, and 88 dromedaries. The difficulty of transporting artillery and ammunition had constrained Bonaparte to provide these different divisions with pieces much below the ordinary proportion; the reserve of the park consisted but of twenty-seven pieces, of which four were of twelve, fifteen of eight, eight of three, and fourteen mortars.

The garrisons which were to remain in Lower Egypt were formed of the 19th demi-brigade, three battalions of demi-brigades of the expedition of Syria, and the Nautic and Maltese legions, and the depôts of cavalry. General Dugua was charged with the command of Cairo, general Menou was stationed at Rosetta; adjutant-general Almeyras received, with the command of Damietta, orders to hasten the finishing of the fortifications. Alexandria, which became more and more important, and which, threatened by the English, was also menaced by the plague, of which symptoms began to discover themselves, was entrusted to general Marmont. General Defaix remained, with his army, in Upper Egypt, redoubling his diligence and activity to keep in awe the remains of the mamalukes, and hinder Mourad Bey from taking advantage of the expedition into Syria. Such was the political and military situation in which Bonaparte left Egypt.

General Kleber's division embarked at Damietta, and was transported to Tinch, on the Lake Menzala; of the navigation of which the French were become masters, with a few gun-boats built at Boulach: Kleber arrived at Cathich (4th February), where he was joined by general Regnier's advanced guard, and marched on to El-Arisch, the fortress of which was garrisoned by two thousand troops of the pacha of St. John d'Acre. The village of El-Arisch was carried with the bayonet by Regnier's division; the Arnauts and Mangrabins, who defended it, after having made a brave resistance, withdrew precipitately into the fort. Scarcely was it blocked up by Regnier's division, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, escorting a convoy of provisions, appeared in sight of El-Arisch, and encamped on a rising ground, covered by a very steep ravine. Kleber came up at that moment, and approved Regnier's project of turning the ravine, and surprising the camp of the mamalukes during the night. This attack succeeded; the camp was carried, the corps of cavalry cut in pieces, taken, or destroyed; a number of horses, camels, stores, and provisions, and the whole of the convoy, fell into the hands of the French. The two other divisions of the army formed their junction, a few days after, at El-Arisch, and were joined, at length (17th February), by Bonaparte. The fort of El Arisch was cannonaded, and surrendered in two days.

The artillery necessary for the reduction of St. John d'Acre could be transported only by sea, and Bonaparte had hazarded its embarkation from Alexandria. Vice-admiral Perrée, with three frigates, had sailed during the night to escort the gun-boats, and had orders to cruise before Jaffa. The secrecy and promptitude of the preparations for the expedition of

Syria, and the celerity of the first attack, surprised the Turks. As this kind of war was as new to the Ottomans as the political system which had engaged them in it, and as it was necessary for them to send troops and stores from the extremity of the empire into the provinces for the defence of which such foresight and operations were equally unusual, the preparations were very slow. At Constantinople the English, notwithstanding the new alliance, the important support of their naval forces, and the activity of sir Sidney Smith, could not obtain the means for the entire execution of the plan concerted for the attack on Egypt. The first division of the janissaries, who were to form the army of the grand vizier, and traverse Anatolia, had scarcely assembled at Scutari; and the corps which was destined to act on the coasts of Egypt, under the protection of the English squadron, was not yet organised. The Ottoman Porte had however, at that period, ridded itself of a domestic enemy; whose insubordination had for a long time bid defiance to its authority, and who at one time had given very serious alarms even to the seat of power. The alliance between the Turkish and Russian courts was fatal to any further resistance on the part of Passwan Oglou; and whatever means to crush this formidable insurgent this strange alliance had given the Turkish cabinet, policy led it to enter into terms of reconciliation. The motive or pretence of this insurrection it stated to have been a refusal on the part of the Turkish government to renew the hati-cherif granted to Passwan's ancestors, in virtue of which this powerful feudatory was exempted from certain tributes, which h
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the assistance of the pacha of Syria, who at first did not think of defending himself in St. Jean d'Acre, anxious only to secure his retreat, and to convey away his women and treasure. The commodore anchored in the road of Caiffa, with the Tiger, the Theseus, and the Alliance frigate.

The French army continued its painful march across the desert, filing along by divisions, at one and two days' distance, in order that they might not exhaust the wells of water. It is difficult to form an idea of the fatigue of a march across sands, where bodies of troops, and thousands of men and horses, may be so easily led out of the way. Kleber, with his division, was misled by the guides; the two divisions which followed him were deceived by the traces of the first: and it was only after forty-eight hours' march, that the army, after having supported the torments of burning thirst, reached Kahn Jonnesse, the first village of Palestine, on leaving the desert, whence they discovered the cultivated plains of Gaza.

A corps of mamalukes, commanded by Abdalla Pacha, encamped before Kahn Jonesse, had fallen back on Gaza: thither Bonaparte marched; and, after driving away the mamalukes, took possession of the town, where he found very considerable magazines of stores and provisions, which the Turks had neither the time nor means of taking away.

It was at Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, that Bonaparte met with the first resistance. This town, without exterior works, or ditches, was defended by a wall flanked by strong towers, and mounted with guns. Two little forts by the sea-side commanded the fort and the road; the trench was opened, a battery was established against the highest square tower, and two counter-batteries, whilst a false attack was marked out at the north of the place. The Turks defended themselves bravely, and made two sallies, in which they met with considerable loss; but the batteries having rendered the breach practicable, Bonaparte ordered the attack. The carabineers of the 22d demi-brigade of light infantry, whose commander was killed, marched at the head of the column, under the orders of adjutant general Rambeaud. The engagement was bloody. The French mounted the breach, and lodged themselves in the tower: the Turks were not less resolute in defending it. They rallied, and attacked the column supported by general Lannes' division, who forced every post in succession, and at length gained possession of the fort next the sea. The greatest part of the garrison, composed of 1000 Turkish cannoneers, and 2500 Mangrabins, or Arnauts, were put to the sword. The Egyptians, who escaped the carnage, were sent back to Egypt. It was with difficulty that general Robin, who took the command after the assault, could restrain the disorder and fury of the soldiers.

After making Jaffa and its port the principal depôt of the army for the artillery and stores which he expected from Damietta and Alexandria, Bonaparte marched upon St. Jean d'Acre, with the three divisions of Kleber, Bon, and Lannes; the fourth, that of Regnier, which had led the way through the desert, composed the rear-guard, at two days' distance from the army, which he had order to rejoin at St. John d'Acre, taking the coast by Cæsarea and Cantoura. The French advanced

guard discovered in approaching Zetta a body of cavalry under Abdalla Pacha, who, to retard the march of the army, had taken a position on the heights of Korsum, flanking himself by the mountain of Naplousium, the ancient Samaria, on which were posted several thousand Naplousians.

While Kleber, Bon, and Murat, marched upon the cavalry of Abdalla, manœuvring so as to bring him to an engagement, which he avoided, Lannes' division marched upon the right, and cut off the pacha from the Naplousians: those last took flight: but the light-infantry, who pursued them, having entangled themselves too much in the defiles, the Naplousians rallied and attacked in their turn, pursuing the French to the outlet of the defiles. The commander of the demi-brigade, Barthelemy, was killed. Two days after Kleber took possession of Caiffa, at the foot of Mount Carmel, a town surrounded with a good wall, and flanked with towers, and which Djezzar had ordered to be evacuated, after having disarmed the castle which defended the fort and the road. The advanced guard of this division discovered, on arriving at Caiffa, the division of the English squadron which had cast anchor. The boats of the Tiger drew near the coast, reconnoitered their advanced guard at the foot of Mount Carmel, and sought, by their fire, to harass its march.

Sir Sidney Smith had raised the courage of the pacha of St. Jean d'Acre, and increased his means of resistance, by sending him an ancient French engineer, of great merit, to whose friendship he was indebted for his deliverance from the prison of the Temple, and for his return to England. Colonel Philipeaux caused the fortress to be repaired, which was fortifie
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took an English boat and a thirty-two pounder. Bonaparte, having drawn back the external posts, encamped his army on an insulated height, which borders the sea at about a mile distance, and which, stretching to the north as far as Cape Blanc, commands, on the western side, a plain of about a league and three quarters, bounded by the mountains situated between St. Jean d'Acre and the river Jordan.

After taking possession of Saffet, Nazareth, and Scheffam, in order to clear the passes on the road to Damascus, Bonaparte reconnoitered St. Jean d'Acre more accurately with his officers of artillery, and engineers Dommaotin and Caffarelli, and determined to attack the front on the east of the town. The trench was opened (20th March) at 900 feet from the place. The French pushed their works at first with so much activity, that the ninth day, after the opening of the trench, batteries and counter-batteries, mounted as at Jaffa, with four pieces of twelve, eight pieces of eight, and four mortars, had pierced the tower, while a branch of the mine had been pushed on to blow up the counterscarp. The mine was sprung, but it only made a hole in the glacis: the French thought the counterscarp injured. The ditch, which had been badly reconnoitered, had appeared but of little depth: the ardour of the grenadiers, and the contempt with which the taking of Jaffa had inspired them for this kind of fortification, did not suffer them to hesitate. Instead, however, of finding every obstacle smoothed and levelled, they were stopped by a ditch of fifteen feet, of which scarcely half was filled up by the rubbish of the breach: they plunged into it, placed ladders, climbed the breach, but found themselves separated by the counterscarp from the troops which were to support them. The officers who headed the attack under a most dreadful fire, Mailly, Lescalles, and Langier, perished. The Turks, who had abandoned the tower, re-entered it, and the French retreated to their trenches.

The ill-success of this first attack, and the hopes which Djezzar entertained of being supported by a body of Naplousians and Mangrabins, who were to assemble at Damascus, led him to make several brisk sallies, in which he was repulsed with considerable loss. Bonaparte had not yet received the heavy artillery for which he had sent to Damietta, to replace that which he had lost: a few pieces only, and a part of the stores, had been landed at Jaffa, but had not yet reached him. He endeavoured a second time to open a breach in the same tower, which the Turks had filled with wood, bales of cotton, and bags of earth: the tower was set on fire, but all attempts to reach it were vain.

At length (8th April) Sir Sidney Smith, in concert with Djezzar, made a considerable sally on three columns, at the head of which were the marines. The end of this sortie was to destroy the works nearest the place, and chiefly the mine, which led under the counterscarp: this perilous attack was entrusted to the brave captain Aldfield, who had distinguished himself at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope: he broke the head of the column of the centre, and threw himself first on the entrance of the mine, where he was mortally wounded, and carried off by the French grenadiers. He expired in the arms of the ene-

nued demolishing, and during the night the French miners tried anew to get possession of the tower. They were again obliged to evacuate it, overpowered by the fire and combustible materials which the Turks, whom they had not yet completely dislodged from the higher stories, continued to rain upon them. It was the thirty-eighth day of the opening of the trenches, and the French had not yet received any battering artillery; at length three pieces of 24lbs. brought to Jaffa by the frigates under vice admiral Perrée, and six pieces of 18, sent from Damietta, reached St. John d'Acre, and were a few days after planted on the batteries, in order to continue the levelling of the tower. The French met with a very considerable loss at that period; general Caffarelli died in consequence of a wound he had received at the trench three days before.

The besieged, almost the whole of whose pieces in front of the attack were dismounted, opened new batteries, and began forming exterior works. It was colonel Phillipeaux who so skilfully directed this counter attack; he perished also during the siege. On both sides the works were pushed on with ardour, and were supported alternately by new assaults and new sallies; but the French had not artillery enough to silence the fire, and make a lodgment in the works; they were soon in want of ammunition. The courage and activity of the besieged increased in proportion as the fire of the besiegers slackened. A new mine, destined to blow up the counterscarp, opposite the second breach, which they had begun to make under the courtine on the eastern side, failed; the chassies were demolished, and the well filled up. Bonaparte still persisted to open a passa breach of the half-ruin every thing was car ardour; the French had possession of the tower could not keep it, and th returned again to their of May.)

The same day a Turk from Rhodes, under e caravello and several having brought several co reinforcements in men Bonaparte determined new effort before the l this succour; he caused to be renewed against works by the 18th demi-brigades, under ders of generals Bon, Rampen. The French h vantage; the courtine o of the tower, battered having crumbled down, ing a passage which wa practicable, Bonaparte self to reconnoitre it, a the division of general make the attack. The column was led by ge beaud; he climed the b penetrated into the pla hundred grenadiers. who still stood firm on t a tower, and such as extensive works, kept brisk fire of musketry, fi ditch, taking the brea and stopt the escalade a pulsion of the columns. of combustible matter, from the tops of the ho the barricades, and fro lace of the pacha, on had descended from the the town, either destroye them back, the reser of the guides of the ar forward to the breach, b being able to re-establi

bat. The garrison rallied; the troops brought by the vessels hastened their landing to join the besieged. General Rambeaud was killed on the place. The French, after useless prodigies of valour, were obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to the resolution with which the Turks kept up amidst their ruins, and on their high walls, a well directed and destructive fire.

After these multiplied and irreparable losses, it was found almost impossible to reduce a place defended with so much intrepidity, continually provisioned and supported on the side of the sea, protected by sir Sidney Smith's squadron, who, being himself under no fear of an attack, could dispose of his crews, of his artillery, of his stores, in short of every resource which vessels well provided could furnish to a place besieged, and precisely such as the besieged were most in want of; and it may be said, without exaggeration, that from the arrival of the Turkish flotilla, and the succours which had come in from different points of the coast, the forces, and especially the means, of the besieged, were become superior to those of the besiegers, in the inverse ratio of the proportion determined by the principles of the art.

Bonaparte, however, could not resolve with himself to renounce this conquest, which fortune, for the first time faithless, tore from him. He saw the place open, the breach larger, and rendered more easy by the last efforts of his too weak artillery; he was anxious to try once more the chance of arms, and marched at two in the morning to the foot of the breach (10th of May), which was mounted by the grenadiers of the 75th and 19th demi-brigades, and the carabineers of the second of light infantry. His design was to surprise the Turks, and to establish himself in force in the breach. General Verdier marched at the head of the grenadiers: the first posts were killed upon the spot, but the garrison held firm behind the new entrenchments, which stopped this impetuous attack, and forced the French to retreat. They renewed it the same evening, and the grenadiers of the 25th demi-brigade, which had been detached from the corps of observation, having requested to mount to the assault, the combat began again on the breach with redoubled fury. The besieged, warned of this last attack, had reinforced a second and third line of artillery, which the grenadiers could not force.

In these three assaults the loss on each side was very considerable, but that of the French excessive on this day. Adjutant-general Fouler, Venoux, chief of brigade, and general Bon, were killed, and a great number of field-officers were dangerously wounded. This last attack, which appears to have been an impulse of pride, rather than the result of wise combination in Bonaparte, is deserving of great censure, and is said to have caused much discontent in the army, who, ardent in following their general through so many perilous enterprises, were indignant at so useless a waste of life, when the object had become more and more unattainable. Decided at length to raise the siege, Bonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded to be sent off. To keep the besieged in check he made use of the rest of his ammunition, and redoubled the fire of his cannon and mortars. Djezzar having remarked these first dispositions for retreat, made frequent

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The same day a Turkish flotilla from Rhodes, under escort of a caravello and several corvettes, having brought several considerable reinforcements in men and stores, Bonaparte determined to make a new effort before the landing of this succour; he caused the attack to be renewed against the new works by the 18th and 36th demi-brigades, under the orders of generals Bon, Vial, and Rampen. The French had the advantage; the courtine on the right of the tower, battered in breach, having crumbled down, and offering a passage which was tolerably practicable, Bonaparte went himself to reconnoitre it, and ordered the division of general Lannes to make the attack. The head of the column was led by general Rambeaud; he climed the breach, and penetrated into the place with an hundred grenadiers. The Turks, who still stood firm on the ruins of a tower, and such as were in the extensive works, kept up a very brisk fire of musketry, filed into the ditch, taking the breach in rear, and stopt the escalade and the impulsion of the columns. Showers of combustible matter, the fire from the tops of the houses, from the barricades, and from the palace of the pacha, on those who had descended from the breach into the town, either destroyed or forced them back, the reserve, formed of the guides of the army, sprung forward to the breach, but without being able to re-establish the combat.

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frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigour. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible, the ditches and the reverses of the parapets were filled with corpses, the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead remained unanswered.

Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to his army, in which he announced the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach, in the season of landing, against the forces assembled at Rhodes, a part of which had been sent to the relief of St. John d'Acre. The raising of the siege was executed in good order; the fire against the place was kept up to the last moment; and the very day in which the army began its march (20th May), the 61st day after breaking ground, general Le Grange, who commanded, repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march, taking the road of Cantoura, and was followed by the baggage of the army, by the park and the division of general Bon; Regnier's division evacuated the trenches. Kleber formed a strong rear guard with his division and cavalry, whilst general Gunot covered the left flank; the bridges on the river were destroyed, and the columns were not molested. Bonaparte threw into the sea the pieces of artillery which he could not carry back through the desert, burnt the carriages at Cantoura, and took advantage of all the means which were left him to transport to Jaffa his field pieces and his sick and wounded. This convoy sailed from Jaffa a few days after for Damietta, but fell into the hands of the English commodore, who, as soon as he had knowledge of the retreat, sent in chase of the three French frigates, and lay along the coast to harass the march.

Djezzar did not perceive till day-break (22d May) that the trenches, which had been silent during the night, were evacuated: the Turks took possession of the works, and, following the traces of the army, found only a few pieces of artillery buried in the sand. The French army continued its march in the same order, ravaging the country, burning the harvests, destroying the defences of the ports, the magazines, and all the resources which the Turks could have made use of to approach the frontiers of Egypt. Kleber formed the rear-guard with his division, which after having crossed the desert, embarked at Tinch for Damietta. Bonaparte left a strong garrison at Cattich, and entered Cairo with the rest of the army, twenty-six days after the raising of the siege.

Thus terminated the campaign of Syria; and, notwithstanding the ill success of the siege of St. John d'Acre, the loss in battle or by sickness of near a quarter of his troops, and that of a great number of distinguished officers, Bonaparte was satisfied that he had fulfilled the principal object of his expedition. He had at least destroyed or dispersed the greatest part of the forces of the pacha, and had struck terror into all his subjects and allies; he had prevented the junction of the grand vizier, and the assembling of an army, whose progress towards the eastern frontiers of Egypt might have formed a diversion very injurious to the defence of the mouths of the Nile against the army about to land;—in short, he had weakened this army, and retarded its operations during the most favourable season.

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In Europe, greater apprehensions had been entertained respecting the projects which Bonaparte might have formed on the Peninsula of India than of the importance and solidity of the establishment of a military colony in Egypt; and as ideas of conquest have neither term nor measure, scarcely had a corps of 10,000 French crossed the desert which separates Africa from Asia, than every eye was turned towards the capital of the Ottoman empire. It had been idly imagined, that abandoning Egypt scarcely conquered, and threatened by superior forces, having no marine, that Bonaparte, in league with the Druses and Mangrabins, would give himself up to the alliance of these demi-barbarians, and, confiding to them his communications by Syria and Karamania, would cross Asia Minor, and come to the extremity of the Peninsula of Scutari, to summon the Grand Signior in his seraglio. It was by absurdities such as these that a relative influence so extensive was given to the preservation of St. John D'Acre, that grave assurances were given from high authorities that Constantinople, and the existence of the Ottoman empire, had been saved, because Bonaparte had failed in taking this petty fortress on the coast of Syria. Sir Sydney Smith, pursuing with ardour the execution of the plan of campaign against Egypt, found an increase of zeal and activity on the part of the Ottomans. Seid Mustapha Pacha assembled in the different ports of the Isle of Rhodes the troops destined for the attack of Alexandria; European officers directed the details of this enterprise, and the combined English and Turkish fleet only waited, in order to set sail for Egypt, the arrival of a convoy, which the Capitan Pacha, anchored in the Dardanelles, was to dispatch to Rhodes.

It had not been neglected in the meanwhile to stir up the interior of Egypt; they had taken advantage of the absence of the French general, and of the diminution of the French forces, to raise again the hopes of the fallen party; several symptoms of revolt had manifested themselves in the provinces, parties of the mamalukes, dispersed and driven into the western deserts, had descended into the provinces of Lower Egypt, and endeavoured to excite the Arabs; in short, to divide the attention, and give the insurgents more confidence, the English had sent a few ships of war up the Red Sea; a ship of the line, and a frigate approached Suez; but finding this port in a state of defence, admiral Blanket contented himself in leaving a brig to cruize before it.

Before the return of the French army from Syria into the strong places of Lower Egypt, general Dugua, commander of Cairo, had detached general Lanasse, and the chiefs of Brigade, Duranteau and D'Estrées, against different hordes of Arabs, whom they surprised and beat in several rencounters. Acts of rigour were exercised; villages were burnt to stifle the sedition; the presence of Bonaparte completely re established order. He applied himself chiefly to repair the losses sustained by the four divisions, and the cavalry which had marched with him into Syria; he completed the different corps, and so well re-established their organisation, that within three weeks after the return of those troops to their quarters, instead of being buried in the sands of the desert, as had been

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published by authority, they were in a state to march, and undertake new operations.

The movements made by the mamalukes and the Arabs gave intimation of the projects of the allies and the approach of their fleet. General Desaix, it has been observed, was charged with the expulsion of the mamalukes from Upper Egypt. From the close of the year, to the time of the expedition into Syria, the French troops had been in almost continued action. The mamalukes had disputed almost every position, and were successively defeated at Sonagi, Samanhoul, Thebes, Aboumana, Souhama, Cophtos, the village of Benout, at Birambra, and driven beyond Cosseire, a post of great importance, the gaining of which crowned the success of an expedition, more extraordinary from the nature of the country, and the enemy they had to combat, than any other that occurred in the vast theatre of war in which the French were engaged. Desaix was preparing for an expedition into the Oäsis, when he was informed that the mamalukes had rallied, and formed themselves into two divisions: a part passing by the Oäsis of Sababiar, were endeavouring to form a junction with Ibrahim Bey, who had just made his re-appearance at Gaza; and the others, under the orders of Mourad Bey, were descending by Fayum, and the Natron Lakes, to form a junction with the Arabs. These two corps of mamalukes did not reach their destination; the first was surprised at Sababiar by general Le Grange, who had marched from Cairo (10th July); their camp, baggage, and 1700 camels, fell into the hands of the French; the remainder were dispersed in the desert. Mourad Bey, having been preceded on the Natron Lakes by general Murat, who, after having dispersed the bands of Arabs, marched to meet him, retreated towards the pyramids of Gizeh, on the side of the desert.

Bonaparte, informed of this counter-march, and hoping to cut off the retreat of Mourad Bey, marched from Cairo (14th July) with his select troops, his guides both foot and horse, and a few companies of grenadiers, where he ordered general Murat to come and join him; he reached the pyramids the same day Mourad Bey had left them on his retreat to Fayum; he had begun the pursuit, but an affair of a more serious kind had now engaged his attention; for it was at the pyramids that Bonaparte received advice from Alexandria that a Turkish fleet of an hundred sail had anchored (12th July) in the road of Aboukir, which dispatch was followed by another, stating that a body of 3000 Turks had landed with artillery on the shore of the peninsula, and carried by storm the fort of Aboukir.

At the time this second intelligence reached Bonaparte, he had dispatched orders to all his generals to march towards the place of landing, and to those who were guarding posts to be attentive to suppress any popular movement, and to watch the mamalukes and Arabs. The first general rendezvous of the army was ordered at Rhamania, on the left side of the Nile. The advanced guard of general Murat, composed of detachments from his cavalry, from the grenadiers, and from the infantry which had marched to Gizeh, a part of the division of Lannes, and a part of that of Rampon, who had

had orders to pass the Nile, the moveable column which general Menou had marched upon the Natron Lakes, the park of artillery, and the staff, formed their junction at Rhamania, on the 20th July.

Upper Egypt was occupied by Desaix, who continued the pursuit of Mourad Bey, provisioned the forts of Kené and Cosseire, and sent back into Lower Egypt half of his cavalry. He had orders to watch the position of Cairo, and to concert his operations with general Dugua, who commanded there, and with general Regnier, who commanded the frontier on the side of Syria. The garrisons of El-Arisch and other places were ordered, in case of superior force, to retire into the forts, and the generals, with the rest of their troops, were to concentrate themselves in the position of Cairo. Bonaparte ordered Kleber to march upon Rosetta with a part of his division; and, as he supposed that the army which had landed would march towards that place, or upon Alexandria, he sent reinforcements to Rosetta, under the orders of general Menou.

The Turks, after the surrender of Fort Aboukir, had landed their artillery, having possession of the peninsula, and had begun to entrench themselves and form magazines: they had cut the pontoons which formed the communication with Rosetta, between the Lake Madie and the Road of Aboukir; their force, which increased every day, were estimated at about 15,000 men: some Arabs had already joined them, and they appeared to be waiting for still greater reinforcements, and the junction concerted with Mourad Bey, in order to invest Alexandria.

Bonaparte, in order to be within reach of the movements of Seid Pacha, and intercept the succours of the Arabs and the mamalukes, took post at the village of Birkit, at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie (23d July), and seeing that the Turks were thinking only of fortifying and maintaining themselves in the peninsula, determined to attack them. The army, after having quitted the position of Birket, assembled at the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir: Bonaparte, having transported his headquarters to Alexandria, surveyed the new works of this place, which general Marmont had put in a state of respectable defence, and, after the reports which he collected respecting the position of the Turks, he formed his disposition of attack. Kleber, having marched from Damietta and followed the movement of the army, had reached Foua with a part of his division; general Menou advanced to the extremity of the bar between Rosetta and Aboukir to the passage of the Lake of Madie, in order to connonade such little embarkations as the Turks might send into the lake to harass his left.

Mustapha Pacha defended the entrance of the peninsula by two lines of troops, and by entrenchments still imperfect. He had placed his first line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; the right of this line was flanked by the sea and by an entrenched mound of sand, and occupied by about 1000 men: a village about 600 yards from thence was defended by a corps of 1000 men and four pieces of cannon. The left of this first line was detached and insulated at the distance of 1200 yards before the centre, and a few gun-boats, drawn up on the inner shore, flanked on the left the interval between the first and second line. This

last

last, much more advantageously posted, was 600 yards behind the first village. The centre occupied the redoubt, which had been taken from the French at the moment of landing, and which since had been connected with the sea-shore (a space of about 300 yards) by an entrenchment, behind which was the right: the left occupied the mounds of sand and the internal shore, flanked by the gun-boats. Seven thousand men and twelve pieces of cannon defended this second line, which was only 200 yards in front of the village and the fort, occupied by 1500 men:—The squadron was anchored at a league and a half distant in the Road of Aboukir.

The French had received different reinforcements; general Murat had rallied to his advanced guard the column of general D'Estaign; he had 600 horse; and the 400 cavaliers detached from Desaix's division in Upper Egypt had joined the army at the post of the Wells. At day-break (25th July) the French army, which was only two hours' distance from the first posts of the Turks, began its march in two columns, preceded by a strong advanced guard.—Lannes' division formed the right wing, that of Lanasse the left, and Kleber's division, which was not yet come up, was to form the reserve; a squadron covered the park of artillery; general Devout, with two squadrons and 100 dromedaries, watched the Arabs in the rear, and kept up the communication with Alexandria. As soon as the armies were in sight of each other, Bonaparte formed his columns of attack,—general D'Estaing carried with the bayonet the entrenched height, which formed the support of the right of the Turks. At the same time Lannes' division marched upon the left of this first line. General Murat cut off the retreat of the two wings, which were attacked by detached squadrons, and marched right to the centre with the rest of his cavalry. Almost all the first line, about 2000 men, dislodged and surrounded by this manœuvre, perished by the fire or were drowned: a part only of the right fell back on the village, which was attacked and carried. The Turks were pursued to the second position, which was less extended and much stronger than the first. The redoubt, which flanked both the entrenchments of the right, formed the head of this position, which the pacha, who had no other retreat, was prepared to defend with vigour, having still 8 or 9000 men left.

Bonaparte, perceiving that the principal force of the Turks was at the centre, changed his disposition according to the nature of the ground. He detached his cavalry towards the right, to engage and force the left of the Turks along the shore, directed the attacks of the infantry on the entrenchments of their right, between the redoubt and the sea, and disposed a reserve to storm the redoubt at the moment when the attacks by the left wings should have succeeded. After briskly cannonading the redoubt and the entrenchments which connected it with the sea-shore, he began the storm. General Fugières, at the head of the 18th demi-brigade, marched a column along the shore; the Turks seeing the French approach the entrenchments, sallied out and attacked the column, the combatants fought man to man; the Turks were repulsed—the French followed them, and threw themselves into the entrenchments.

intrench, but they were stopped by the fire of the redoubt, which took them in flank, both above and below. General Fugières lost an arm, and the column was forced to fall back to the village. The cavalry, which had come up to the redoubt, had charged several times with impetuosity, and drove back the troops before it; but they could not get forwards, nor sustain the heavy fire of the redoubt and that of the gun-boats. The chief of brigade, Duvivier, was killed. Adjutant-general Roize, and the chief of brigade, Besières, renewed the attack. Adjutant-general Leture put himself at the head of the infantry, sprang first into the entrenchments, without being followed, and was killed. In order to decide the action, Bonaparte ordered general Lannes to march straight to the redoubt at the head of two battalions: — seizing the moment when the Turks sallied from their entrenchments, he attacked the redoubt by the left and by the neck; the battalions of the 22d and 69th demi-brigades leaped into the ditch, climbed the parapet, and carried the work. Mustapha Pacha made every effort, but in vain, to rally his troops which were now forced on every point. General Murat, taking advantage of this first moment to charge anew, traversed the positions of the Turks, and, pushing as far as the ditches of the Fort of Aboukir, completed the confusion that had taken place in their ranks. The Turks fled on every side, and threw themselves into the sea: the greater part could not reach the vessels, which were too distant, and the remainder of the army, except the garrison of the Fort of Aboukir, and 200 men surrounded and taken with Mustapha Pacha, perished in the waves.

This victory was attended with considerable loss to the French, who had a great number wounded; among whom was general Murat, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, and the chief of brigade Cretin: the two last died of their wounds. The fort of Aboukir, summoned to surrender the day after the battle, was defended with desperate fury; the Turks had no idea of a capitulation, or any convention, with arms in hand. General Lannes was wounded in a sally, and general Menou took the command of the siege, which was conducted with address and vigour. After eight days of hot bombardment, the battering pieces being established on the counterscarp, and the castle nothing but a heap of ruins, the son of the pacha, his kyaic, and 2000 men, threw down their arms, and surrendered prisoners: the French found in the fort 300 wounded and 1800 killed.

Sir Sidney Smith, if the reports from Constantinople are to be credited, arriving at Aboukir with the last sail of the convoy, was witness of this defeat, without having it in his power, as at St. Jean d'Acre, to revive, by his measures or his activity, the hopes of the Turks. His squadron, united to that of Abdul-Fetah Bey, served only to gather up the wrecks of an expedition from which the Porte had hoped the re-capture of Egypt and the extermination of what was called the remains of the French army.

The day after the battle Bonaparte returned to Alexandria: he had been informed, by certain communications with English flags of truce, of the first reverses which the armies of the republic had undergone in Italy and on the Rhine, and of the struggles which were taking place in France. Deter-

my amidst the warmest testimonies of their regret and esteem. The three columns were very roughly handled by the fire from the batteries and parallels, and the intermediary space strewed with their dead.

In this kind of attack and defence, in which the proximity and the nature of the place forced the opposing parties to mutual extermination, the English had the misfortune to behold under their colours, united to those of Djezzar, the French, who were wounded and prisoners, massacred in cold blood by the Turks, regretting, no doubt, that the sentiments and conventions of honour, the usages which, amongst polished nations, temper the rage of war, were strangers to those barbarians. Sir Sidney Smith had softened the fate of French prisoners at Constantinople; he must have lamented, therefore, the minute but multiplied horrors which were committed under his inspection at St. Jean d'Acre.

Till this moment, the posts of Saffet and Nazareth, under the command of general Junot, had been sufficient to cover the operations of the siege; but the assembling of the corps of mamalukes, who had followed Ibrahim Bey into Syria, of the janissaries of Damascus, and those of Aleppo, having become very considerable, it was found necessary to send against them a corps of observation, which was intrusted to general Kleber. The first troops of this Turkish army, very numerous, especially in cavalry, had already passed the river Jordan. Parties of Arabs had shown themselves at the outlets of the mountain of Naplousium. General Junot turned the mountain to reach them, with his light infantry, a few companies of grenadiers, and 150 horse, but he found himself surrounded and attacked by nearly 3000 horse, and made his retreat on Kaff-Cana, at two leagues from the field of battle, in good order, having roughly treated this cavalry, which had not been able to force him.

Kleber left the camp of St. John d'Acre, with the remainder of his division, to join general Junot at Nazareth: and he directed his march upon the heights of Louby (11th April), and had reached Sed-Jarra, at four miles distance from Cana, when 4000 Turkish and Arabian cavalry, supported by 4 or 500 foot descending from the heights, surrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber attacked the village of Sed-Jarra, and routed the Turkish cavalry, which fled across the Jordan. A few days after, the whole of the army destined to force the lines of the French, and relieve St. Jean d'Acre, having passed the Jordan at the Bridge of Jacob, and of Giz-el-Mecanick, formed its junction in the Plain of Fouli, the ancient Esdrelon. At the same time the castle of Soffat was warmly attacked, and scaled, but vigorously defended by the French captain Simon. Kleber, after having reconnoitered the different corps of troops by which he was almost surrounded, estimated their force at 40,000 men, comprising the armed natives; he gave information of this to Bonaparte, as likewise of the movement which he proposed to make, to turn the main of this army, and surprise their camp.

Bonaparte, finding himself thus harassed and interrupted in his plans, by a kind of attack, favourable to the larger number, resolved, with whatever force he could draw off from his army before St. John d'Acre,

d'Acre, to reach this multitude, and give them battle. His first care was to cut off from the Turks their retreat across the Bridge of Jacob, in order to disperse and drive them far beyond the Jordan. General Murat was charged with 1000 infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, to undertake this difficult operation. Leaving the camp of St. John d'Acre (13th of April), he made forced marches to Jacob's Bridge. Two divisions only were left to carry on the siege, and keep the trenches. Bonaparte, with the rest of his cavalry, the division of Bon, and eight pieces of artillery, came (16th of April) within sight of the Plain of Esdrelon, and of Mount Tabor. Kleber, retarded by the difficulty of the roads, and by the defiles, could not reach and surprise before day-break the camp of the mamalukes, who, warned by their advanced posts of the approach of the French, had marched forward as far as the village of Fouli, which they occupied with the Naplousian infantry. Near 20,000 cavalry surrounded Kleber's division, which, formed into two squares, were resisting their attacks, when Bonaparte appeared. Bonaparte detached at first generals Rampen and Vial, each with a demi-brigade, to support Kleber, who, when he found himself thus assisted, charged the Turkish cavalry with the bayonet, and attacked and carried the village of Fouli. The columns of Rampen and Vial cut off their retreat towards the mountains of Naplousium. Murat had also just surprised the post of Jacob's Bridge, and raised the blockade of the castle of Saffet. The roure of the Turks, Arabians, mamalukes, and Naplousians, was complete: cut off from their camp, they threw themselves behind Mount Tabor, and gaining, during the night, the Bridge of Giz-al-Mecanie, repassed the Jordan with considerable loss and in the greatest disorder, and retreated upon Damascus.

Kleber took possession of the bridges of Jacob and of Giz-al-Mecanie, the forts of Saffet and Tabari; and, after having secured the banks of the Jordan, he occupied with his division the position of the baizard of Nazareth. Bonaparte returned to the camp with the remainder of the troops, and pressed on the works. The mine destined to blow up the town was finished, and set fire to; but a part of the effect having vented itself by some subterraneous passage, one side only of the tower was sprung, and the breach was not more practicable than before. Never was fortune so favourable to the besieged; never were a few yards of ground of so much importance in the attacks and defence of a place; and never was the rubbish of a bad work disputed with so much eagerness. It is not on plans and designs, but on profiles of this ruined tower, that these attacks can be represented,—those feats of arms, not less extraordinary from the valour of the combatants, than singular from the dispositions of the place.

Scarcely was the mine sprung, than Bonaparte was anxious, while the impression of the first terror lasted, to know how the town was connected with the rest of the place. Thirty grenadiers succeeded in lodging themselves in the rubbish, under the ceiling of the first story; but the besieged having communication with the ruins of the upper stories, threw inflammable matter into that below, which forced the French grenadiers to abandon it. The next day the batteries continued

the only source of abundance in Egypt, had that year failed.

After detailing the history of their sufferings and dangers, the writers of those intercepted letters observe, that the country itself is susceptible of great amelioration, and capable of being made the finest colony in the world, but that the season for invading it had been badly chosen, and that without maritime force it was impossible to retain it; that if the French were peaceable masters of the country for a few years, the plagues which infest it, the Arabs, and the pestilence, would soon disappear, and such a spur would be given to industry as should bring it back to its ancient splendor; but that while the French were without marine, the English masters of the sea, and the French at war with the Turk, the possession of Egypt was impossible; that these obstacles did not indeed exist when the expedition took place; that then peace was restored to the continent, a marine of certain force existed in the Mediterranean, the French were in possession of almost all Italy, Corfu, and Malta, and were supposed to have had at least the tacit approbation of the Turk for the expedition to Egypt: the evacuation of this country might then have been made (say they) a powerful condition in the negotiation of peace with the English, on account of its proximity to the Indies, but that such a motive could no longer influence the British cabinet, since it could not be unacquainted with the actual state of the French in Egypt; that the Porte also would not consent to a peace without the permission of that cabinet, while the French retained the possession; that not only was it become impossible to retain it, but that if the French delayed longer to make peace, the army would perish, or be forced to evacuate it unconditionally, whilst its evacuation by treaty at present would re-establish peace with the Ottoman Porte and the Barbary powers, and prepare the way for peace with England. With diplomatic subtlety it was likewise observed, that this pacification with Turkey would infalliby engage it in war with Russia, which would not only make a happy diversion in Europe, but might open the way for the French to retake what they had lost in the Mediterranean. For these reasons, and others which the writers detail, and which chiefly refer to the general politics of the European powers, they conclude, that the distance of time and place, and the pressure of events, might not permit them to wait the orders of the French government without committing the interests of the republic, and the safety and glory of the remainder of the army; that Egypt must be evacuated, and peace and their former connections be established with the Ottoman and Barbary powers; that the only thing the French government could hope for was, that general Kleber might delay the negotiation till orders were received, if negotiation should still be possible; but that if the evacuation should take place before such orders arrived, it would take place not only because it was commanded by motives of prudence, and consideration for their best political interests, but also because it was inevitable. It appears that Bonaparte's conclusions on leaving Egypt were the same as those of the correspondents with the directory. "If this year," says the general, on his leaving Egypt, in a letter addressed to Kleber, "in spite of all our precautions, the pestilence should rage

rage in Egypt, and destroy more than 1500 soldiers, I think that you ought not to run the chance of the next campaign, and that you are authorised to conclude peace with the Ottoman Porte, though the evacuation of Egypt should be the principal condition." In addition to the motives alleged, by other correspondents with the directory, for entering into negotiation with the Porte, Kleber informs them, that the army of the grand vizier and of Djezzar, amounting to 30,000 men, had reached Gaza, and the English were masters of the Red Sea; that of the two keys of Egypt, at the east and west, El-Arisch was a fortress of little strength, and Alexandria only a vast entrenched camp, and without sufficient artillery; that reduced as his army then was, he should continue the negotiations with the Porte which Bonaparte had begun, offering as conditions, for the French to remain in the country, the re-establishment of a pacha for the civil government of Egypt, dividing the revenues, keeping possession of the posts and strong places till peace was made by the English—propositions to which the general did not believe the consent of the Turk would be obtained, not only from feelings of pride, but also from the commanding influence which the English had gained in his councils, and which they would not fail to exercise in the manner most suitable to their interests.

Of the representations made in these letters (whether they be forgeries or not) the greater part seems well-founded; the possession of Egypt, however important, was no doubt a measure of the highest impolicy, and had become the signal of spreading the fury of war from the Frozen Sea to the Peninsula of India. Some exaggeration of evil may be permitted to Frenchmen, contrasting their situation in Egypt with their brilliant campaigns in the rich and civilised climes of Italy, especially in the first moments of anger or depression, at the sudden disappearance of Bonaparte, whose presence inspired confidence where it could not expel suffering, and whose participation in the general calamity alleviated its individual weight. These intercepted letters, however, were followed soon after by other dispatches, which reached the French government from general Kleber, and which seemed to contradict, in some instances, the mournful prognostics contained in the former.

From these dispatches, dated 23d September, and 16th November, it appears that Mourad Bey, having fallen down the Nile to El-Ganayur, had been driven back by a division of the army of Upper Egypt, under general Morand. Overtaken in his flight by the French division, which in four days had traversed fifty leagues of desert, his camp was surprised at Samahout, a great number of mamalukes were put to the sword, two hundred camels loaded with spoils, an hundred horses, and a prodigious quantity of arms, were taken, and the bey himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. After his defeat, Mourad wandered about in the deserts of Upper Egypt, and made incursions into the cultivated country, to seek food or take refuge. General Desaix, who was anxious to rid himself of this indefatigable adversary, organised two moveable columns, composed of infantry mounted on dromedaries, and of cavalry and artillery; those columns left Syout, the head quarters, in the latter days of September, commanded, the one by Desaix himself, and the other by adjutant-general Boyer.

The latter column, after three days of forced march, came up with Mourad (19th of October) in the Desert of Sediman. The mamalukes began the attack with great fury, in hopes of gaining possession of the dromedaries. Charged in their turn with great vigour, the mamalukes and Arabs took flight, leaving the French masters of the field, who afterwards chased them on their dromedaries back to the deserts.

Meanwhile the grand vizier with his army, was marching from Damascus to Gaza, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Desaix had been ordered by Kleber to Cairo, from which he had been sent with a division destined to act on the frontier of Syria against the grand vizier. The movements of that army, together with those of Mourad, had suggested to Kleber that some enterprise was about to take place on the coasts, when (24th September) eighteen Turkish ships anchored before Damietta, which were successively augmented, so that, by the end of the following month, they were increased to fifty three. This fleet was commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, on board the Tyger. The coast was sounded, the pass to Damietta was marked by buoys, and gun boats were established on the line. The Turkish army took possession of a tower at the mouth of the Nile, and formed it into a post, defended with a piece of artillery; thus protected, the army, amounting to 4000 men, made good its landing (1st November), and began to entrench themselves on the point situated between the right side of the Nile, the sea, and the Lake Menzala.

They had no sooner made good their position, than general Verdier, who was encamped between Lesbe and the coast, marched against them with 1000 men, and, having attacked them without waiting for reinforcements, destroyed 3000, and made 800 prisoners, among whom was Ismael Bey, the second in command; took thirty-two stand of colours, and five pieces of artillery. This division made part of an army of 8000 janissaries which had sailed from Constantinople. The vessels remained some time longer on the coast, which they were obliged to quit, on account of bad weather: the French meanwhile continued their preparations against a more numerous and formidable enemy, which was about to pour on them across the deserts of Syria, and against whom, without reinforcements, which, in the circumstances of the French marine, it was hopeless to expect, or prodigies of valour which it were useless to perform, nothing could be opposed but submission almost unconditional, and the abandoning a country, the conquest and civilisation of which must have been at any period a work of time and difficulty, but in the present circumstances an operation altogether impossible.

CHAP. XV.

Enumeration of the different Epochas of the Campaign. New Formation of the coalesced Armies. Position of Suwarrow in Italy. Dispositions of the French and Austrian Armies. Attempts of the French Army in Italy to prevent Suwarrow's March into Switzerland. Re-union of Moreau's Army to Championet's. Precautions of the French with respect to Genoa. March of Suwarrow towards Switzerland. Projects of the Russian General. Dispositions of the Austrian Army in the Mountains. Suwarrow's Entrance into Switzerland. Position of the coalesced and French Armies in Switzerland. Project of general Attack by Massena. Defensive Dispositions of General Hotze. General Attack of the French on the whole Line. Death of Hotze. Total Defeat of the allied Armies in Switzerland. Progress of Suwarrow in Switzerland. Defeat and Retreat of Suwarrow across the Mountains of the Grisons. Entire Evacuation of Switzerland by the allied Armies. Estimated Loss on both Sides. Movements of the Archduke on the Rhine. Consequences of the Defeat of the Allies in Switzerland with respect to their general Operations. Operations of the allied English and Russian Army in Holland. Attack of the Allies on the French and Dutch Armies. Retreat of the English and Russian Army. Retreat and distressed Situation of the English and Russian Army. Capitulation of the English and Russian Army. Terms of the Capitulation. Consequences of the Invasion and Evacuation of Holland. Treaty of the English and Russian Courts for the Subsidy of the Russian Troops. Notification of Paul I. to the German States. Arbitrary Levy on various Troops of the Helvetic Republic. Resistance of the Helvetic Government. Progress of the Insurrection in the Western Departments of France.

FROM the shores of Africa and Asia, where so much blood had been uselessly shed, we return to the no less ensanguined, but more extensive theatre of war in Europe, where victory, hitherto faithful to the standard of the allies, began once more to hover over that of the republican armies. If this vast campaign be divided into regular epochas, it was the fourth period with which the belligerent powers had now attained: the first period was the first offensive movement of the French under the late directory, the conquest of the Grisons by Massena, of the frontier of Tyrol by Lecourbe, the victory at Stockach by the archduke, that on the Adige by Kray, and the retreat of the French: the second epocha was the offensive movement of the allies in Italy, the passage of the Adda, the retaking of Lombardy and part of Piedmont, the conquests of the Grisons, passage of the Rhine, and taking of Zurich by the archduke; the active defence of the French in Switzerland and Italy, the defeat of Macdonald by Suwarrow, the defence of the Ligurian republic, the junction of Macdonald, the recapture of Tuscany, and the taking of Mantua: in the third epocha may be comprehended the second offensive march of the French, the battle of Novi, Championet's general attack on the posts of the Alps and

Piedmont, Massena's attack on Zurich, the recapture of St. Gothard by Lecourbe, the passage of the Rhine by the French general Muller, the invasion of the Palatinate, and the bombardment of Philipsburg. The new plan projected by the imperial courts consisted in forming in the centre, in Switzerland, a great Russian army under the orders of Suwarrow; on the left, in Italy, an Austrian army commanded by generals Kray and Melas; on the right upon the Rhine, the imperial army, and that of the empire, under the orders of the archduke.

There is no doubt but that this new formation was preferable to that of the former mixture of the troops of different nations in the army, which, even supposing the most perfect harmony, was necessarily injurious to the service, from the difference in language, order, and discipline; for every instance of success, from rivalship in courage and talent, many great disadvantages were to be put in counterbalance. Each of the three armies, therefore, were to be gainers by this new arrangement; the Russians had taken the nearest and most favourable situation for receiving their recruits; the inevitable confusion in depôts, hospitals, and magazines, was avoided; each army was also to receive auxiliaries in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. The Piedmontese troops, and those of the confederated princes in Italy, were to augment the forces of general Kray; the new levies in the Grisons, and the little cantons, troops formed by ancient Swiss officers, the corps of the prince of Condé, and a division of Bavarian troops, were to join the Russian army; and the different contingents of the empire, and the levy of the militia newly organised in the electorate, were to reinforce the army of the archduke. From the nearest calculations that could be made, it appeared that each of those armies, separate and complete, were to consist of 70,000 men. A considerable corps of the army of the archduke was to remain in Switzerland, under the orders of general Hotze.

The archduke was on the Lower Rhine, and had executed his part of the plan; but the execution of that of Suwarrow was one of the most difficult operations that could be attempted in face of an active and enterprising enemy. The central of Suwarrow's army was at Asti (1st September), the left wing occupied Novi, covered Tortona, and extended its posts within sight of the Bochetta: the right stretched away to the Po, towards Turin; two Russian divisions were posted in the environs of Spigno and Acqui; and the posts at the entrances of the valleys of the Alps of Piedmont had been reinforced.

Championet continued a very active war of posts: one of his columns had entered Suza, a second had taken possession of the town and valley of Aosta, forcing the imperialists to fall back to the fort of Bard; and while he had seemed to be meditating an attack on the side of Coni, and the Col de Tende, he forced various important posts, and penetrated as far as Pignerol. Moreau, having maintained his posts on the side of the eastern river against the attacks of general Klenau, had concentrated his forces between Savona, and St. Giacomo, pushed detachments as far as Bassaluza and Capriata, and made dispositions for advancing.

Suwarrow began his march (8th of September) with the first column of Russians, under the orders of general

general Rosenberg, who directed his course by Novarra, in order to pass St. Gothard by Bellinzone. Whether Moreau had intimation of this movement from the manœuvres of general Kray, or whether the eventual truce of Tortona not being yet expired, he had conceived hopes of carrying off this trophy of the battle of Novi, he sallied from his position (9th of September) with a body of from 20 to 25,000 men, forming three columns, the first directed upon Acqui, and the two others upon Novi and Serra Valle. General Kray having marched to meet him with his left, and a part of the centre of the imperial armies, a very warm engagement took place; the French columns were repulsed, and after considerable loss, Moreau retreated, and resumed his former positions.

The citadel of Tortona at length surrendered to Suwarrow (11th of September,) who, after taking a public farewell, and testifying his gratitude to the Austrian generals, and to the army, marched off towards Switzerland with the rear-guard of the Russian troops. After the surrender of Tortona, the whole of the army of general Kray, which was encamped at Bozzalo, di Formizarro and at Rivalta, to cover the siege, marched at first upon Alessandria, and afterwards towards Coni, by Feliciano and Alba. The main of the army, consisting of thirty-five battalions, and five regiments of cavalry, under the orders of general Melas, assembled (9th of September) at Bra, upon the Stura, a central position between the Alps and the Apennines, and well fitted to oppose the progress of Championet, and the junction which he was endeavouring to execute before Coni with Moreau, who was about to cede to him the command of his army in the Ligurian republic. Championet was then near Pignerol; the corps which had marched upon Suza, composed of 6 or 7000 men, advanced upon Turin; the column of the left of the French Army of the Alps marched from Aosta upon Ivrea, occupied by general Haddick, whose division formed the right of the Austrian army. By means of these manœuvres, which threatened Turin, and the right flank of the Austrian army, Championet marched in force, by Sallucca, to the entrance of the valley of the Stura, near the famous field of battle of Staffardi, where marshal Catinat beat the duke of Savoy in 1690. Several engagements took place (14th and 15th of September) before Fossano and Savigliano, defended by general Gottesheim with an advanced guard of about 6000 men; he was nevertheless compelled to give up these two important posts, of which Championet took possession, but was obliged to cede them in his turn.

General Kray having, as has been observed, assembled his forces at Bra, lost no time in attacking Championet's army, which was almost insulated, and so far advanced, that it had only one march more to make in order to form its junction with the army of Moreau. The Austrian army broke up its camp at Bra, (18th of September) and divided itself into two columns; Kray put himself at the head of the left, and marched upon Fossano; General Melas, commanding the second, marched to attack Savigliano; the action began with this last column; that of the right attacked and retook the post of Savigliano. The French evacuated Fossano during the night, and, after considerable loss, retreated upon Maira.

Maira. All the chain of posts above Turin had been attacked at the same time; general Bellegarde, driven back on the side of Rivoli, was supported by generals Kaim and Vukassowich, who forced the French to retreat upon Suza. Nothing had taken place on the side of Genoa since the last fruitless attempt made by Moreau to disengage Tortona, and since his retreat into his position at Savona: two small Austrian corps had remained in observation, one between Gavi and Novi, on the Scrivia, the other in the environs of Acqui and Spigno, on the Bormida.

Such were the manœuvres and the actions by which general Kray covered and secured the march of the Russians, who were hastening, with all expedition, to reach the passes of Mount St. Gothard. After this attempt, in which, as the event proved, it was happy for the French that they did not succeed, Championet having left to general Duheme the command of the troops, went to receive from the hands of Moreau that of the army of Italy, under which denomination was now to be comprehended that of the Alps. Moreau had just been recalled to Paris. In taking leave of his army at the head-quarters at Cornegliano, he congratulated it on the display which it had made of the most heroic courage, its constancy in supporting every kind of privation: the new general also issued a proclamation, in which he considered, as an insult to the army, the reports which had been spread respecting the projected evacuation of the Ligurian territory.

A few days before the arrival of Championet at Genoa, that city had been put in a state of siege, the government was suspended, and made subordinate to military authority: serious troubles had obliged the French to make use of this precaution which the remembrance of the famous revolution of 1746 perhaps justified: for there is in the character of nations, as well as in that of individuals, certain features, which seem effaced, and appear again on a sudden, when similar circumstances awaken the same sentiments; that revolution, when the Genoese mob expelled the Austrians, their conquerors, furnished a memorable example of the energy which a spark can reanimate in the spirit of a people though reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation.

Of the army which Suwarrow had led into Italy, and which had been reinforced in the beginning of July by 10 or 11,000 men, which came to him from Hungary, there scarcely remained more, in the total, than from 18 to 20,000. This army assembled on Mount Cenere, where Suwarrow joined them (15th of September), and made his dispositions to attack St. Gothard, and to form his junction with the Austrian generals Auffenberg and Sallachich, who occupied, in front of the advanced guards of Lecourbe, the frontiers of the Grisons and the little Cantons. This division of Austrian troops expected moreover to receive reinforcements by the Tyrol; their plan was to drive back Lecourbe, and re-establish the left wing of the allied army of Switzerland in its positions on the Reuss, and also to surround the right of the French army, to separate it from the Vallais, and, freeing at once the Furca and Engelberg, to march upon Lucerne and Berne, to force Massena to quit his position, and pass the Aar in order to secure his rear.

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As the Russians advanced towards the frontiers of Switzerland, general Strauche's division, supported by general Laudohn, marched forward and resumed its former posts. Suwarrow, having ascended the Valley of the Levantine, took possession of the post of Airolo, and the next day that of St. Gothard; while general Rosenberg turned by the sources of the Rhine, towards the Lake of Oberalp, the position of Urseren. Further down the mountain general Auffenberg descended with his brigade, by the Maderana-Thal, into the Valley of the Reuss, to form his junction with Suwarrow, at Steig. In this manner, the recapture of St. Gothard, and the taking the positions on the Reuss by Suwarrow, were exactly in the inverse sense the same operations which Lecourbe had executed a month before, and who was now obliged in his turn to give up those important posts with more facility indeed than Suwarrow could have expected. His entrance into Switzerland could not have been more happily executed, and this expedition, which was rather of a novel kind for this old warrior, was so much the more remarkable, as his officers and soldiers came out of the plains of Italy, and had scarcely any experience of this kind of war. If the taking St. Gothard by the French a month before had changed, so much to their advantage, the situation of their affairs in Switzerland, this key was of less importance in the hands of the Russians.

Since the army of Prince Korsakow had replaced the Austrian troops at Zurich, and the archduke had marched to the relief of Philipsburg, general Hotze commanded the division of the Austrian army which had remained in Switzerland, and which consisted of twenty-nine battalions and four regiments of cavalry. Constrained, by superior forces, to abandon Glaris and Neesels, he had taken an advantageous position behind the Linth, between Wasen and Utznach; his head-quarters were at Rattbrun, and he covered, by his left, the entrance into the Grisons. The Russians extended themselves from Utznach, along the Lake of Zurich and the Limmat, as far as Baden, having a corps encamped on the Horn before Zurich, and another on the heights near the road which leads to Wallishofen: general Nauendorf's division was posted opposite Baden, and closed the right wing flanked by the Rhine.

Of Massena's army, general Thurean occupied the Vallais on the right; Lecourbe, before Suwarrow's irruption, held St. Gothard, and the course of the Reuss, as far as the lake of the four cantons, pushing his advanced guards into the valleys of the Grisons; general Soult's division was at Glaris, and extended as far as Adlitwill; general Martin's division extended from Adlitwill to Dietikon; and that of general Lorges from Dietikon as far as Baden; these formed the centre of the French army: that of general Menard, from Baden to the Rhine, and the reserve which general Klein commanded in the Frickthal, formed the left; general Chambran commanded at Basil. The French army from St. Gothard to Baden, comprehending neither the division in the Vallais, which amounted to 8000 men, nor that in the entrenchments at Basil which amounted to 6000, both of which were distant from the scene of action, made up 64,000 men; the allied army, previous to the arrival of Suwarrow, consisted of 59,000, and by this accession

accession might be estimated at nearly 80,000 men.

Massena, after the success obtained by general Lecourbe on his right, had pressed upon the left wing of the allied army, in order to attack the centre with more advantage. General Lecourbe had just made an advance, endeavouring to penetrate, and turn by the Valley of the Grisons, the whole of the positions which covered the line of general Hotze. Massena prepared himself thus by degrees for a general engagement: the news of the march and progress of Suwarrow, who might, in a few days, execute on the rear of the right of the French, in the west of Switzerland, what Massena meditated on the frontiers of the east against the left of the allies, precipitated his dispositions, and he took advantage of the last moment left him to make his attack.

Prince Korsakow's position at Zurich, on the heights, and on the two banks of the Limmat, was the centre or head of the general line, occupied by the three divisions of the allied army, from the post of Wasen on the Lake of Wallenstadt to the Rhine. On this space of about fifty miles, the Lake of Zurich, and the river Linth, which flows into it from the Valley of Glaris, had permitted the Austrians to extend, or rather detach, their left wing nearly thirty miles from the head of the central position, which till then had appeared impregnable. Although this interval seemed too great, general Hotze was justified in extending his line as far as the heights, which separate the course of the Linth from that of the Thur. His head quarters were at Kalthrum, and, by the position which he had taken between those heights and the Linth, he could defend the entrance of the two valleys of the Glatt and the Toss, the course of which, from south-east to north-west, parallel to that of the Limmat, cut, in the shortest direction, the rear of the centre and right of the allied army.

Such was the evident advantage of the positions of Hotze; and the object of the first manœuvres of Massena was to dislodge him from it, if possible at the beginning of the general action, in order to separate him altogether from general Jellachich, on his left, to render his junction with Suwarrow by the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris impracticable, and to attack the centre with more confidence when the rear was threatened. Massena, to attain this important end, made divers signs of movements in the Frickthal, and on the Aar. At length (24th of September), after having drawn the attention of the allied army, by a false attack against Bruck, he gave orders to general Lorges to pass the Limmat above Baden with his division, and to attack the camp of the Russians on the opposite bank. General Mortier's division, and the reserve commanded by general Klein, marched up to the heights on the west of Zurich, and attacked in front. Massena had also given orders to general Soult to pass the Linth at the moment the action should begin on the side of Zurich, and to attack the advanced posts of the Austrians in that quarter.

General Hotze, surprised at this impetuous attack, and informed that the French had already passed the Linth, mounted his horse and hastened, with a few officers, towards the advanced posts, in order to reconnoitre between Schanis, and Kalten Brunn. He advanced rashly, the party was surrounded, attacked, and Hotze remained,

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on the field of battle. He was as much regretted by the allies, as Joubert had been by the French, at the battle of Novi. The imperial army of Switzerland could not have met with a greater loss than that of the defender of Feldkirch, nor at a moment more inopportune, when the talents of this general, and the particular knowledge of the difficult country in which he was then acting, were so indispensably requisite: the Russian generals lost their guide. Hotze, born at Zurich, was killed almost at his very home.

The French followed up their first advantage with great vigour and perseverance; they carried at first the bridge of Grynau, at the Fort of the Brunberg, at the entrance of the Linth into the Lake of Zurich; the prince of Wirtemberg, hastening from Rapperschweil with three Russian battalions, retook this post, but could not maintain it against a fresh attack; the bridge remained in the power of the French, and from that moment the Austrian troops, who had already been thrown into confusion by the loss of their general, could not maintain themselves in the position of Ulznach, the right flank of which was about to be turned. General Soult, having beat Hotze's division, forced them, after new defeats the following day, to retreat in disorder by the Goldiner Thal, upon Lichtenstein, into the Toggenburg. This left wing, of which general Petrasch took the command after the death of general Hotze, was therefore entirely separated from the centre of the army, the left flank and rear of which remained uncovered.

The attacks against Zurich were crowned with no less success; Lorge's division had carried all the posts in its way, forced the camp, and driven the Russians back to the walls of Zurich. The western heights had been carried by generals Mortier and Klein. The French attacked with so much bravery, and the Russians defended themselves with so much valour, and kept their posts and their ranks with so much perseverance, that the carnage was horrible, as was also their entire defeat: of the latter the Russian baggage and artillery were all taken. A strong rear-guard, shut up in Zurich, refused to surrender, and the town was carried sword in hand. Prince Korsakow retreated by Bulach and Winterthur, to Eglisau and Schaffhausen.

The French, masters of the position of Zurich, of both sides the lake, and of the course of the Glatt, pursued, in the two directions of St. Gall and Schaffhausen, the Russians and Austrians, who, disabled from rallying, or taking positions on the Thur, were compelled to pass the Rhine, and to place the Lake of Constance between them and their pursuers. The towns of Constance and Petershausen were occupied by the advanced guard of the French, who had some difficulty at first in keeping their posts.

Suwarrow, meanwhile, having forced back as far as Altorf the brigade of general Gudin, was stopt by the divisions which Lecourbe had collected and marched against him, amongst which was that of general Loison. His design was to break through the right wing of the French army; to penetrate by the Valley of the Linth into the Canton of Zurich, and forcing Massena to fall back with his left, to disengage and rally before him the two corps which had been beaten. Of the importance which Suwarrow annexed to this second project, an idea may be formed by the letter which he wrote to the commander

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the frontiers of Switzerland a few days after, where the archduke found it necessary to rally and concentrate his forces; he ordered general Nauendorf, who was placed in observation on the side of the Brisgaw, to take a strong and nearer position in Upper Suabia.

A part of general Korsakow's army filed off by his left towards the Lake of Constance; and on the other side, Suwarrow, who had at first fixed his head-quarters at Coire, after having received a great part of the artillery he had left in Italy, by the Lake of Como and the road of Chiavenna, marched to Feldkirch, united the cordon by the right side of the Lake of Constance, and met at Lindau the Russian generals. The French had retaken St. Gothard, and, though the season was already very far advanced, they threatened re-entering the Grisons by the Valley of Dissentis and by Sargens.

Beyond Switzerland, and on the other side of Italy, the principal communication with their army was covered; the attacks of general Laudohn and of colonel Strauch, and their efforts to enter into the Vallais, had no longer any object which was connected with the general operations. On the Lower Rhine general Muller, repassing the river, marched anew upon Frankfort, Heidelberg, and Manheim, and dispersed the militia which had not been duly supported. Such were the immediate consequences of the loss of the battle of Zurich; those more remote, and which will be spoken of hereafter, were of infinitely greater importance. The almost entire evacuation of Switzerland by the allies, the respective situation of the two armies, the strength of the defensive position of the Vorarlberg, connected by the Lake of Constance with that of Upper Suabia, forced both sides once more to a suspension of arms. The conquerors and the conquered, after efforts so prodigious, were almost equally exhausted; both had demanded and were waiting for reinforcements. In this last period, the last resources of both armies had been entirely destroyed; the little which the inhabitants had been able to collect was consumed; Switzerland, during that dreadful fortnight, was nothing but a sea of fire. The scourge of war, which for three ages past had devoured Italy and Germany, had respected Switzerland; but at present, that torrent of calamities, which political dykes had hitherto restrained, as well as those which had been placed by nature, were entirely levelled, and this unfortunate country was now inundated with the ravages of war the most dreadful and exterminating. We have spoken of the great line of battle from the Danube to the Adriatic Gulf in the early part of this sketch—great, no doubt, compared to every other in former wars; but, if we consider the extent of the military operations in which the French were engaged, we may consider that line in a still more extensive point of view, as obliquely lengthened from near the sources of the Nile and Ethiopia, towards whose mountains the French were chasing the swarthy barbarians, to the tempest-beaten marshy peninsula of North Holland, the opposite point or right of this great line; while at the centre, victory, the most signal and complete, as well as the most unexpected, had destroyed for the present campaign, on the part of the coalition, all hopes of the immediate repartition of France, or the restoration of royalty, and given the French govern-

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ment, or momentary force, of which it stood in need to check the inroads of domestic faction. To finish the events of this fourth epocha of the campaign, we return to the invasion of the Batavian republic.

We left the English in possession of Alkmaer (3d of October), after defeating the French and Dutch army, and pushing on their advanced posts towards Haerlem, while with their left they threatened Amsterdam, from which, though they had many obstacles to surmount, they were but little distant. During the two days that followed this victory, the two armies rested themselves; but, the day following, the duke of York attacked anew the whole front of the line. If he had thought it possible to carry, as it were by storm, the concentred position which Brune had taken, he was in the right not to suffer him to take footing; and the stronger the inundations rendered the right of the Dutch, the more pressing it was to push back beyond Haerlem the body of troops entrenched at Beverwick.

The English and Russian army in this second attack gained some advantages; they had carried Ackersloot, and had advanced as far as Kastricum; but the action having become general, the fortune of war suddenly changed. Whilst the French troops attacked in their turn, Brune seised a favourable moment to charge at the head of his cavalry, and broke the line of the English and Russians, who could neither support each other nor keep the ground which they had gained; they were repulsed beyond Bacum, after having sustained a very considerable loss. It appears that this charge made by general Brune, who in this affair had two horses killed under him, contributed greatly to the success of the day.

The battle lasted till night, and the French and Dutch army returned to its position at Beverwick. The result of this second battle, in appearance but little decisive, though it cost much blood on both sides, was entirely in favour of the Dutch: it was, in fact, a victory to have caused the failure of a desperate attack, on the success of which depended, not only the means of finishing the most difficult of all enterprises, but also those of procuring subsistence for an army, which, unable either to extend itself, or draw its resources from the country it had in possession, was forced to receive by way of the sea every thing necessary for its support. The duke of York, therefore, assembled a council of war, whose unanimous opinion it was that the army could no longer keep that advanced position, that it should fall back to the Zyp, and wait the farther orders of his majesty.

Although the position of the duke of York's army was not more than twenty miles from the places of landing, nevertheless the long rains, the broken roads, the breaches in the dykes and canals, rendered the communications impracticable, and the conveyances and distributions impossible. The ulterior orders of the English government could be no other than the evacuation of North Holland. There was no time to change the plan of operations; it was impossible to make considerable or effective diversions without running the risk of sacrificing the force of the army; the season was otherwise too far advanced; and the dangerous navigation of the roads of the Texel no longer admitted of the sailing of transports; in short, the im-

mense expense of this expedition could not have been balanced by the happiest results that could possibly have been expected.

After this last affair, general Brune soon perceived the retrograde movement of the duke of York. The left and centre of the French and Dutch army re-entered Alkmaar, and took the same positions as they occupied before the battle; their right, under the orders of general Daendels, advanced upon Hoorn, of which it also took possession.

The English and Russian army evacuated successively Enchuysen and Medenblick, where they had destroyed or despoiled the dock-yards, the marine establishments, the East-India Company's vessels, and whatever public property they met with; though the retreat was made in good order, yet the army was obliged to leave behind a part of the wounded for want of carriages. As the English and Russians concentered themselves in their entrenchments at the Zyp, general Daendels' division closed upon their left, harassed their rear-guard, and occupied the posts which they were forced to evacuate. General Dumonceau's division re-established its communication with Daendels, whose column advanced as far as Luytwinkel, and took possion of the Zee-dyke, in which the English had made an opening of nineteen feet,—a means of defence too dreadful to be justified, except on desperate occasions. The French and Batavian army occupied (13th October) the position the nearest the Zyp, the left before Petten, the centre at Warmanhuysen and Dirkshoorn, the right before Winkel.

It was in this situation of the two armies, that the duke of York, having sent a flag of truce to general Brune, proposed a capitulation on the basis of an armistice, or of the free retreat and re-embarkation of his army. General Knox on the side of the English, and the general of brigade Rostollon, chief of the staff of the French and Batavian army, were commissioned to negotiate, and form the articles of this capitulation, which was concluded at Alkmaar (18th October).

The suspension of hostilities and of all works, either for attack or defence, the successive re-embarkation of the allied army, the re-establishment of the works of the Helder, and the preservation of the works constructed by the English and Russian army, the restitution of 8000 French and Batavian prisoners, that of admiral Winter particularly stipulated, were the clauses of this capitulation. The retreat of the duke of York's army was followed by the evacuation of the Zuyder-Zee, by the flotilla of admiral Mitchell, and from the islands and port of the Lemmer. Thus finished this memorable expedition, the most considerable that has been attempted in modern times, and which seemed fitted not only to change the form of government in Holland, but also to have the most important consequences, both with respect to the continuance of the war, and the political balance which a general peace might establish in Europe; but which served only to add a trophy to the other victories which the French had just then gained on other points of the extended theatre of war, and to consolidate more strongly the government of the Batavian republic.

Though the invasion of Holland was the cause, no doubt, of very great immediate calamity, especially in that part of the country which

which was the theatre of the war, it was, nevertheless, productive of advantage to the Batuvian government. The proclamations of the English indisposed greatly against them even the Orangists, who were struck at seeing no engagement on the part of the British government to give up the Dutch colonies, and also the stadtholder held out as the legitimate sovereign. The Dutch, in general, were indignant at being considered the subjects of an officer of the republic, whose office they several times had found it convenient to suppress. From that moment, and more immediately on the capitulation, the party of the stadtholder was no longer dangerous, and the country considered itself as for ever released from the influence of the British cabinet. Another effect of this invasion, still more striking, was the opportunity given for the display of the energy of the Dutch, by arming themselves for their own defence, the most effectual means of securing their own liberty and independence, from the influence of any court or cabinet.

It was altogether with the defeat of the English and Russian expedition that Europe became acquainted with the treaty that had bound the imperial and British cabinet in its formation. By this treaty, the object of which, as stated in the preamble, was to restore the balance of Europe, and force back France to its ancient limits, the contracting parties agreed to employ all their efforts to engage the king of Prussia to take an active part against the common enemy; and that when his Prussian majesty should have consented to the measures proposed, the emperor of Russia agreed to furnish 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, together with the necessary artillery. The king of Prussia continued firm against every menace and every persuasion to restore in this manner the balance of Europe, and, after a long and obstinate diplomatic war between the three cabinets, the Prussian court remained inflexible in its neutrality. This condition was not however rigorous, the emperor furnished the troops, the greater part of which were now destroyed, and England paid the subsidy. The employment of 17,593 other Russian troops in Holland, of which similar havoc had been made, was the object of a second treaty. For those troops, Paul I. had been paid; but with respect to those whom he had sent without subsidy, he assumed another tone, in an official notification which he made at this time to the members of the Germanic empire, in which he represented, that having "been constantly animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and desirous of putting an end to the devastations and disorders carried into the most distant countries by the impious government under which France groaned in silence, he had taken the firm resolution of sending his forces by sea and land to succour the oppressed, to re-establish, without suffering the least division, the kingdom of France, the ancient governments of the United Provinces, and the Helvetic Cantons, to preserve the integrity of the Germanic empire, and find his recompence in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence, he observed, had blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops had triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order." Having made known his intentions, and the motives by which he was actuated, he now addressed this declaration to all the members of the

Germanic empire, inviting them to unite their forces to his, in order to annihilate, in the most expeditious manner possible, their common enemy, on whose ruin they might establish a stable repose for themselves and their posterity. He promised, that if he saw them participate in his zeal, and rally around him, instead of slackening he would redouble his efforts, nor would he put back his sword into the sheath till he had seen the monster fall which threatened to crush every legitimate authority: but that if he found himself abandoned, he declared that he should feel himself constrained to march his troops back to his states, and quit a cause so badly supported by those who were most interested in its triumph.

In the interval of penning this notification at Petersburgh (15th Sept.), and its arrival to those to whom it was addressed, the triumphs of which Paul boasted were changed into mournful defeats. Of the three generals commanding his armies in the United Provinces, the Helvetic Cantons, and Italy, the former remained prisoner in the hands of the French, Korsakow had witnessed the destruction of the greater part of his troops and the loss of Switzerland, and Suwarrow with difficulty escaped across the mountains, with the wreck of his army, into the Grisons, overwhelmed with disgrace at his misfortunes, and infuriated at the allies, to whom he attributed his reverses, of which, with less pride and more reflection, he might have discovered the real cause, not more in his own incapacity than in the skill and valour of the French, who had hitherto felt his invincibility only in the superiority of his numbers.

Although the Swiss on the right of the Rheuss and the Limmat were not displeased at being released from the domination of the Russians, the re-entry of the French was accompanied by arbitrary acts, which diminished considerably the sincerity of the welcome which the inhabitants gave them. A levy of 800,000 livres was imposed, by Massena's orders, on Zurich, and contributions in provisions to half the amount. It was pretended also that the cannon, amounting to 140 pieces, on the ramparts, having been in possession of the Russians, were also a lawful prize. St. Gall was taxed at 400,000 livres, and some smaller towns in proportion. The Helvetic legislature, in passing a vote that Massena, and the brave army which he commanded, had saved the country, were deeply offended at the act of sovereignty which he had exercised at Zurich, and sent a message to the directory to inquire what means they had taken to prevent the effect. Massena, heedless of the remonstrances of the Helvetic government, extended his demands, and levied a contribution of 800,000 livres on Basil, by way of loan. The Helvetic government interposed in this affair, and sent Bergoz, minister of foreign affairs, to protest against this measure, and forbid the payment till an answer had been received to remonstrances which the government had made at Paris. The Helvetic senate approved and sanctioned the measures of the executive directory. Zurich and St. Gall, threatened with military execution, paid in a part of the tax. The representation of the Helvetic directory to that of France had produced no other effect than an exhortation to comply with the commands of the French general, who was blamed by

by them only for the moderation he had exercised towards the town of Basil, whose contingent he immediately doubled. The general who commanded in that quarter assembled twelve of the richest citizens, and notified to him that he was ordered to take hostages till the loan was raised, for which he gave them twenty-four hours. A fresh refusal on their part, of which the motive alleged was the order of their own government, led the general to order one of those citizens to be conducted to the fortress at Huningen. Against measures such as these no opposition could be made. Half the sum was immediately counted. The seat of government, Berne, was occupied by 5000 troops, who were lodged in the houses of the inhabitants. Various were the conjectures which this step occasioned: the plan of breaking the councils and the directory, and putting the city in a state of siege, seemed then the most probable.

The appearance of the ex-director Ochs in the neighbourhood of the town, after conferences with Massena at Zurich, gave colour to those conjectures. This man continued to be, as has been noted in the transactions of the last year, the scourge of Switzerland. After the events of the 30th of Praireal, his colleagues presented him with the act of his voluntary dismission in the one hand, and his act of accusation in the other, founded upon letters to the director Rewbell, in which it appeared that Ochs had been constantly in the habit of revealing the secret deliberations of the Helvetic government, and had excited the French directory to every measure of violence against that republic. In order to avoid the punishment of a traitor, he chose to give up his honours; nor did he again appear on the scene till a new occasion occurred, in which he might gratify his ambition or revenge, in oppressing his country. Laharpe was the person in the directory against whom the united resentment of Ochs, Massena, and the French government, was directed. As he had opposed the tyranny of the former French directory with the most perseverance and success, so he now stood most stern against these new exactions. There is no doubt but that the Helvetic government was indebted to the French for the expulsion of the Russians; and, notwithstanding the sacrifices they had already made, they were prepared to make still greater, as the wants of the army were extreme, and France had no immediate means of sending the necessary supplies. Basil also had suffered less than any other town from the revolutionary robberies of the French, and had felt nothing of the horrors of the war. It was not, therefore, the sum, against which so much resistance was made, but against the principle. Had the money been demanded from the Helvetic government, no opposition, probably, would have been made, considering the circumstances in which the army was placed; but a compliance with the arbitrary requisition of a French general was a formal and voluntary renunciation of independence. The Helvetic minister at Paris, Zeltner, and the minister of finances, sent in their dismission: the secretary of the French legation at Berne, who, struck with the injustice of his own government, had expressed himself warmly on the subject, was ordered to withdraw into France.

But though victory had returned

to the banners of the French from those of the foreign enemy, the western country became every day more menacing to the government. The insurgents had been forced to evacuate Mans on the appearance of the republican troops, after having pillaged it and taken hostages; but the insurrection now raged on all sides, and Nantes, the capital of the department of the Lower Loire, and Port-Brieux, the capital of the department of the northern coasts, were for a while in their possession: from this latter place they did not retreat till they had emptied the public coffers, and also carried off the principal inhabitants as hostages. The insurrection had gained also on the left of the Loire, the seat of the former Vendée. A regular chain had taken place from the western coasts, almost to the walls of Paris. The insurgents parodied the acts of the departmental administrations; stuck up proclamations; printed and sent orders to forbid the payment of taxes; made out lists of conscription; and assumed the title of the Royal and Catholic Army, proposing to take possession of the kingdom in the name of Louis XVIII. This royal and catholic army, which covered so immense a space, was organised into five grand divisions. The former province of Normandy, up to Paris, was under the orders of Frotté: Châtillon commanded Upper Brittany and the Lower Anjou, Touraine, and the countries adjacent: Georges, all Lower Brittany, and chiefly the Morbihan. Georges was the only one of the generals in chief who was roturier; but he had much influence and considerable force: D'Autichamp had a still larger range; his command extended over the whole of the countries on the south of the Loire, where the insurrection had first taken its rise, and where its seed remained yet plentifully sown.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Enfeebled and fluctuating State of the Government of the French Republic. Observations on the Inadequacy of the French Constitution for the Purposes of Government. Project of Sieyes for its Destruction. Adhesion of Bonaparte to Sieyes' Project. Communication of the Plan to Members of the Council of Elders. Extraordinary Convocation of the Council of Elders. Decree for transporting the Seat of Government to St. Cloud, and of vesting the chief Command in Bonaparte. Notification of the Decree to the Council of Five Hundred. Military dispositions for keeping Peace at Paris. Notification of the Decree of the Council of Elders to the Directory. Adhesion of Sieyes and Ducos to the Commissions of the Councils. Conduct of the other Directors. Session of the Councils at St. Cloud. Motion in the Council of Five Hundred for a Commission of Inquiry over-ruled. Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution taken by the Council. Resignation and Character of Barras. Bonaparte's Speech at the Bar of the Council of Elders. Bonaparte at the Council of Five Hundred. Reception of Bonaparte at the Council. Agitation and Disorder of the Council. The President rescued by the Military. Speech of the President of the Council of Five Hundred to the Soldiers. March of the Soldiers into the Chamber of the Council. Expulsion of the Council. Debate in the Council of Elders respecting the Constitution. Interruption of the Debate by Members of the Council of Five Hundred. Measures taken by the Council of the Elders. Re-union of Members of the Five Hundred in their Chamber. Vote of Thanks to Bonaparte and the Troops. Speech of the President of the Council. Speech of Boulay de la Meurthe. Decrees of the Legislative Councils, annihilating the Constitution and forming a Provisionary Government. Effect of the Revolution on the Mind of the Public. Installation of the Consuls and Legislative Commissions. Repeals of Law on Hostages and of the forced Loan. Effect of the Repeal on the insurgent Departments. Projected Jacobin Revolution of the Government in Holland. Revolution in the Ligurian Republic.

AFTER the decision of the council on the mode proposed for saving the country, the moderate party had taken the lead, but with steps so timid, that the public cause was scarcely less endangered from the irresolution of the one than from the violence of the other. Commissions had, indeed, been prepared for modifying, not annulling, the law on hostages, the immediate cause of the general insurrection in the West, for closing the list of emigrants, that dreadful engine in the hands of the late directory, and for the formation of other laws, some of which were trivial and others impracticable; but there was no nerve in any project, no impulse in any proceeding, which indicated a remedy for the mighty evils which were every day increasing. This apathy in the government was but seeming; a blow which had been long meditated was now about to be struck, which,

whatever other effect it might have on the general principles of the revolution, was intended to hasten its conclusion by crushing all opposition to the progress of government, and uniting, as far as was possible, the various contending parties.

The constitution, by which the republic was regulated, might, perhaps, have contained all the means of government, had it been administered by wise and virtuous men, or defended by a free and enlightened people. Those who framed it had but ill calculated on the wisdom of the one, or the knowledge and inflexibility of the other. Even with a more virtuous and enlightened nation, it is probable that, under the circumstances in which France was placed, some aberrations from the constitution might have taken place; but, with such governors as were chosen to direct it, its ruin was almost inevitable. Men of very different principles had made this observation in the outset; but no one had declared his opinion more openly on this subject than Sieyes, whose project of a constitutional jury, proposed at the time when the constitution was under discussion, had been thrown by as a thing useless and cumbersome, and fitted rather to retard than aid the progress of the political machine. Sieyes did not, however, wait long to be avenged for this neglect. A jacobin conspiracy produced the law of the 22d Floreal, which, contrary to the constitution, excluded members of the jacobin party from the legislature; a royalist conspiracy introduced the 18th Fructidor, in which Sieyes, a revolutionist of no light quality, took a great lead, and aided more than was even at that time thought convenient in promoting that directorial dictatorship, which, for nearly two years, weighed so heavy on France. The events of the 30th Prairial, in which he had so considerable a share, tended only to strengthen him in his idea; and the opposition made to all his measures by the jacobin party, both in the councils and without, as also by his colleagues, decided him to attempt his own counter-project of saving the country.

The person on whom he fixed his view, as best fitted to carry his plan into execution, was general Joubert; but this part of the project failed. It appears that Joubert was not so fully impressed with the necessity of the change as Sieyes, and preferred the being chief of an army destined to relieve Italy, to becoming, as he perhaps imagined, the instrument of political intrigue. The increase of the evil only served to augment Sieyes' desire to find the remedy; and this evil had nearly approached its height when Bonaparte arrived in France. It is true, that at the time of his arrival the jacobin party had been overthrown, and victories had been gained by the armies; but the continuance of either conquest was far from being assured—the jacobins might rally again, and the progress of the royalists in the West formed something of a counterbalance to the splendid victories which had disencumbered the frontiers.

Nothing, therefore, could be more opportune for the carrying Sieyes' project into execution than the presence of Bonaparte, and, perhaps, no union of talents was ever better fitted to project a revolutionary plan and carry it into execution. After mature deliberation and discussion, in which the soldier

soldier conducted himself as wily as the priest, the project, or so much as was necessary at that time to be discovered, was entrusted to twenty members * of both councils, who assembled at the house of Lemercier, the president of the council of elders, in the morning of the 16th Brumaire (November 7th), the day after that in which a fête had been given to Bonaparte and Moreau by the two councils, in the church of St. Sulpice, now impiously called the Temple of Victory. In the conference at Lemercier's, the project of translating the councils and directory to St. Cloud was decreed; and it was agreed that this measure should be proposed by the commission of inspectors to the council of elders.—After taking an oath of secrecy, the twenty separated to instruct each one such of his friends on whom he could rely, and prepare them for this new crisis. Meanwhile the proper officers were charged to form the plans of jacobin conspiracy, ready, if wanted for the occasion, since the charge of conspiracy on the party to be overthrown is always an object of the first importance, whether true or false, in making a revolution. It was therefore settled by the members of the commission of inspectors, that, as the jacobin conspiracies were ripe, and on the point of breaking out and overthrowing the government, there was no time to be lost. The pretext was idle enough; but, as the plan was decided on, further delay in any case was dangerous. The day following the first meeting, letters of convocation were addressed to the members of the council of elders, save such as were known for exaggerated and jacobinical principles, and at eight the next morning (18th Brumaire) the members who had been convoked assembled at their usual place of sitting: the majority, ignorant of the cause of this unusual convocation, were informed, by those in the secret, of the vast conspiracy that was forming, and advised them to the adoption of whatever measures should be proposed, to which, as the purpose was to shake off entirely the demagogical yoke, they were equally well inclined, and took the conspiracy on trust.

As soon as the assembly was formed Cornet, one of the inspectors, ascended the tribune, made a representation of the dangers which threatened the country, and concluded on the necessity of taking speedy and effective measures for its deliverance. He was followed by Regnier, whose speech struck still greater terror into the minds of the uninitiated; from the still livelier pictures which he drew of the audacious ruffians, and determined conspirators, vomited out amongst them from every part of the globe, that execrable foreign faction, the cause of all their misfortunes. When this salutary horror was raised to its greatest height, he declared to them the remedy which had been prepared; which was the transporting the legislative body to a commune near Paris, where they might deliberate in security on the measures necessary for extricating the country at that alarming crisis; assuring them also that Bonaparte was ready to execute whatever decree he should

* Lucien Bonaparte, Boulay de la Meurthe, Lemercier, Courtois, Cabarus, Regnier, Fargues, Villetard, Chazal, Baraillon, Bouteville, Corner, Vimar, Delecloy, Fregeville, Le Harry, Goupil, Préseln, Rousseau, Herwyn, Cesandet.

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be charged with. The translation of the council of elders to any other commune, on their simple vote, was an article of the constitution; and it is remarkable, that it was the only article furnished by Sieyes, who was a member of the commission for forming it. Regnier, therefore, moved that the council should be transferred to St. Cloud: the discussion of other motions, proposed by members of the council, was over-ruled, and the motion was carried by a great majority. It was further moved and carried, that this translation should take place on the following day; that Bonaparte should be charged with the execution, and take the necessary measures for the surety of the national representation; that he should be called into the council to take the requisite oaths, and that a message containing the resolution of the council should be sent to the directory, and to the council of five hundred.

As it was expedient to enter also into some explanation with the people, with respect to this extraordinary measure, an address was proposed, in which, after the night of such translation had been stated, the motive alleged was the enchaining of the different factions, and the obtaining a speedy peace both without and within, both of which were objects sufficiently interesting to the people of Paris to induce them to keep quiet and peaceable, as they were enjoined, and who, moreover, had enthusiastic confidence in the person to whom the execution of the law was entrusted.

Bonaparte obeyed the summons, and appeared at the bar of the council, where he accepted the charge; and, observing in his speech, that as nothing in history resembled the end of the 18th century, so nothing at the end of the 18th century resembled that moment, swore fidelity to the republic founded on true liberty, on civil liberty, and on the national representation. When this first part of the project was executed, the assembly broke up. The message being read at the council of five hundred, the deputies who were not in the secret, or who favoured the jacobin party, were struck with astonishment, but made no observations; the remainder of the assembly rested in hope and confidence; the law which had been passed at the elders was read, and the council adjourned, some among them crying *Vive la Republique!* and others, who had vague suspicions of what was intended, extended their views further, and cried *Vive la Constitution!*

The walls of Paris were immediately covered with proclamations, which, as the event had been foreseen, were previously written and printed. In the first, Bonaparte informed the national guard of the measures taken by the council of the elders; in the second, he instructed the soldiers in the command which had been conferred on him, inviting them to second him with their accustomed energy, firmness, and courage, promising them that liberty, victory, and peace, should raise again the republic to the rank which it held in Europe, and which ignorance and treason had almost brought to destruction. His address to the officers of the national sedentary guard was still more emphatical: to them he declared that a new order of things was about to take place, that the council of elders was going to save the republic, and that whoever should oppose it should perish by the bayonet of the soldier. The moment

moment of conferring the chief command on Bonaparte; and that of carrying it into execution by the display of a vast military force, immediately followed each other. The garden of the Thuilleries was filled almost instantly with troops, amongst whom were also the guards of the directory. The principal posts in and around Paris, such as the bridges, the Luxembourg, the hall of the council of five hundred, the military school, the invalids, St. Cloud, and Versailles, were intrusted to Marmont, Serrurier, Lasnes, Macdonald, and other generals, whose names had figured with his own in affairs more hazardous, though not more important. Lefebre was his first lieutenant: Angereau, who had hitherto mingled in the jacobin party, came voluntarily and joined him.

This new organisation had taken place before such of the directors as were not in the secret were apprised of any attempts against their authority. Sieyes and Roger Ducos, on receiving the message from the elders, for which they were in waiting, repaired immediately to the commission of inspectors at the Thuilleries, to which were united the commission of inspectors of the five hundred, and other persons of influence, to whom the object of this meditated revolution had now been made known. Barras was the first of the three other directors who became acquainted with the change. He was invited to give in his resignation, a proposition which he received indignantly; but, recollecting himself, acknowledged the necessity and justice of the measure, without, however, yielding to the requisition. Gohier, waking late in the morning, was surprised at finding the decree of the council of elders on his table. He repaired to the council-room of the directory, where Moulins met him, as ignorant and as much surprised as himself. Their perplexity was increased, when, on inquiring for Sieyes and Ducos, they found that they had repaired to the Thuilleries, and that Barras refused to join in their deliberations. The secretary was then called to write the arrêtés they were about to form; but their astonishment was carried to its utmost on his observing, that two members could not form a majority, and that it was impossible for him to fulfil the functions of his ministry.

The only resource now left was that of military force, and Moulins gave orders to surround the house of Bonaparte. The danger of this strong measure was suggested to him; but on his insisting that it should be put into execution, it was discovered that the guard had deserted, and gone to the Thuilleries. General Lefebre, summoned to appear before them, declined interfering in the business, since he was then under the orders of Bonaparte, on whom the council of elders had conferred the command. Of the inefficacy of every attempt they were soon convinced, by finding the directorial palace invested by a troop of soldiers. Moulins, who had been thoroughly initiated in revolutionary measures, did not wait to be arrested, but, jumping out of the window, escaped across the garden of the Luxembourg. Gohier repaired to the Thuilleries, where, as president of the directory, he put the seal to the decree of the translation to St. Cloud; but persisted in not giving in his dismission, or resigning the seal of state; and returned to the palace of the directory, where he was put under a guard.

Sieyes and Ducos resigned their offices:

offices: immediately after Barras sent in his resignation by his secretary, who, inquiring from Bonaparte what the ex-director had to expect from him, was answered, that he would have no further intercourse with him, and that he should know how to make the authority respected which had been conferred on him. The remainder of the answer was more generalised, and applied to others as well as Barras. "What have you done," exclaimed Bonaparte, "with that France which I left so flourishing? I left peace, and find war;—victories, and find defeat;—the millions of Italy, and find devastation and ruin. What are become of a hundred thousand Frenchmen, my companions in glory? They have perished!" Barras, informed of Bonaparte's dispositions towards him, withdrew peaceably to the country, accompanied by a detachment of cavalry, which, on his request, the general lent him for his personal protection.

The measures taken for the preservation of the tranquillity of Paris had been more than sufficient. The city was in the most perfect calm, and a general satisfaction reigned throughout, from the persuasion that the result could not be otherwise than good. The committees of inspectors, with the ex-directors Sieyes and Ducos, passed the night at the Thuilleries, to prepare measures for the sitting at St. Cloud, whither the legislature repaired the following day, according to the decree. The council of elders assembled in the chamber called The Gallery: the council of five hundred occupied the Orangery which opened on the garden. The village was filled with troops: but the persons whom curiosity or interest had drawn thither were but few in number. The council of five hundred opened its sitting at two in the afternoon, when Gaudin, after a rapid survey of the dangers which threatened the country, moved that a commission of seven members should be chosen, who should be charged to make a report on the actual situation of the state, and propose at the same time such measures as should be deemed necessary for the public interest. He moved also, that the council should suspend all deliberations till the report was presented.

The report had already been fabricated by the commissions of inspectors at the Thuilleries, and one of the measures to be proposed is stated to have been the arrest of sixty of the deputies of the violent party. It had been concluded that this motion would have passed without difficulty, and that those against whom it was principally directed would absent themselves from the meeting, knowing that the translation boded nothing good to themselves. It had been suggested by those who were better acquainted with the tenacity of that party, to exclude them from the assembly on their presenting themselves at the palace: but this advice, which it would have been wise in the present circumstances to follow, was over-ruled by Bonaparte, who, ignorant of the manœuvres of the party in deliberations, or rather in the art of preventing deliberations, thought that the majority of the council was sufficient to awe the rest into silence. He was deceived in his calculation; for no sooner had Gaudin finished his speech, than the jacobin members began to vociferate "Down with the dictators, and long live the constitution!" some moving for a message to the council of elders, to know the

the motives of the translation; others for the renewal of the oath of fidelity to the constitution. After the first tumult had ceased, the proposition for the renewal of the oath was formally made by Grandmaison, and carried by acclamation, the whole of the members rising and exclaiming "*Vive la constitution!*" No objection, therefore, being made against re-taking of the oath of fidelity to the constitution, those who were initiated in the secret, who had the report in their pockets, the immediate tendency of which was to overthrow it, were compelled to follow the torrent, and mount in their turn the tribune, to commit this act of political perjury. Violations of this oath had, however, been so long enumerated in the list of remissible offences, that no one chose at that moment to hazard the refusal; but it was not difficult to perceive by the tones of the deputies, as they repeated the oath, the degree of sincerity they attached to the ceremony, the jacobins dwelling with particular emphasis on the words, "resistance to every kind of tyranny," while the moderate party, who were now more or less initiated into the secret, rehearsed their parts with marks of contempt or indifference. This ceremony, however, which took up nearly two hours, disconcerted part of the plan. When the swearing was finished, the secretary read a letter from a member who sent in his resignation, and two messages from the council of elders, informing the council of five hundred of their being installed, and of their suspending their deliberations till they received similar information from themselves. A motion was next made and adopted for an address to the French people to inform them of the installation of the council at St. Cloud, as was also another motion, that notice of the same event should be sent to the directory, notwithstanding the ironical observations made by certain members respecting the difficulty at the moment of finding the address.

Another motion for sending, by extraordinary couriers, to all the departments the names of those who had thus signalised their fidelity in taking the oath, was interrupted by a message from the council of elders, which transmitted to the council of five hundred a letter of resignation from Barras, in which this ex-director expressed his joy at entering again into the rank of private citizen, happy in remitting the destinies of the republic entire and more respectable than ever. The letter contained likewise an eulogium on Bonaparte, whom he styled an illustrious warrior, to whom he had opened the road to glory. This was not the only service which Barras had rendered to the republic: he had contributed greatly to its preservation at the famous epochas of the 18th Vendemiaire and the 9th Thermidor; nor does it appear that through his long directorship his power was signalised by any extraordinary act of violence or despotism. His principles, if he had any, were aristocratical; but his ruling passion was pleasure, and to this he sacrificed every other consideration. None of the directory, save Rewbell, were more corrupted; but the rage of Barras for money was accompanied by an irresistible impulse of squandering, so that, if he was equally rapacious with his colleague, he was prodigal as the other was avaricious. The one retired from power covered with riches, the other with debt. Barras was liberal in his donations, and

and, from his private purse, supported the wants of many of his caste, whose fortunes, together with their titles, had fallen into the yellow leaf; and the general sentiment which attended his fall was that of good natured contempt, mingled with something like a feeling of concern, that his good qualities could not redeem his vices.

Hitherto the advantages of debate in the council of five hundred had been on the side of the jacobin party: the motion for inquiry into the state of the nation, or rather for the overthrow of the constitution, had been set aside by the new oath of fidelity, which had been just taken towards it, those who had been initiated into the mysteries of the projected change not daring to withstand the tumult by which this oath had been to all appearance so unanimously carried. The council of elders had opened their assembly in the palace, and sat as if uncertain what motive had brought them together, when Bonaparte, who was in an adjoining room with the committee of inspectors, with Sieyes, Ducos, and several officers of rank, presented himself at the bar of the council to press them to accelerate the measures necessary for the safety of the country. He began his speech by interrogations, and alluding to the proceedings in the other council respecting the calumnies against the military, by which several of its members seemed desirous of obstructing the march which the council of elders had begun; asked, if the blood they had shed in so many fields of battle was not a sufficient warrant of their devotedness to the republic? and, if those who were for ever sharpening their poignards against them had given such proofs of attachment to its cause? The most dangerous of the conspiracies of which they talked, he observed, was that of the public misery, which everywhere surrounded them, and which was continually increasing. Let each examine himself, and say to whom the crime ought to be imputed? Was it wise to let the republic perish amidst so general a disorganisation, or see the armies, covered with laurels, melting away by the horrors of famine, or remain a prey to every kind of want? Had not ignorance, folly, and treason, held long enough their extended empire? Had they not committed ravages enough on the country? What class had not been their victims? Had not the French been long enough divided into parties, or rather into battalions hostile to each other, and become the mutual and persevering oppressors of each other?

Of this picture every one acknowledged the likeness; the same representations had been made previous to the 30th of Prairéal, and more abundant and practical proofs of the evils complained of had been furnished since. After this exordium Bonaparte continued: "The time for putting an end to these disasters is now come. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not betray your confidence. Had I had personal projects, or views of usurpation, I should not have waited till this day in order to realise them. Before my departure, and since my return, I have been solicited by the leaders of the respective parties to take possession of the authority. I could make discoveries which would instantly confound the greater part of my calumniators. I have been urged, by those who call themselves exclusive patriots, to destroy the constitution, to purify the councils, and exclude

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men who sincerely love their country. I have rejected such overtures, because liberty is dear to me, and because it is unworthy of my character to serve any *coterie*, any faction—my services are due to the French people alone. I have made known these projects to several representatives. I have united my sentiments with those of the council of elders. I have accepted the command which they have entrusted to me, only to lay it down when this necessary crisis shall be past. Let us not be divided; associate your wisdom and your firmness to the force that surrounds me. I will be nothing but the devoted arm of the republic."

Such was the progress, and the substance of Bonaparte's harangue, when a member, anxious to push the general to the full confession of his political faith, and to round the last period, exclaimed, "and of the constitution!" This was the most unharmonious chord that could have been touched; the word constitution was in perfect disunion with every part of the project and the proceeding.

"The constitution!" resumed Bonaparte with vivacity; "Does it become you to invoke the constitution? Is it any thing else at present than a ruin? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? have ye not trodden it under foot the 18th Fructidor, the 22d Floreal, the 28th Prairéal? Is it not in the name of the constitution that ye have organised every kind of tyranny since it has existed? To whom can it serve hereafter as a guarantee? Is not its insufficiency attested by the numerous outrages which have been committed against it, even by those who are pretending at this very moment to swear a mockery of fidelity towards it? The rights of the people have been atrociously violated, and it is in order to re-establish those rights on an immutable basis that we ought to labour instantly to consolidate in France both liberty and the republic."

Bonaparte, in denouncing the conspiracy, had co-operated thus far in the plan of the inconstitutionals, who had more extended projects than those of arresting the attention of the councils on the guilty individuals; but the observations respecting the constitution were judged premature. Cornudet, a member of the commission, who saw the danger, as soon as he could stop the general's impetuosity, which was hurrying him on to discoveries more prudent to keep concealed, generalised what he said respecting conspirators and conspiracies, and stated, that, from what had already been said, no doubt could be entertained of the reality of their existence, and that he himself had taken an active part in the measures of public safety which were then proposing, from the intimate knowledge which he had of the criminal propositions made to Bonaparte, and of the projects connected with them; but that if a further explanation were to be entered into on these points, the council ought to form itself into a secret committee.

As soon as the council had agreed to this motion, and before it could be put into execution, Bonaparte, too anxious for the event to heed the means, and too much heated by the opposition of the council of five hundred to notice the precautions by which his friends were desirous of bringing about the *dénouement*, addressed the council a second time relative to the conspiracies, and then turned his observations on himself, inviting the friends

friends of liberty to direct their poignards towards his bosom if he ever violated any of its principles. "And you my comrades," turning himself to the guard, "may the bayonets with which we have triumphed together, if I am ever guilty of such perfidy, be pointed against my own heart; but also, if any person, the stipendiary of foreign powers, dare pronounce against your general, the words *Hors la loi*, may the thunder of war crush him instantly: remember that I march accompanied by the god of war, and the divinity of fortune." The latter part of this incautious impromptu, which was received with murmurs, and of which the general, attributing it to the novelty of the circumstances in which he was placed, afterwards publicly regretted the use, did not much advance the project; and heedless of the motion for printing the general's speech as an answer to those who doubted of the conspiracy, several members, who wished to have plainer evidence of the facts, called upon him to name the conspirators. Bonaparte, with the same alacrity as the demand had been made, returned for answer, that "each had his particular views, his plans and his coterie. Barras and Moulins had theirs, and had made him propositions." The general had proceeded thus far, when the cries for the secret committee interrupted him; but the whole had now been said; the conspiracy against the constitution by the jacobin party on the one hand, and the plan for immediately overturning it by the moderate party on the other, were now openly avowed: the motion therefore for forming the secret committee was negatived after a short discussion, in which it was alleged that further secrecy was useless, and its rejection reproaches against the commission of inspectors, for not giving earlier intelligence of those conspiracies, were answered by exculpations of the commission, whose silence had been founded on wise and prudential motives.

The council having determined to continue its sitting, and the general being called on to finish his harangue, continued—"Since my arrival, every magistrate, and every public functionary with whom I have conversed, have given me the most perfect conviction that the constitution, so often violated, and continually disregarded, is on the brink of ruin; that it offers no guarantee to the French, because it has no dispersion. Every faction is persuaded of this truth, and each is disposed to take advantage of the fall of the present government;—all have had recourse to me; all have been anxious to gain me over to their respective interests. I have thought it my duty to join myself to the council of elders alone, the first body of the republic. I repeat, that this council cannot take too speedy measures, if it be desirous to stop the movement which in a moment perhaps may destroy liberty. Recollect yourselves, citizen representatives; I have just spoke openly to you truths which no one has ventured to whisper. The means of saving the country are in your hands. If you hesitate to make use of them, if liberty perish, you will be accountable for its destruction towards the world, towards posterity, towards your own families, and towards France."

Having finished his speech, Bonaparte withdrew, leaving the council to deliberate on what had been said, and who began a debate, since the question was now brought fully forward

diversity respecting the merit and demerit of the constitution. The council of five hundred having finished taking the oath, were discussing with great warmth on the mode of electing a successor to Barras, when Bonaparte presented himself at the door of the assembly, accompanied by a few officers, and soldiers without arms. He advanced a few paces into the room, as if wishing to address the council, when he was assailed in an instant, by cries from different parts of the chamber of "Down with the tyrant! Out of the law!" "Down with the dictator! Kill him! kill him!"—The vehemence of the members who uttered these invectives were not confined to words. Several started from their seats, and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, and making use of menacing gesticulations. Bonaparte stood speechless, but the officers and grenadiers who were behind him, imagining him to be in danger, gathered round him, and drew him out of the room, pale and trembling with suffocated passion, into the vestibule. He certainly could not have expected to have met with any cordial reception from his knowledge of what for three hours past had been taking place at the council, neither also was he prepared for such a reception, which, though it disconcerted him for the moment, put him at ease with respect to his future proceedings. The council of elders was then debating the merits of the constitution. The council of five hundred had unanimously sworn to defend it. Bonaparte's project, as avowed in the council of elders, was its instant overthrow. To have heard him calmly, and to have found, or have pretended to find, a remedy in the constitution for the evils complained of, appears to have been the most easy and natural mode of disposing of the present project; and it is not unlikely but the majority would have held firm to such a proposition. But this act of violence threw the advantage, which had hitherto been on their side, entirely on the side of Bonaparte, who, as open war was in some measure declared, accepted the challenge, and repaired instantly to his soldiers, drawn up in the court of the palace.

The presence of Bonaparte in the council of five hundred had blown up into a flame the rage which had hitherto been only smothered, nor did his absence tend to allay it. As soon as he was gone, the president, who was Lucien his brother, was apostrophised in nearly the same language as had been used towards the general. He left the chair, and descending to the tribune, as soon as he could make his voice heard, observed, that, after the services rendered by his brother to the republic, it was abominable to suppose that he had any views hostile to liberty. He urged, that no Frenchman had given greater pledges of his attachment to the republic. He added, that the general came, no doubt, to give some important information relative to the present circumstances, and demanded that he should be called to the bar to give an account of his motives. The tumult drowned his voice; the assembly seemed a chaos; numberless motions succeeded each other; some for breaking the decree of the elders, which named Bonaparte general; others for leaving St. Cloud, and repairing to Paris; others for naming another general to take the command of all the troops, who should be named the Guard of the Councils: some apostrophised the soldiers who remained at the door, others continued their invectives

against the president, who, seeing the tumult increase, rather than abate, after attempting in vain to speak, imploring the assembly to hear him, his tears rolling down his cheeks, threw off his robe and put it on the table, declaring that he divested himself of his presidency.

This act served only to raise the jacobin party to a higher pitch of exasperation; several members of this party had now gathered around him, and some among them presented pistols, as if to force him to resume his robe. It was amidst this last act of disorder, that some grenadiers sent by Bonaparte, who had been informed of the situation of the president, presented themselves at the tribune, and, placing him between them, conducted him in safety to the court of the palace. The confusion in the council redoubled at this new incident. The jacobin party became still more infuriated; motions and speeches the most incongruous succeeded each other with the volubility of lightning. The moderate party, which had hitherto remained in some measure tranquil spectators, waiting the event, judging from the violence of the others, who did not cease crying, "Out of the law!" and being totally ignorant of what was passing without, concluded that Bonaparte had really been put out of the law, or had been murdered, and that the soldiers had come to arrest the president, in order to do similar execution.

The president found in the court of the palace the general, who had harangued the soldiers, and informed them of his reception, and the attempt which had been made to assassinate him. He added, that more than thirty of their factious members had raised their poignards against him, and had threatened to put him out of the law,—him whom the combined kings of Europe had been unable to reach with their armies. That such menace had been made, and that threats of violence were offered, is true, but it does not appear that any weapon, as has been represented, was actually raised against them. The soldiers heard him with interest and attention, all seemed disposed to serve him, but none moved forward to offer themselves as his avengers, nor was it certain that they would have marched against the legislative body, even had the general given the positive orders. But the presence of the president, who had now mounted on horseback, and addressed them, increased, and legalised in some measure their dispositions in favour of the general. Lucien Bonaparte, in an animated tone, informed them that the immense majority of the council was, at the moment he was speaking, under terror from a few representatives armed with poignards, who were besieging the tribune, and threatening their colleagues with death; that these desperate ruffians had put themselves in rebellion against the council of elders, and had dared to menace with outlawry the general who was charged with the execution of their decree. He declared at the same time, that it was those furious men who had virtually put themselves out of the law by their attempts against the liberty of the council; that he confided to the warriors, to whom he spoke, the care of delivering the majority of their representatives from the oppression they were under, in order that they might deliberate peaceably on the destiny of the republic. General, and you soldiers, added the president, elevating his voice, you will acknowledge

ledge as legislators of France none but such as shall rally around me; as for those who remain in the Orangery, let force expel them; these ruffians are no longer representatives of the people, but representatives of the poignard. He terminated his harangue with crying, "Long live the republic!" which was repeated by the soldiers and all the by-standers.

The speech of the president of the council had created stronger emotions and furnished more determined motives to the soldiers than that of the general. In the first case they had some doubts whether they might not have become themselves accomplices in a rebellion; they now found, or seemed to find, from the harangue of the president, that they were called on to suppress a rebellion. The general finding this new alacrity, and having received the sanction of the president, ordered a corps of grenadiers to march forward, and he was instantly obeyed. The council was at that moment listening to a motion for the recall of the president to the chair, in order to take some speedy measures, when the voice of the speaker was drowned in the sound of the drums beating the *pas-de-charge*. The spectators instantly rushed out of the doors and windows. The deputies rose up, crying out, the great majority, "Long live the republic!" others, "Long live the constitution!" The soldiers entered the hall, carrying their arms, and halted. A chief of brigade of cavalry invited the representatives to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their safety. Numbers of deputies instantly yielded to the invitation;—an officer seeing the hesitation of the rest, mounted the tribune and exclaimed, "Representatives, withdraw—the general has given the order." The constitutionalists stood firm, and began to address the soldiers, when another officer called out, "Grenadiers, forward!" The *pas-de-charge* was instantly renewed, and the grenadiers, presenting their bayonets, advanced; the deputies finding further resistance ineffectual, and judging that bayonets and the orders of an exasperated general were not to be trifled with, withdrew from the Orangery into the garden, leaving the military masters of the place.

The first news of this event, the dissolution of the legislative body by the military, filled Paris with momentary consternation; but no sooner were the circumstances of this violation made known, than regret was absorbed in general gratulation, and the violence of the measure excused, and by some applauded. The jacobin party were overwhelmed with confusion at seeing themselves the dupes of their impolitic rage, especially when they found that a resistance more dignified, and on their own side, had taken place at the same time in the council of elders. When Bonaparte had withdrawn from the chamber of this council, after declaring the end of the present convocation, a debate on the proposition for setting aside the constitution was opened, and a member, respectable for his character and patriotism, after paying a just tribute to the intentions of the general, and the necessity of remedying the evils complained of declared his attachment to the constitution, in which he asserted adequate remedies might be found. He concluded by stating that he was acquainted with the motion that had been adopted in the other council, of swearing fidelity to the present constitution, and moved that the renewal of that oath

which he himself then took should be made by the council of elders. A coalition between the two councils would have been fatal to the projected revolution, and news, fabricated for the purpose of an insurrection, in the Fauxbourgs of Paris, in favour of the jacobins, and also of their march towards St. Cloud, was answered with becoming energy by the council, "that they should know how to resist it." Cornudet, a member of the commission of inspectors, replied to Dalphonse by recapitulating the various violations of the constitution which had taken place, and by asserting its insufficiency to heal the wounds which had been made. He invoked the previous question on the motion for renewing the oath, for which he found an excuse, as well as for the multitude of vain oaths that had been taken, in the necessity in which they had been placed of making or becoming the victims of a new mutilation. The motion for the renewing of the oath was supported by another member, who repeated the arguments of the former, and insisted more warmly against any violation of the constitution. The president of the assembly was about to speak in reply, when news was brought of the appearance of Bonaparte in the council of the five hundred, and of the violence which had been exercised against him, particularly of the attempt which had been made to poignard him, by a deputy of the name of Arena. The member who gave the information brought also a message from the general, praying the council of elders to take the lead, since every delay would be fatal. Courtois, the member in question, proposed therefore that the council should form itself into a secret committee. It was while Bonaparte was haranguing the soldiers in the court of the palace, that the president of the council of elders, Le Brune, was replying to the arguments of the speakers, who proposed the renewing the oath. He was proceeding to distinguish between the social compact, the sovereignty of the people, the unity and indevisibility of the republic, the fundamental principles of liberty, and the constitution, which he insisted was only a series of réglementary articles built on it, when his speech was interrupted by the beating of drums, and shouts from the court of the palace, occasioned by the expedition against the factious minority of the five hundred. The council nevertheless formed itself into a secret committee, and was proceeding with its deliberations, when it was interrupted by the arrival of a deputy from the Orangery, who proclaimed the outrage committed on the national representation, and the dissolution of the council of five hundred by the military force. He was followed by the president of the council, who declared that the information just given was an imposture; that assassins armed with poignards were not worthy of the name of representatives, that they had attempted the life of their president, and (ignorant himself of the success of the expedition) that they were still tyrannising over the majority of the council, which held firmly to the majority of that of the elders, and to whatever measures they should propose. Another member of the council of the five hundred offering to reply, the council determined to hear none but those of their own body. During the struggle between Bonaparte and the five hundred, and whilst the council of elders was in secret committee, a commission composed of

of five members had prepared a report: this struggle being now ended, the commission came forward, and presented their report to the committee, in which, after stating that that council was become the organ of the nation, and, from what had just passed, the whole of the national representation, that it was their duty, as they had also the power to provide means for the safety of the country and of liberty; that the executive power existed no longer, since military authority was only a means of the executive power essentially civil; and proposed that, as four members of the directory had given in their dimission, and the other was under arrest, an executive provisionary commission, composed of three members, should be named; that the legislative body should be adjourned to 1st Nivose; that an intermediary commission to preserve the rights of the national representation should be formed, which should have the faculty of convoking the legislative body sooner if it thought proper; and that the assembly should be adjourned to nine in the evening, when the present measures should be taken into consideration. Some objections to this project were made, but they were overruled, and, the decree being adopted, the council adjourned till nine in the evening.

There is no doubt but, under the existing circumstances, that the council of elders might have taken on itself the whole of the future proceedings; nevertheless it was desirable to gather up the wrecks of the five hundred, in order to give their proceedings a more legal form and clothing. This, however, was somewhat difficult; not only the jacobins, but the timid which composed the vast majority in the council of five hundred, had fled to Paris; a few of the moderate party, however, remained in the palace and in the village; these were assembled together in the evening, and joined themselves to the commission, to form a council and resume the deliberations. The assembly opened at the time appointed by the decree of the elders, under the presidence of Lucien Bonaparte. As soon as they had given notice of their re-union to the other council, Berenger arose, and stated that the enemies of the people had committed their last crime; that if Bonaparte had been killed, his assassination would have been the signal of that of the representatives, who were then at their post; that his death would have delivered up France to its executioners, opened the frontiers to the coalition, kindled civil war, and effectuated the annihilating the French name; after declaring that the 19th Brumaire was the day of the sovereign people, of liberty, happiness, and peace, that it was from that period that the reign of humanity and justice was to begin, he moved that some tribute of gratitude should be paid to Bonaparte, to the generals, and the military under his order, for having saved the majority of the legislative body, and the republic, from a minority composed of assassins. This proposition was adopted, and the thanks of the assembly was voted to Bonaparte, and to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who acted under him. But it was not sufficient to have conquered,—it was equally urgent to take advantage of the victory. Chazal presented a project of a resolution, which was ordered to be sent to a special commission of five members, who were to make a report during the sitting. While this report was preparing, Lucien Bonaparte descended from the chair to

the tribune, and in an animated and eloquent discourse painted the disasters of the republic in every part of its administration. "If there be no longer any confidence," exclaimed he, "there are no longer any resources, no more force, no longer harmony in the government. Hence uncertainty and the rage of intestine war throughout the land; no guarantee for foreign powers, and no means of attaining peace. This former palace of kings, where we sit in this solemn night, attests that power is nought, and that glory is every thing. Let us deliberate in all the freedom of our souls on the state of our country. If we are unworthy of being the first people on the earth; if by pusillanimous and misplaced considerations we do not extricate ourselves from the horrible state in which we are plunged; if we betray the hopes of our country, we lose our glory, nor shall we long retain our power; since as the measure of our calamities shall increase, in the same proportion will increase the indignation of the people." The remainder of his speech was a recapitulation of the scene that had passed during the morning in that council, and an indignant sketch of the motives, principles, and projects of the leading actors. He represented the vanquished party as burning to spread a second time the torrent of their horrible domination over the affrighted land, heedless of the constitution placed as a dyke to arrest them, and which now they held forth as an invincible obstacle, only when a question arises of giving happiness and peace to the country. Changing continually their masks, their figure he represented as continually the same figure of crime, but that the present moment was going to unmask them for ever. "If we hesitate to day," added he, "we are the veriest of cowards: as for my part, I blushed at wearing so long the robe; when the clamours and poignards of a few factious men stifled within these walls the cries of thirty millions, who are asking for peace. I should blush still deeper at having resumed it, if, delivered from the yoke of those demagogical assassins, you should hesitate in this decisive sitting, or draw back from securing the salvation of your country." The president's speech was interrupted at different times by applauses, which sufficiently indicated the change of politics which had taken place in the chamber since the first assembly in the morning, and he continued to harangue the council, giving due developement to his subject till the reporter of the commission appeared.

As the events of the former part of the day had given the reformers fairer field for the unfolding of their project, the interval between the first and second meeting had been filled up by them with stronger amendments, without changing much the design of the original plan, which Boulay de la Meurthe now detailed. In the speech which preceded the report, Boulay endeavoured to demonstrate the necessity of a change in the constitution: he declared, that, in order to operate this change, the revolution which had just taken place had been for some time concerted. It was in the view of those, he asserted, who had undertaken the change which had taken place, to have effected it only by moral and constitutional force: and it was by those means that it was about to have been effected in the council of elders, had not the madness and fury of the demagogical faction in the council of five hundred resisted every attempt, and provoked measures which

which had disengaged the majority from its violence and tyranny; thus disembarrassed, he observed, they might reflect with calmness on the means of saving the expiring republic; that they had obstacles to conquer, but, in order to conquer, it was necessary to become acquainted with them. That before the establishment of constitutional government, peace was not made, he observed, might be easily conceived; a government which bore the name of Revolutionary then existed, which government being the domination of a few men, overthrown in their turn by others, presented no fixity of principles and views, no assured guarantee either for the state or for individuals. It would have seemed, continued he, that this guarantee and stability ought to have existed from the time of the establishment of the constitutional regimen; this establishment, however, has not given more security, nay, perhaps even less than before. Previous to the 18th Fructidor of the fifth year the French government laboured under a precarious existence: after this great event, the whole power having been concentred in the hands of the directory, the legislative body was almost a non-entity; the partial treaties of peace, which had been signed some time before, were soon broken, and war was carried into every quarter, without the consent or participation of the legislature. The same directory, after having affrighted the whole of Europe, and destroyed governments wantonly and capriciously, ignorant how to make either peace or war, ignorant of the means of supporting its own power, was overthrown by a puff on the 30th Prairéal, and gave place to other men, who might have different views, or be under the guidance of similar or opposite influence. Judging, therefore, by known and evident facts, the French government must be considered as possessing nothing stable, either in its agents or its means.

After having laid down these first principles relative to the instability of the government, and the little consistence which it had both with respect to itself and to foreign powers, the reporter passed on to the inadequate guarantee which this government presented for individual happiness. He represented personal security violated every instant, property uncertain, private transactions, commerce, the useful arts, in a state of alarming stagnation, confidence annihilated, the people tormented in every mode, and their misery carried to such excess, that they dared scarcely complain, and that those who saw the causes of those evils feared either to make them known or point out the remedies. He next traced the imperfection and vices of the present social organisation.—The exercise of the sovereignty of the people, according to the mode in which it had been administered, he represented, not only as without guarantee, but injurious to their rights. From the continued violations of this exercise either by the undue influence of government, or of factions anxious to convert its power to their own use, he passed on to the little harmony which had existed among the public functionaries, whose respective authorities were without any line of demarkation, without any legal and coercive means of hindering their mutual invasions on public liberty, or on the respective attributions which were particularly delegated to them by the constitutional charter. According to the reporter, though the line of demarkation should have been clearly traced out between the

legislative and executive powers, there was no visible restraint to hinder the legislative body from overpassing those limits, if such were its intentions. This body, possessing singly the right of interpreting the constitution, became the only competent judge between itself and the other powers, and had alone the right of arraigning them; the independence of the respective powers, therefore, was not reciprocal, or, at least, not strongly enough guaranteed. With respect to the government, there were no precise and fixed ideas of what constituted it; if taken in the most extensive sense of the word as embracing both the legislative and executive powers, these two authorities, so far from marching together, were almost always in constant opposition, presenting the spectacle of two furious enemies, continually in action and seeking to crush each other. If a review were taken of the immediate action of the executive power on the people, or an examination to be made of the administrative system, nothing appeared either fixed or regular. The administrators were continually in a state of mutation, according to the will or caprice of the alternately dominating party, and continually occupied, not about the good of the administered, but how to consolidate their triumph over that which had been overthrown. In short, added the reporter, on examining the public service, is there a single part which is organised, or which is carried on in a regular and invariable mode? On the contrary, every thing is in chaos, and all our efforts to extricate ourselves have ended in nothing, and never can end in any thing, except to plunge us deeper. It is astonishing, therefore, that neither public nor private liberty has yet existed in France, that all command and none obey, that nothing, in short, exists but the phantom of a government. If such, then, be the essential cause of all our evils, what must we do in order to extricate ourselves? We must build a new political edifice, which shall be solid and regular.—The basis of the constitution, or the general principles, are good; they are the principles of every republican government, the sovereignty of the people, the unity of the republic, equality of rights, liberty, and the representative system; but the constitutional organisation, arranged on this basis, is essentially vicious, as experience has demonstrated. We must then attach ourselves to these fundamental principles, view the constitution only in them, and our obligations in their genuine preservation. But a wish to adhere to the technical part of the constitution would be favouring the dissolution of the political.

We must not shrink from holding forth this salutary truth; it is the national interest, and avowed by all enlightened and honest men; it is also in the conviction of the demagogues, who have so long tormented us. They feel, as well as ourselves, that the actual order of things can no longer exist; and the whole question between us and them is, to know whether the change shall be effected by them, or by enlightened and virtuous men. They would willingly take advantage of the movement, and govern France as in 1793; whilst we are anxious for the establishment of a suitable liberty, of a plan of liberty allied with order and productive of happiness. We wish liberty for all, they only for themselves; we wish to nationalise the republic, they to place only their own party. They were anxious to introduce

introduce a new class of nobility, would would have been so much more insupportable than that which we have destroyed, as it would comprehend only the most ignorant, the most immoral, and the vilest portion of the nation.

If therefore the present state of things can no longer subsist, we must destroy it, and replace it by another, which will raise the republic out of the abyss into which it was on the point of being buried. But can this new order of things be definitive? No; it is impossible to frame a perfect constitution with such rapidity: too much reflection cannot be exercised in its creation; we must consequently take the time and the precautions necessary for its establishment, and form the instruments by which this can be accomplished; we must have something provisionally and intermediary; and it is precisely that which will be presented to you in the project which is going to be submitted to your deliberation.

Such, in substance, was the speech which disclosed the plan of the reformers to clear away the constitution, and build up another on the old foundations. After the orator had given a further developement to his ideas, another member of the commission presented the project, which, having been strenuously supported by Cabanis and Chabraud, and combated by Guyomar, in the council of elders, was finally adopted. The project stated, that the directory existed no longer; that certain deputies chiefly of the jacobin party, to the number of 61, were no longer members of the national representation; that an executive commission should be provisionally appointed, composed of Sieyes, Ducos, and Bonaparte, who should bear the names of consuls of the French republic; that this commission should be invested with the plenitude of directorial power, and specially charged to organise every part of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and procure a solid and honourable peace; that it should be authorised to send delegates into the departments with a determined and limited power; that the legislative body should adjourn to the 1st of Ventose next; that during this adjournment the members should preserve their indemnity and constitutional guarantee, and be capable likewise of exercising other functions; that during the present assembly each council should name commissions, composed each of 25 members, who, on the formal and necessary proposition of the consular commission, should decide on all urgent matters of police, legislation, and finance; that the commission of the five hundred should have the initiative, and that of the elders the sanction; that the two commissions should be charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution; the end of which changes were to consolidate, guarantee, and inviolably consecrate the sovereignty of the French people; that the consular commission should present its views on those points; that they should likewise be charged with the formation of a civil code; that they should hold their sittings at Paris in the palace of the legislative body; and convoke it extraordinarily for the ratification of peace, or in case of any imminent public danger.

The adoption of this decree was followed by a proclamation to the people of France, recapitulating the events which had taken place, and the causes which led to the present changes. The two legislative commissions were then chosen, consisting

ing each of 25 members; the oath of inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French republic one and indivisible, to equality, liberty, and the representative system, was taken by the consuls, after a speech from the president, in which, speaking in the name of posterity, he observed, that "if liberty was created in the Tennis-court of Versailles, it was consolidated in the Orangery of St. Cloud; the constituents of 1789 were the fathers of the revolution, but the legislators of the year 8 were the fathers and pacificators of the country."

Thus finished that memorable day of revolution, which, whatever be the opinions respecting the means by which it was effected, was yet received with general enthusiasm by all ranks, except that of the jacobin party. The rumours propagated at St. Cloud of a movement organised in the Fauxbourgs had been purely imaginary; the most profound tranquillity reigned throughout the capital, mingled with much anxiety, lest the measures, of which nothing was known but the intention of overthrowing the jacobins, might fail in the execution. Independent of the military dispositions which had been taken, civil means for the preservation of the peace of the city were not neglected. The preceding evening the members of the twelve municipalities of Paris, composed for the most part of adherents to the violent party, had been suspended, and the central commissaries were put under the direction of the departmental administration, which, having been long before epurated, was in the secret of the revolution, and had issued during the day proclamations to tranquillise the minds of the citizens respecting the events that were about to take place. The minister of police, who had been also sternly bent against his former jacobinical brethren and friends, and who was therefore best acquainted with their machinations, issued also notices, recommending the same confidence, and menacing the public disturbers. The dread of jacobinism had gained such firm possession of the public mind, that the contrary extreme was scarcely apprehended; no government indeed would have been found unwelcome, provided that of the jacobins was excluded. The friends of Bonaparte had however taken care to assure the public respecting the intentions of that general; and papers in the form of dialogues and essays were industriously spread, the tendency of which was to expose the folly and impracticability of any personal attempts on the part of the general against the rights and liberty of the people.

The three consuls entered upon their public functions the following day, at the palace of the Luxembourg. Among their first operations was that of a partial change in the ministry. The ministry of the interior, which since the revolution of the 30th Brumaire had been entrusted to Quinette, an honest jacobin, but an ignorant administrator, was imposed on Laplace, an eminent astronomer and atheist, and as unfitted for place as his predecessor; the war department, unworthyly filled by Dubois de Crance, was entrusted to general Berthier; and Lindet, the minister of finance, more an object of dislike from the nefariousness of his revolutionary principles than his revolutionary acts, though a member of the terrorist committee of public safety, was succeeded by Gaudin, an administrator in that line under the monarchical regimen; the secretaryship to the consulate was removed

moved from Lagarde, who had contrived to fill the post through each succeeding directorial faction, to Maret, who had been employed in diplomatic commissions, and who was one of the commissaries for the negotiation at Lisle. The legislative commissions opened also their sittings at the same time. The first object which engaged their attention was the repeal of the law of the forced loan, and that known under the name of the law of hostages; the former of which had annihilated the little that remained of public credit, and the other kindled civil war, and excited all the discordant passions through the whole of France. Amongst the means of raising the former was that of putting a speedy stop to the latter. Nothing was more favourable to this end than the repeal of that law, which was no sooner promulgated in the insurgent departments than those who had taken arms in their own defence against it immediately proposed a suspension, which was acceded to by general Hedonville; while those who were guided by motives more hostile to the republic continued their depredations, avowing, by proclamations, that their view was the establishment of the throne and the altar, and that directors and consuls were alike traitors and usurpers.

A revolution so important in the great planet of the French nation could not fail of having a considerable influence on its satellites, the surrounding republics. The Batavian, just delivered from Russian and English protection, was on the point of falling into the hands of the jacobin faction, which, at a former period, under the diplomatic auction of Lacroix, had for a short time usurped the government. Presuming on the revolutionary dispositions of the French general Brune, and on the misunderstanding which had taken place between him and the Batavian directory, after the evacuation of the English and Russians, the jacobin party had taken measures for the overthrow of the present government, of the success of which they seemed perfectly assured. The measures pursued by the jacobins in France, previous to their political suspension by the directory, were re-acted at the Hague. The executive, legislative, and other constituted authorities, had gone through the same course of calumny and insult. The day for the explosion seems to have been fixed for the 15th of November, and emissaries had been sent to Paris, to prove to the French government the necessity and excellence of the projected revolution. The events of the 18th Brumaire, which routed the jacobin party in France, prognosticated nothing favourable to those of Holland, who little thought the catastrophe so near which discomfited all their present projects, and left them but little hopes for the future.

In the Ligurian republic the revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire was imitated very successfully (December 7). A corps of French troops it seems had co-operated in this measure. The council of sixty met at the usual hour, and formed themselves into a secret committee. The deputy Montebruno presented a project, similar to that of the 19th Brumaire, for the reform of the French government. This project differed however from that of the French, insomuch as the whole of the legislative, as well as the executive power, was entrusted to ten citizens, who were enjoined to present a plan of constitution as near as possible to that which should be adopted by the French. The Ligurian

garian directory obeyed the decree without hesitation; but the reception which the news met with at Paris was ill calculated to give the reformers any satisfactory ideas of the stability of the revolution which they had just effected, so far as their power reposed on the approbation of the French government.

CHAP. XVII.

Effects of the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire on the different Classes in France. Impolitic and arbitrary decree of the Consuls. Repeal of the Decree. Tyranny of the former Directory against the Priesthood. Propositions in the Council of Five Hundred for extending the Persecution. Petition of the Constitutional Bishops against the Propositions. Debate and Rejection of the Propositions. Decree of the Consuls respecting the intolerant Decrees of the Directory and restoring the Churches. Correspondence of the French Bishops and Greek Patriarchs with the Churches in the Islands of the Mediterranean. Tolerating Spirit of the Catholic Bishops. Repeal of the Law of the 19th Fructidor, and Recall of Numbers banished at that Period. Change of Ministers. Arrival on the Continent of Negotiators from the United States. Hostile Speech of the President of the United States relative to France on the opening of the Congress. Change of Disposition in the President favourable to a Pacification. Breach between the French Republic and the Senate of Hamburgh. Decree of the French Government against Hamburgh. Correspondence between Bonaparte and the Senate. Decree to send out of the Republic the Emigrants shipwrecked at Calais. Funeral Honours rendered to the late Pope. Decree respecting the Maintenance of French Prisoners in England. Project of Constitution by Sieyes—Rejected in Part by Bonaparte. Sketch of the Constitution. Address of the Consuls. Reflections on the Constitution. Struggle for Power between Bonaparte and Sieyes. Fatal Error of the latter. Nominations to the Conservatory Senate, Tribunate, Legislative Body, and Council of State. Installation of the Executive Government. Address of the Consuls to the Insurgents of the Western Departments. Respective Positions of the Austrian and French Army on the Eastern Frontier of Switzerland. Retreat of Suwarrow to Augsburg. Respectable State of Defence of the Austrian Army. Advantages of the French in the Grisons. Situation of the little Cantons. Military Policy of the Austrian Government. Reinforcement of the Austrian Army in Italy. Position of the Austrian Army. Manœuvres of the respective Armies previous to the Investment of Coni. Battle of Gonola. Defeat of the French. Retreat of the French from Coni and from Novi into the Ligurian Republic. Surrender of Ancona. Defeat of the Austrian Army near Geneva. Siege and Surrender of Coni. Positions of the French and Austrian Armies in Italy on the Conclusion of the Campaign. Reflections on the Campaign and the Military Operations in Italy.

THE revolution of the 18th Brumaire had been now generally acceded to by the people of France, except by the extremes of both parties, the terrorist jacobins and the terrorist royalists. In proportion

portion as these two factions felt the effect of the mutual wound given to their hopes, the convulsions of their last agonies increased. The Chouans, under the leaders of this description, grew more desparate in their attempts, and made incursions to within twenty leagues of Paris: the jacobins, in the south more particularly, had it not been for the energetic measures taken by the government, would have broken out into open rebellion: the moderate royalists at Paris, whose hopes are awakened by every change, and who turned every instance, however adverse, in favour of the restoration of the monarchical regimen, were equally loud, though from different motives, with the republican party, in their approbation, which was carried to such a height, especially at the theatres, where the transactions of St. Cloud were brought on the scene, that the government thought it prudent to suppress this anti-jacobinical ardour. But while the executive power were thus anxious to give lessons of political toleration to others, it committed the inconceivable fault which formed one of the leading features of the tyranny of the Fructidorian directory. An arrêté of the consuls, eight days after the revolution, condemned 59 jacobins to banishment, 37 to Guiana, and the rest to the neighbourhood of the Isle of Oleron, without any other motive than the power conferred on the consuls by an article in the law enacted at St. Cloud, which charged them specially with the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. The dispositions of this arrêté were nearly the same as those of the 18th Fructidor. Arrests of the leading jacobins also took place. No sooner was the arrêté published than a general cry of indignation rose throughout Paris, not but the individuals consigned in this decree were for the most part monsters covered with crimes, and to whom France might justly attribute a great part of the horrors it had suffered and the dangers it had undergone, but because, where no legal sentence had convicted, the infliction of punishment was a manifest violation of liberty; and arbitrary power in the infancy of a government, let loose against even atrocious men, was no guarantee that political opinions less obnoxious might not find in it at some future day a fatal precedent. Whatever might have been the resentful dispositions of part of the members of government to carry it into rigorous execution, the public voice was too loud not to be instantly obeyed, and the decree of banishment was forthwith changed into an arrêté, placing the same individuals under the inspection of the minister of police, and was shortly after altogether repealed.

That arbitrary act of the government was the more extraordinary, as one of the principal occupations of the legislative commissions was the repeal of those decrees of tyranny, of which the late directory had been so lavish. None had been the victims of those atrocious measures more than the priesthood; not only had the turbulent and refractory part of this order been the objects of directorial inquisition, but also numbers of peaceable and even constitutional religious functionaries, who had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of intolerant civil administrators in Paris and the departments. This tyranny had been more particularly exercised from the epocha of the infamous 18th of Fructidor, when the legislature pushed its complaisance so far as to extend the penal clauses enacted against certain descriptions of priests, and generalise

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the law into banishment of whoever of that order became public disturbers. The laws respecting priests were incoherent, and often contradictory, arising from the spirit of the successive parties which gained the ascendency at various epochas of the revolution. The violent exercise in the Low Countries of the power granted by the 28th article of the law of the 19th Fructidor to the directory, had formed specious and, in some cases, just causes for the insurrection which had taken place in those departments; but after this event, the council of five hundred deeming it expedient to settle the legislation on this point, named a commission, who gave in its report at the close of the same year, and proposed additional articles, compared with which the laws already enacted were charters of indulgence and mercy. Such, for instance, was the proposal for assimilating to the fate of emigrants, and consequently to the pain of death, priests liable to banishment; the perpetual imprisonment of such as were above sixty years of age; and the confiscation of the house where a priest liable to banishment should be concealed. Although these propositions no way concerned such ecclesiastics as had taken the requisite oaths, yet it was not without indignation that the priests of this class beheld the prevailing spirit of persecution which actuated the government, which, unless some interference took place, might go on, and at length comprehend such whose principles and conduct had been hitherto opposed to those who were now to become objects of legislative extermination. The bishops residing in Paris presented therefore a petition to the legislature, in which they represented that the law of the 19th Fructidor, enacted against nonjuring and refractory priests, had, by a false interpretation, been applied to members who had fulfilled the conditions of every law, and given undoubted proofs of attachment to the republic. After recapitulating the various sacrifices which they had made for liberty and their country, and that they had been faithful to their engagement whilst the government had been in the habit of continually violating theirs, they inquired whether it was not sufficient that they had been left exposed to the insults and outrages of the royalist party, without a possibility of escaping from those scourges, but they must behold themselves, under a republican regimen, exposed to the sword of persecution, and find no other consolation at the close of each day than that of having made one step further towards their tomb? They observed, that by the law of the 19th Fructidor they were virtually in a state of outlawry, since the name of public disturber might be applied to the most peaceable and innocent; that assassins and robbers were in a state of greater protection, since they had a right to be heard, but that a priest, however blameless his life, or patriotic his conduct, might be sent to banishment without knowing his accuser, and, according to the new propositions, undergo the punishment of death, on the calomnious denunciation of an enemy, possibly a sworn enemy to the republic. They represented, that had this power been concentrated in the hands of the directory alone, there might be some repose for innocence: but that this power was to be committed to central administrations:—already had this power been unlawfully exercised by the department of Yonne, where every priest, without distinction, was either banished, denounced, or obliged to seek safety in flight; adding, that there were few countries in the republic

republic where the same violence had not taken place, and where men, after having justly exclaimed against intolerance, were become the most fiery of persecutors.

The language of this petition is a concise statement of the situation, till the 30th of Prairial, and the 18th of Brumaire, of the catholic church in France. The propositions of the jacobinical commission, the reporter of which was Briot, were rejected some few weeks after by the council; but the directory did not the less continue to exercise, with unremitting severity, that power against the priests which was put in their hands. An arrêté of the consuls not only put an end to this abominable proscription, but broke every decree of the directory that condemned such to punishment as had fulfilled the obligations imposed upon them by the laws, setting at liberty such as were imprisoned, and recalling from exile those who had undergone that terrible sentence. Such administrations as had been active in this persecution of the priests were immediately broken; and the churches, which had been turned into places of municipal festivals, restored to their primitive uses. The state of persecution, under which the catholic church of France had laboured for two years past, had circumscribed its activity, and limited its exertions in propagating a more rational system of faith; its correspondence contains little else than accounts of individual suffering, exhortations to constancy and patience, recommendations of mutual charity and forbearance, and proofs of adherence to the principles of free government. A public evidence of this attachment appeared in an address or pastoral letter written to the faithful in the Venetian islands, which had been incorporated with the French republic. The Armenian patriarch, and those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, had sent circular letters to the Christians inhabiting those islands, filled with abject adulation of despotism; and one among them, enumerating, with more satisfaction than became a Christian teacher, the establishment of Mahometanism among the benefits of Heaven, the counter address of the French bishops contained a short historical account of the church from the beginning of the revolution, of the necessity of reform, the correction of abuses, the calamities and persecutions to which it had been subject, and the steadfastness of the faithful. The bishops spoke of the national council which had been held at Paris, and of the regulations which had taken place; expressed their hopes that a new council would be assembled in the secular year 1800, and concluded with this summary belief; "Submitting in every thing to the faith of the Apostolic, Catholic, and Roman Church, united to Pius VI., legitimate successor of St. Peter, as to the centre of unity, and submitting to the laws of the French republic, with the grace of God, we shall continue to fulfil our duties as pastors and citizens; and such are, we trust, the dispositions which animate the clergy of your islands, after the example of those who are the chiefs."

The intolerance of the government, as has been observed, prevented any considerable propagation of the tenets of this half-reforming church; a periodical work, partly historical, partly doctrinal, continued nevertheless to appear, and a few publications, among which, (a proof of the tolerant spirit of the church), was a translation of "The Bishop of Landaff's Apology, in Answer to Paine's Age of Reason." This last book, translated into French, was

not known in France, as much on account of the worn-out state of the matter, as the general contempt entertained for the the talents of the writer. The cause of Christianity was considered a common cause, and the zeal of these catholic bishops, in ordering a protestant answer to be translated to a work never read, though useless as to the object, was a proof of the progress of the spirit of toleration, and also of their own disinterestedness in the propagation of the common faith; as their hopes of earthly rewards were now for ever extinguished, fallen back, if not to the simple doctrines of their divine master, reduced at least for the greater part to his state of temporal poverty and suffering.

The recall of such as had been banished in pursuance of the laws of the 19th Fructidor next engaged the attention of the government. Of those individuals, some, who were considered as deserving of the punishment decreed against them, had escaped that punishment by flight; others had been the dupes of the former; but several had left behind them examples of devotedness to liberty, which had rendered them the objects of the deepest sympathy and regret, and those who had pursued them of general execration. The legislative commissions, feeling the force of those sentiments, and wishing to distinguish between the needy adventurer, who had plied in every government where interest had led him, and the real friend of his country, enacted that every individual, condemned without previous judgment by a legislative act, should be considered as an emigrant if he entered on the French territory, unless he were authorised by an express permission of government, who might subject him to such inspection as should be thought convenient. In pursuance of this law a consular decree was passed, which recalled the greater number of those individuals; among whom were Barthelemy, Carnot, Pastoret, Portalis, those who remained still at Guiana, those consigned still in the isle of Oleron, and such also as had not surrendered. Reflections of the most opposite nature arise on perusing this list; Liberty beholds with delight the return to their country of those who had adorned it by their genius, and honoured it with their courage; Eloquence and Rectitude will long weep over the urns of Tronçon, Du Coudray, and Murinais; and Political Toleration will make an invocation to Patience, in seeing by what strange fatality names of revered worth and honour associated with those of the polluted and execrable assassins of their country, Collot and Vadier. The journalists who had been victims of the law at the 19th Fructidor were likewise restored to their country.

A further change took place in the ministry. That of foreign affairs, from the time of the resignation of Talleyrand, had been filled, and not unworthily, by Rheinart; but as the resignation of Talleyrand had been rather a compliance with the spirit of the times than an act of his will, he now re-assumed those functions, for which he seemed fitted, if not from his moral qualities, at least from his habits of simulation, and the subtleties of his diplomatic knowledge. During his retreat he had meditated with Sieyes the plan of reform, and had been an active promoter of the execution. Rheinart was sent embassador to the Helvetic republic. The minister of marine, Bourdon, a man of ordinary talents, and unfitted in many respects to hold a place of that importance, was sent commissary to the port

port of Antwerp; and Forfait, administrator of the port of Brest, was named in his stead. The astronomer La Place, and Cambaceres, who were named for other functions, resigned their places as ministers of the interior, and of justice. The latter was conferred on Abrial, president of the tribunal of revision, said to be an enlightened and upright magistrate; the former on Lucien Bonaparte, of whose patriotism as legislator enough has already been said, but of whose talents as administrator great doubts were entertained.

The negotiators appointed by the president of the United States to open again the negotiation for putting an end to the existing difference between that country and France had at this period landed in Europe. At the close of the last year Mr. Adams, on the opening of the congress, had explained the causes of the ill success which had attended the former negotiation. He spoke of the wishes expressed by France to heal the widening breach, and of the unjust suspicions the French government entertained respecting the sincerity of the intentions of the government of the United States. He observed that the decree of the directory to put a stop to the depredations of French privateers, far from having its due execution, had sanctioned those depredations, since it referred for its execution to French laws which were expressly in favour of the violation; and that while such laws existed, laws hostile to the rights and independence of every neutral nation, it was impossible to support their honour and rights, except by firm resistance. From these positions he argued, that instead of relaxing in their preparations of defence, it was their duty and interest to extend them; and that, although it was the sincere desire of the government of the United States not to break entirely the union between the two countries, it was impossible to send again another embassy without degrading the nation, until France had given the necessary assurances, that the sacred right of embassadors should be respected. As no assurance of that kind had taken place, he urged, from the hostile conduct of France to other governments, the necessity of making vigorous preparations for war.

The president's disposition for war with France was but ill relished by the people of the United States. Mr. Adams had the good sense to yield to this general repugnance; and therefore, in a message to the senate (Feb. 25), stated that the proposition for renewing the negotiation with France having excited universal attention, and become the general subject of conversation, it appeared to him that a new mode of embassy would give more satisfaction to the legislative body and the nation, and be likely to assure a happier result to the objects in view. With this conviction, the president informed the senate, that he had named Mess. Elsworth, Henry, and the embassador at the Hague, Mr. Murray, as ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic, to terminate by a treaty all differences between France and the United States. The two former of these ministers were not however to embark for Europe till they had received from the directory direct and explicit assurances, that they should be received in their characters, and enjoy the privileges granted by the rights of nations; and till ministers, or a minister, should be named with equivalent power to treat with them.

Nothing was more reasonable and just than this requisition on the part

of the president. The mode of dismissing the late negotiators was an aggravated insult; but, as national resentment was satisfied, or worn out, the French government gave the necessary assurances, and the plenipotentiaries landed in Europe just after the events of the 18th of Brumaire.

While symptoms of reconciliation and amity were discovering themselves between the French republic and the United States, the breach between France and Hamburgh seemed, from the correspondence of Bonaparte and the senate, to be growing wider. The senate had delivered up to the English government four Irishmen, two of whom, Napper Tandy and Blackwell, were officers in the service of the French republic, and who were on their way to France, after having been shipwrecked on the coast of Norway. The arrest and long imprisonment of those individuals had occasioned frequent reclamations from the French government, and the senate had long hesitated between the demands of the French and the generally allowed rights of nations on the one hand, and the menaces and injunctions of the Russian and English governments on the other. The court of Berlin, to whom the senate referred this matter, refused its interference, and the senate finally resolved on delivering them up to England. The French government, exasperated at this act, which it deemed a manifest violation of the law of nations, passed a decree, in which, after recapitulating the general principles, such as the duties which the laws of neutrality impose on states which enjoy its benefits, that the most sacred of these duties was the removal of every act of hostility from the neutral territory, and the affording a secure protection and equal asylum against all kind of violence exercised in virtue of war; after applying and contrasting its pri the conduct of the go war with the republic, that if those crimes were to public opinion with tion which they deserve sions might be entertai day the laws of war n free from restraint, and peace without guarant barrier would any against the progress of solution, and that E fall back rapidly into a barism: applying, in sh of those positions to the burgh, and stating, that of a government to at could not be excused f deration of its weakne when such governmen tarily placed itself on pendence, and that th sition of the senate of ordering the imprisonm Blackwell, Morris, an refusing their delivera official proof that they citizens and officers, wh government considered of the laws of nations, humanity, and a se against the French consequence of this government decreed, t tion should be denou allied and neutral gove the French commerci matic agents should quit Hamburgh; tha of the government should quit France; neral embargo should Hamburgh vessels in t republic.

The senate of Ham ceding to the menace tion of the courts of Pe

London, had fallen into the same error as some other cabinets. The senate had resisted the demands of the allied courts till the victories of the allies in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, decided its choice; but the measures which soon after took place led to another train of reflexions, and prompted a long apologetic letter to Bonaparte. The answer of the consul was very laconic: "We have received your letter, gentlemen. It does not justify you. Courage and virtue are the preservers of states; cowardice and vice their ruin. You have violated hospitality. This never happened among the most barbarous hordes of the desert. Your fellow citizens will for ever reproach you. The two unfortunate men whom you have given up die illustrious; but their blood will do more evil to their persecuters than could have been done by an army."

The interval of the late revolution, and the promulgation of the new constitution, was filled up by various acts reparatory of the blunders and crimes of the old directory. Among those was the sending out of the republic the emigrants who had been cast ashore at Calais, and had been dragged from dungeon to dungeon, from tribunals to military commissions, by the orders of Merlin, who had been unable to bend either tribunal or commission to his mandate of death. The French provisionary government now declared, that it was no where written in the code of civilized nations, that advantage ought to be taken of a shipwreck, to deliver up to the vengeance of the laws unfortunate men who had escaped the fury of the waves; justifying the decree by observing, that, whatever was their crime, it had been fully expiated, and that the shipwreck had given them complete absolution.

Another decree of the government ordered the interment of the late pope, whose body had lain unburied at Valence, with the accustomed funeral honours due to his rank. The decree stated, that this personage, respectable from his misfortunes, was for a moment hostile to France, only from the counsels of those who surrounded his old age, and that it was consistent with the dignity of the French nation, and conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to bestow marks of consideration on a man who held one of the first stations on earth. A monument was also ordered to be erected on the place of his burial.

One of the most extraordinary acts of the prodigality and corruption of the late directory had been the sending vast sums of money out of France for the maintenance of the French prisoners in England. The pretence for this measure was an atrocious calumny respecting the ill treatment of the French prisoners in England; which insult the English government repulsed with becoming dignity. The farce of voluntary subscription for those victims of English barbarity came in aid of this strange project of speculation, entered into by certain members of the government, who had discovered this new mode of dissipating the treasure of the republic, in order to swell their own. A decree of the consuls annulled this system of prodigality, of which the English had taken advantage, after exposing the calumny upon which it had been founded.

While the government was actively employed in correcting the blunders and repairing the wrongs of its predecessors, it was not less at-

tentively occupied in preparing such measures as it deemed best fitted to hinder the return of similar evils. The commissions had been employed for some time in revising and correcting a constitution which had emanated from the laboratory of Siéyes, the great and leading points of which were a grand elector, who was to be supreme magistrate, having under him two consuls, one for external, and the other for home affairs, holding their places at the will of the grand elector, who was to be the supreme ruler of the state, and also a conservatory jury for life, naming from popular lists the legislative bodies; and among whose other avocations was to be that of revoking, or, agreeably to the term then in use, absorbing such citizens as from talent or ambition should acquire undue influence in the state.

The grand elector, and the system of absorption, while they afforded speculation and amusement to the politicians and wits of Paris, became matter of serious controversy between the two consuls Sieyes and Bonaparte. These men were of characters too ardent and decisive to keep longer together than was necessary to obviate a common danger. The soldier was, as haughty as the statesman was obstinate. Who should be the first or second man in the state was a question of high import, and not easily to be solved. Each had their partisans in the discussion, but the influence of Bonaparte at length decided the dispute; the title of grand elector was discarded, and the system of absorption shared the same fate.

After various meetings of the consuls and commissions, and lengthened discussions, the constitution received the approbation of the great majority, and the sanction of the whole, and was proclaimed with the accustomed solemnity (24th December) throughout Paris. The declaration of the rights of man, such as liberty, equality, the sovereignty of the people, and the developement of what were called fundamental principles, was not made the preface of this constitution, as of those that had preceded it; because, it was said, these principles were so universally acknowledged, that their further exposition was unnecessary. The dispositions of this constitution differed very materially in several points from those which had preceded it.

The right of citizenship for Frenchmen is under the same regulations as in the late constitutions, as is also that of foreigners, excepting with respect to the time of previous residence, which is extended from seven to ten years. The forfeiture of the right of citizenship is the same. The European territory of the French republic is divided into departments, and communial *arrondissements*, or districts. The citizens of each communial district choose those amongst them whom they judge best fitted for public employments. A list is formed of the tenth part of the citizens who compose that district; and from this list the public functionaries of the district are chosen. The citizens who form this first list of the communial district choose again a tenth part among themselves. From this second list, called the departmental list, are chosen the public functionaries of the department. From this departmental list arises a third list, chosen likewise by the persons forming the departmental list; which third list comprehends those who are eligible to national public functions. These lists are filled up, in case of death, or absence, every three years

years by the citizens, who may withdraw any name they think proper, and replace it by another. The first list is to be formed in the ninth year of the republic; and all such as are named immediately to public functions form a necessary part of those who are eligible. The legislative power is composed of a tribunate, consisting of 100 members of 25 years of age at least, renewable a fifth part every year, and always re-eligible as long as they are kept on the national list; of a legislative body, composed of 300, whose members must be 30 years old at least, and a fifth part of whom is annually renewed, but who are ineligible till the second year: neither of these have the initiation of the laws, this is a prerogative of the executive power, which by a council of state, consisting of thirty members, proposes the law to the legislative body. These laws are to be debated first by the tribunate, and, whether accepted or rejected by that body, are afterwards to be discussed by members of the tribunate, and of the council of state before the legislative body, who are silently to judge between the two parties, and finally reject or accept the proposition.

Although the legislative body have not the initiative of the laws, the tribunate may express its wish respecting laws made, and to be made; respecting abuses to correct; and ameliorations in every part of the public administration; which wish is not, however, to be binding on any constituted authority, or to be attended by any necessary consequence. Every decree receiving the sanction of the legislative body is to be promulgated in ten days by the first consul. The renewal of the legislative body is not to take place till the year ten. The session is to last four months, but the legislature may be convoked on urgent occasions. The tribunate forms a commission of ten or fifteen of its members, when it adjourns; which commission may continue its sittings. The salary of a tribune is 15,000 livres; that of the members of the legislative body 10,000 livres a year.

The executive power is composed of the first consul Bonaparte, who promulgates the laws, names and dismisses ministers, generals, embassadors, and counsellors of state; the officers of the army by sea and land; the members of local administrations, and the commissaries of government at the tribunals; all the judges, criminal and civil, except justices of the peace, and the judges of the tribunal of revision, without the power of dismissing them. The other powers are such as were conferred on the late directory; the keeping up political relations, forming negotiations, making preliminary stipulations, signing and concluding all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, trade, and other conventions; all which declarations, treaties, and conventions, are proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated as laws. There are also two other consuls (Cambaceres and Lebrun) named likewise by the constitution for the discussion of affairs with the first consul; but they have only a consultative voice, and no right in the decision. The consuls are inviolable; they are named for ten years, and are re-eligible; the third consul, for the first time, is named only for five years. The first consul has, for the first two years, a salary of 500,000 livres; the others, three-tenths of the sum allowed to the first. There is also a council of state charged with the formation of the projects of laws to be presented to the legislative body,

with the regulation of public administration, and also to resolve such difficulties as might occur in matters of administration.

The administration is confided to ministers who superintend the execution of the laws and the regulations of public administration, and without whose signature no act of government can have effect; and also to local administrations, established in each communial or more extended district, and whose authority is subordinate to that of the ministers. The ministers are responsible, each in their respective departments, for the execution of acts of government signed by them, and declared unconstitutional by the senate; for the inexecution of the laws, and the regulations of public administration; for particular orders emanating from them, if such orders be contrary to the constitution and to the administrative regulations.

The judiciary power is composed of justices of the peace named by the citizens in each communial district; in civil matters of tribunals judging in the first instance, and tribunals of appeal; of correctional tribunals, from which there is appeal to criminal tribunals, whose judgment is without appeal to any other tribunal than that of revision, which is established for the whole republic, which decides on all appeals against judgments where the forms of law have been violated, but can take no cognizance of the matter itself, and which it sends before another tribunal. The judges of those different tribunals are chosen for life. The organisation of the judiciary power is to be definitively regulated by laws on the basis of the constitution.

The conservatory power is composed of a senate of sixty-two members, chosen for life, and to be fixed at the number of eighty, choosing two every successive year till the number be completed. The choice of the members in case of vacancy, is made by their own body on a list of three candidates, presented by the tribunate, legislative body, and the first consul; whose choice, if it fall on the same individual, becomes obligatory on the senate. The age of forty years is required to be member of this body. They elect from the national list of candidates, presented by the departments, the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, the judges of revision, and the commissions of the national accounts. They maintain or annul all acts which are denounced to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government, comprehending the nomination of persons designated on the national list. The first consul, on the expiration of his functions, or on his resignation, becomes senator by right; the other consuls have the same privilege, but on the expiration only of their functions. Their salaries are the twentieth part of that of the first consul, and taken from the revenues arising from the national domains. The two provisionary consuls, Sieyes and Ducos, are named members of this senate, who, in conjunction with the first and third consul named by the constitution, choose the majority of the senate, which majority fill up their body, and proceed to the other elections.

Such are the leading points of the constitution which was remitted by the consuls to the examination and sanction of the people, and which they represented in their address as founded on the true principles of representative government, on the sacred rights of property, equality, and liberty: they observed to them, that

that the powers which it instituted would be strong and stable, such as they ought to be, in order to guarantee the rights of citizens, and the interests of the state; finally, that the revolution was accomplished on the principles with which it had begun, and that it was concluded.

Whether this constitution be founded on those sacred rights and true principles, and whether or not the revolution be finished, is yet a point unsettled. What is declared of the present constitution was affirmed of the last; yet of the efficiency of that constitution we expressed our doubts on its first establishment, and we have since seen not only every right and principle violated, but the revolutionary spirit raging more furiously and tyrannically than at any other period, except the reign of terror, and rekindling the flame of war on the continent. The vice, it will perhaps be said, was not in the constitution so much as in the men who were unhappily appointed to preside over its direction. In order to exalt this new system of government, it was judged necessary to depreciate that which had fallen. The late constitution was in stronger alliance with the exercise of the principles of the revolution; political liberty was more minutely disseminated, while the present acknowledges equally the principle, but restrains the practice. The latter was better fitted for an enlightened nation in the habitude of freedom; the present more accommodated to a people in the apprenticeship of liberty, and learning to become free. On the probable consequences of this new revolution it were endless to speculate, and idle to prophesy; the European world has, since the French revolution, been too often deceived to trust to any other guide than experience; the tree may appear robust and flourishing, but it can be known only by its fruits. If the failure of the late constitution has been justly attributed to the folly, tyranny, and treason which presided over its destinies, the existence of the present is not so immediately threatened. Of the persons named to places by the constitution, Bonaparte and Sieyes hold the first rank. The contest for supremacy in the hierarchy of government was at first warmly disputed between these chiefs. The victory was decided in favour of Bonaparte; but public jealousy, if not public favour, still held strongly to Sieyes. It was necessary for the consolidation of Bonaparte's power to diminish as much as possible this *prestige* in favour of his rival. The snare was coarse and obvious, yet Bonaparte, it seems, had discovered the nature of his game. In the eagle soaring to the sun, he found traces of the kite that stoops to carrion. Sieyes, struggling for power, was deemed ambitious; but he was respectable, and approved; he had even a very large minority in his favour. His more fortunate rival, for the present, might have soared above him, but Sieyes was an object constantly in view. His name was interwoven with the revolution; those who disliked his ambition had confidence in his principles. To destroy this last hold, it was necessary to tempt his avarice. The bait succeeded, and Bonaparte felt his seat solid and permanent the moment that Sieyes accepted the estate of Crosne, a national domain of 600l. sterling a year, which the legislative commissions were instructed to offer him. Half of France regarded the offer as an insult, and the other half no way doubted of Sieyes's instant rejection. Both were astonished and disappointed. Sieyes swallowed with

guedinière the bait; but to render the transaction more ludicrous, the national estate so ignominiously bestowed was discovered to be the property of a private citizen. Sieyes having incurred the disgrace, was resolved not to lose the profit, but followed up his dishonour with all the fervour of avaricious intrigue, and procured the mutation of his unenjoyed domain into a sum of money of thrice the value.

Sieyes received, with this hire of his public services, the superaddition of a place for life, with 25,000 livres a-year as senator: his colleague, the ex-director Ducos, who had no other merit than blind obedience to the will of the other, was rewarded likewise with a similar appointment. The second and third consuls were Cambaceres and Lebrun; the one a lawyer of eminence, who had been to every party in the revolution, but who had more particularly attached himself to the civil concerns of the state, and who had arranged a civil code, which it is expected will be soon presented to the consideration of the legislature. Lebrun, who formerly held a place under the monarchy, is still an avowed royalist, a man of business, and also a poet. The power of these consuls was not very extensive, and they were regarded as little else than masters of the ceremonies to the first. To these two consuls, and the two senators, was intrusted the nomination of the majority of the senate. Their choice in general fell on men whose conduct through the revolution had been meritorious, such as Creuzé, Latouche, Lemoir, Laroche, and Kellerman; on men of science, such as Berthollet, Lacepede, Laplace, Monge; men of letters, such as Cabanis, Volney, and Garat; the choice likewise of this majority fell on deserving men; the ci-devant duke of Praslin, Dornadet, Chasset, and men of property, such as Lecoulteux and Perregaux, bankers; some mere of small note, and very few were exceptionable. As soon as the senate was filled up, the members proceeded to the nomination of the tribunes, and of the legislative body. The former was intended to be composed of active young men of spirit and patriotism, vigilant and jealous of the rights of the people, and of the power of the executive government. The greater number of those who were elected to this office had acted honourable parts in the revolution; a few were seated from motives of private friendship, and by the influence of intrigue. The nomination to the legislative body was more exceptionable, the greater part was composed of members of the late councils: numbers, no doubt, deserved this distinction, but others were also named, of whose opinions nothing had been heard, or who had been known only for their cowardly complaisance to the directorial regimen of Rewbell and Merlin.

The council of state chosen by the first consul was composed, for the most part, of men eminent for talent in the respective sections to which they were appointed; such as Boulay de la Meurthe, Emmery, Chaptal, Fourcroy, Petiet, Regnaud, Ganthéaume, Jollivet, Tarbé: there were others less approved in this corps, such as Raderer, Real, and Berlier; but the general composition was an union of as much talents and integrity as could, perhaps, at that season be found in France.

The conservatory senate and the consuls proceeded to the nomination of the members of the respective administrations before the constitution was accepted by the people presuming,

presuming, and with good reason, on its general and speedy adoption. Registers were opened in every commune, in which citizens inscribed their votes, either of acceptance or rejection, as their principles or opinions directed. The consuls meanwhile took possession of the reins of government, of which they gave official notice (27th December) to the conservatory senate, by letter; in which they promised, "that they would employ, in every circumstance, all means in their power to destroy the spirit of faction, create a public spirit, and consolidate the constitution, trusting that the senate would join them in preventing the machinations of ill-inclined men, if any such had obtained admission into the first offices of the state." The last paragraph of this official letter was understood as an admonition to the senate, not only for the lightness and partiality with which they had admitted certain persons into the different branches of the legislature, but also a gentle reprimand for the spirit of opposition which had been constantly maintained, during the nomination, to every recommendation made by Bonaparte.

The first attentions of the consuls, after their installation, were directed towards the departments of the west, where the civil war, though it had considerably abated of its fierceness by the submission of various chiefs, still continued to desolate and disorganise the country. As this was the most ruinous calamity that affected the state, such coercive measures were resolved on as should bring it to a speedy, and, if necessary, a terrible termination. A consular manifesto was therefore addressed (25th December) to the inhabitants of those departments, in which the consuls represented, that it was become their duty to stop the progress of this war, and totally extinguish it, but that they were unwilling to employ the force put into their hands till they had exhausted every mode of persuasion and justice. The authors of these commotions were represented as the frantic partisans of two men (the two brothers of Lewis XVIth) who had neither done honour to their rank by the exhibition of any virtues, nor to their misfortunes by any splendid action, and who lived despised among foreigners, where they had accumulated hatred without inspiring a single sentiment of esteem; the rest were traitors, sold to foreign powers, and instruments of their fury; or ruffians seeking food, and impunity for their crimes, in the disorders which they committed and fomented: to such as these, the government owed neither respect nor declaration of its principles: but there are citizens, continues the manifesto, who are dear to the country, who have been seduced by the machinations of the former; to those we owe truth, and information. Unjust laws, the manifesto acknowledged, had been promulgated and executed; arbitrary acts had alarmed the security of citizens, and the liberty of conscience; in every department, names unjustly or carelessly inserted on the list of emigrants had affected citizens who had never quitted their country, nor even their homes; the great principles, in short, of social order had been violated. After this frank declaration, justificatory in some measure, of the resistance which had been made, the manifesto stated, that it was to repair this injustice, and those errors, that a government founded on the sacred basis of liberty and equality had been proclaimed and acknowledged by the nation;

nation; that it would be the constant will, as it was the interest and glory of the first magistrates, to heal every wound of the state; the evidence of which intention might be found in the various acts of justice which had emanated from them, some of which the manifesto enumerated; such as the repeal of the disastrous law respecting hostages, the forced loan, and the recall of multitudes from exile; that liberty of conscience was guarantied by the constitution; that the edifices for public worship were restored to the people; that particular attention should be paid to such departments as had been visited by extraordinary calamities; and that every disposition to industry, whether in agriculture or manufactures, should find the most marked encouragement.

After making these avowals of wrongs on the part of the late government, and promises of amendment on that of the present, the inhabitants of the west, to whom plenary remission for all past offences was offered, were invited to rally round a constitution which presented such benefits, to separate themselves from those who persisted in misleading them, and to return to their homes and their habitual occupations. To such as were disobedient, or regardless of the invitation, the dreadful alternative of the ravages and desolation of war was held out: but of this horrible expedient the consuls were persuaded that no use would be made, since henceforth no sentiment would animate Frenchmen but that of love for their country. "The ministers of a God of peace," added they in the conclusion of their address, "will be the first promoters of reconciliation and concord; they will speak to the heart the language they learnt at the school of their master; they will enter those ten
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marks found themselves towards the beginning of November in the same position, and in the same lines, which the Austrian army had occupied before its entry into Switzerland, by the Grisons and the Thurgau. These lines, though very extended, were nevertheless almost impregnable, because the most considerable interval between the supports of the wings was covered by the Lake of Constance. The security which resulted from this advantage permitted the archduke to keep his position at Schaffhausen, between the Danube and Switzerland. He had fixed his head-quarters at Donaueschingen, from whence he kept his eye on Basil, where Massena was making demonstrations of attack to favour the passage of the river and the new movements of the French on the Lower Rhine. At the same time the archduke, supported on his right by the corps of general Staarray and of prince Charles of Lorraine, took measures for filling up by his left the void which the retreat of the French army had left in the Grisons and the Vorarlberg.

Suwarrow assembled his army in the neighbourhood of Lindau on the Lake of Constance, and rallied also the divisions of Korsakow; these two Russian armies were still respectable, their loss not having exceeded much more than half their original number. They yet occupied towards the end of October the important post of Bregantz, but were soon after relieved by Bavarian troops, when the Russian divisions of artillery, which had returned from Italy by the Tyrol, had reached the heights of Kempten. Suwarrow, who had already sent back his cavalry on his rear, began his retreat, transferring his head-quarters and the line of his first cantonments at Memmingen; the corps of the prince of Condé filed off from this army upon Augsburg, to take their winter-quarters either in the town or its neighbourhood. From this defection of the Russian generals the archduke's situation became extremely critical. He however contrived, by the good choice of positions, on a line of about fourscore leagues, from the famous post of Nauders, at the entrance of the Engadin, on the frontier of the Tyrol, down to Philipsburg, to keep up on the right side of the Rhine a respectable defensive, with less than 60,000 men, against superior forces. The French, after having secured their positions on the left side of the Lake of Constance, pushed their advantages on the side of the Grisons by the Valley of Disentis. The generals Soult, Loison, and Mortier, dislodged successively the corps of the rear-guard, which had held firm in the principal passes, and forced them to retreat on the other side of the Rhine, by the bridges of Rechnau and Feldsberg, which were burnt. The Imperial regiment of Brechainville suffered much in this retreat; Coire was evacuated; general Linken, who had replaced general Hotze in the command of all this frontier of the Vorarlberg and the Tyrol, kept up the post of Mayenfield, his communications with Feldkirch, and transferred his head-quarters to Pludentz in the Vorarlberg.

The French advanced no further. Massena made no attempts to force the imperialists to evacuate the whole of the Grisons, since an attack, which would have been necessarily bloody, would have had at that moment no determined object. He employed himself in bringing together the different corps of

of his army, and concentrating the greatest part on Basil and on Zurich, the entrenchments of which he raised and augmented; withdrawing from the Vallais general Thureau's division, and leaving only a few troops under the command of general Jacopin. All the passes on the side of St. Gothard and the Simplon were closed up by the snows. These regions of eternal winter, those seas of ice, were no longer attainable by the traveller, whose curiosity, heretofore lost in his astonishment at the sublimity of nature, will henceforth enlarge its researches to other objects, and trace the vestiges of camps and the dreadful images of war, which have annexed another kind of celebrity to those most astonishing points of the globe.

After the evacuation of Switzerland by the allies, under circumstances so much the more unfavourable, as they destroyed that mutual confidence still more necessary in reverses than in prosperity, the cabinet of Vienna, by the advice, as it is said, of the archduke, took the wise resolution of carrying all its efforts to its wings, and of resting in a state of passive observation with respect to Switzerland. The wisdom of this measure was so much the more manifest, as, if the French continued to maintain for a longer time in Switzerland the most numerous of their three armies, they could not but suffer much from the scarcity of subsistence. They were too strong to remain in observation before an inferior army, and not sufficiently in force, or too much fatigued, to resume the offensive towards Suabia or Bavaria: if, on the contrary, the war vigorously carried on in Italy, and on the Lower Rhine, forced the French government to withdrew part of its troops from Switzerland, the great advantage of this advanced situation of the French on the Tyrol would be neutralized, and the balance become re-established.

But it was in Italy, above all, that the house of Austria was interested in following up its first successes. Every thing had been made subordinate to the retaking of Mantua and Lombardy. Suwarrow had cheaply gained himself a reputation in taking advantage of the first victories of general Kray; but what astonished the court of Vienna was, that those advantages had had no happier consequences for the allies, and that Moreau with his diminished band had stopped in the plains of the Po the hitherto rapid progress of the victorious army. The court of Vienna, however, felt all the importance of retaining at any price conquests so dearly purchased; and as soon as the retreat of the Russian army was decided, all the reinforcements of Austrian troops which could be collected in Carinthia, in the Tyrol, and in the Venetian states were directed toward the army of generals Melas and Kray. These generals, who had joined their forces at the affair of Fossano and Savigliano, afterwards separated. Melas endeavoured to form the investment of Coni, which the French, masters of the high valleys, rendered extremely difficult, whilst Kray marched with a great body of infantry into the Valley of Aosta, and forced them to repass Mount Jouvet. The division of Ott and Frolich were employed before Rome, and that of the latter afterwards at Ancona. Klenau continued to block Genoa on the side of the river of the east, and pushed his posts as far as Bapalto.

Such

Such was the position and the distribution of the forces of the Austrian army; which, as has been observed, seemed to redouble its activity after the departure of the auxiliary Russian army. The total force of the army under the orders of general Melas, in the beginning of October, was estimated at 60,000 men. His chief aim was the capture of Coni, and the taking from the French this key of Piedmont, which was the best situated for favouring their offensive operations at the opening of the campaign; while they were still more strongly interested in preserving it, as it extended and secured the basis of their defence of the Ligurian territory.

Championet, in order to be within reach of parrying the blows which were aimed at his left, transferred his head quarters from Corniglano to Finale. Those of Melas were at La Trinita, about four or five leagues from Coni. A war of posts took place between detachments of the two armies, the object of which was to form and prevent the investment of this place. The two generals meanwhile attempted to divert each other's attention, and divide their forces. Klenau, who from his position at Ripalto had orders to advance upon Genoa, was beat back to Sarzana by general Miollis. The French, taking advantage of the security afforded to the northern part of the Genoese territory by the post of Bochetta, marched down to Novi, of which they took possession, made a vigorous attack at Rivalta on general Karaczay, and threatened an incursion on the side of Placentia, towards the Milanese. However serious these diversions, they did not take off the attention of either party from the principal object. Melas assembled the army destined for the siege, and sent reinforcements to Karaczy and Klenau. Coni was blocked by the three generals, Ott, Nobili, and Gottesheim; the Austrian head-quarters were transferred to Montenera; and preparations for the siege were carried on with vigour.

Championet, on his side, after having confided to general St. Cyr the head and right of his line, the place of Genoa, and the posts adjacent, collected at Coni all his forces, and went thither in person. He had called in the detached corps which he united to the army of the Alps, and it appeared that with the garrison of Coni he had about 25,000 men. Several skirmishes took place between the advanced posts, the success of which was various, when Championet resolved to give battle to disengage Coni, having formed the project of enveloping the right wing of the Austrian army on the side of Fossano and Savigliano; to cut off their communications with their magazines at Bra and Turin, and force general Melas to fight in a disadvantageous position, or draw off from Coni by quitting the entrance of the plains of Piedmont; which plan of attack was combined with the movements which general Duhesme was to make by the valley of Suza, in leading a column upon Pignerol and Saluzza.

In order to conceal his intentions, Championet manœuvred by his right, and made general Victor attack the posts of Chiusa and Villa Nova, which were successively evacuated by the Austrians. This column advanced as far as Mendovi, which refused to surrender; Ceva was also blocked up, and other posts taken. In the course of the following days, the French divisions of the left and centre marched

marched forward; Lemoine followed the left of the Stura, Championet marched upon Renchi, Grenier's division approached the place of Fossano; and while general Fressinet (1st Nov.) took possession of the entrenchments of Castelletto, on the right of the Stura, general Dubesme attacked and carried the Austrian posts entrenched near Pignerol.

These attacks made at the same time on the two banks of the Stura gave place to very sharp engagements between the heads of the French columns and the corps of the Austrian army which guarded the principal posts. The advantage had been hitherto on the side of the French; they had broken the line of investment, taken a number of prisoners, and made preparations for following up their first successes.

General Melas having discovered Championet's project, detached the greater part of his forces towards his right, having meditated himself the surrounding the left wing of the French; for which reason he had declined with his left, and evacuated Mendovi, harassed by the French, abandoning his entrenchments between the Stura and the Tanaro, where he had fixed his head-quarters, and took an oblique position between Fossano and Marienne, below Savigliano, of which the French had gained possession. The two armies were now in presence of each other, between the rivers of Grana and Stura. Melas, extending his right, obliged the French to extend their left, detaching themselves further from Coni, and consequently weakening their line, and constrained to fight with inferior forces, especially in cavalry, and on more uncovered ground. Championet, anxious to form his junction with Dubesme's column, which was not half a day's march distant, which had gained possession of Saluzzo, and was preparing to pass the Wraita, ordered general Victor to march his division upon Fossano, and Grenier to fall down on Savigliano. Such was the position of the French army (4th November), when it received orders to advance, and attack the imperialists; general Grenier was to march upon Marienne, Genola, and Fossano. Melas had made his dispositions to attack the French on the same day, on the same points, and precisely in the same directions. General Ott headed a column from Marienne upon Savigliano, general Mitrowsky a second on the same point, and general Elwitz a third from Fossano upon Genola. General Gottesheim was charged to make, with the garrison of Fossano, two false attacks upon Morezzo, in order to occupy and check the right and the centre of the French, during the attack directed on their left upon Savigliano.

On the morning of the same day the corresponding divisions of the two armies formed, and began their march at the same time. Those columns met; the action began by the shock of that of general Ott, which marched upon Savigliano, against general Grenier's column, which marched upon Marienne. Those two columns attacked with ardent bravery, sought to turn each other, mingled in each other's ranks, and fought with fury. The French infantry supported and repelled several charges of cavalry; but at length general Grenier was obliged to give way, and retreated in good order on Savigliano, from whence he was afterwards dislodged by the united columns of Ott and Mitrowsky, and threw himself by his right flank, on the side of Genola.

The crossed attack under the fire of

of the place of Fossano, between general Victor's division, and those of general Elsitz and Gettesheim, was not less vigorous. The imperialists were three times repulsed; three times the French columns attacked: general Richepanse, at the head of the cavalry, charged the artillery; general Adrien was killed. The loss of the post of Savigliano, and the progress of the right wing, forced Championet, in spite of this obstinate resistance, to make this division fall back on Valdizzio, which was the centre of the position of the French. Melas attacked them in the afternoon with the whole of his forces;—and as Championet could keep this position no longer, without risking being surrounded, he withdrew with his left wing on Contala, ordered general Victor's division, which formed his right, to fall back also, and divided it between the posts of Ronchi and Montizzo. While the French were retreating on Contala, general Dahesme arrived a few moments too late on the Maria, after a forced and very painful march, and attacked Savigliano, where general Ott had left only a battalion and two squadrons; he marched upon Marienne, and found himself on the rear of the Austrian army; but as soon as he was assured of the position of the two armies, and after having sustained the attack of a division which general Samuharin had orders to lead against him, he retreated to his former position at Saluzzo.

Melas meeting with no further obstacles, concentrated his columns before Contala. Night put an end to those different engagements, in which both armies had undergone considerable loss. The French, forced to yield the field of battle on their left, which was harassed and flanked by the cavalry, suffered greatly on that day. Championet took advantage of the night to abandon Contala; a part of his left fell back to Demonte, the Valley of the Stura; and Grenier's division, crossing Coni, retreated to the left of the torrent of the Gesso. The next day Melas attacked the post of Morazzo, when a considerable body, whose retreat was cut off, were compelled to lay down their arms; the greater part of general Victor's and Lemoine's divisions retreated to the entrenched camp of Madonna del Olmo. Championet was thus compelled, by the loss of the battle of Genola, to leave Coni to its own defence, and had lost on that day, and in the attacks on the day after, more than 8000 men, about a third of his effective force. The army was thus separated into three corps; the one under Coni, the other covering its retreat by the Colle di Tende, and a third under Mondovi, having its retreat secure by the Valley of the Tanaro.

Melas, from the notice he received of the dispersion of Championet's columns, resolved to pursue them into the high valleys, to force them from Coni, and form the investment of the place on the west. In the various expeditions made by the Austrian columns into those different valleys, the French were driven back on every quarter; Dahesme's division retreated from Saluzzo by Suza, across the French frontiers to Briançon; the entrenched camp of Madonna del Olmo was evacuated; Grenier's division fell back to the top of the Apennines to Limona near the Colle di Tende, and the important post of Demonte, at the head of the Valley of the Stura, was occupied (9th November) by the imperialists. In order to complete the investment, and begin the siege of Coni, it was necessary to expel the French troops entirely from their

their various posts in the vicinity of the place. Championet was still at Mondovi with the two divisions of his right wing; from which they were dislodged, after a desperate resistance, and compelled to retreat up the Tanaro upon Caresio. General Grenier, forced from Limona, retreated upon the Colle di Tende; and the valley of Stura, beyond the barricades, was likewise occupied by an Austrian division.

After these various successes, Melas summoned Coni to surrender, and, on the refusal of the commander, began the operations of the siege. The main of the army was encamped at Bergo San Dalmazzo, where the Austrian general fixed his head-quarters, placing corps of observation in different directions, so as to prevent every means of relief. While Melas was thus labouring to form the investment of Coni, general Kray, on the other side, was charged with operations no less important. This general had advanced towards Acqui, of which he took possession, after repulsing the French under general St. Cyr, who, abandoning their various posts, retreated upon the Scrivia, and took post on the reverse of the mountains of Novi, which they fortified, with the intention of maintaining themselves. It was in this position that general Kray undertook to force them, and succeeded. The French, after a vigorous resistance, were compelled to retreat. This diversion, calculated to keep the French within the territory of Genoa, was of the greatest importance to Melas, who, having no longer to fear lest Championet should draw reinforcements from the corps of the army of St. Cyr, could in full security undertake the siege of Coni. General Klenau, having made some progress on the east of Genoa, was attacked by general d'Arnaud, and driven back with loss; the eastern territory of Genoa was cleared; the head-quarters of the French were established at Pietra; 6,000 men occupied the Colle di Tende, and the range of the heights which covered Genoa and the western coast, as far as Nice.

The Ligurian republic was the only territory which now remained of all the French conquests in Italy. The town of Ancona had surrendered. This place had been for some months blocked up by a squadron of Russian and Turkish ships, and invested on the land side by a considerable army of insurgents under the orders of Lahoz, a general in the Cisalpine service, who had gone over to the allies. The town was bombarded, but vigorously defended by a garrison consisting of 2,500 men, under the command of general Monnier, who had repulsed the besiegers in several sallies, in one of which Lahoz was killed. After the capitulation of Rome, general Frolich had led his division to the attack. The French general, altogether abandoned, judged it hopeless to continue the struggle against so vast a superiority of force; after a severe bombardment of forty-eight hours, therefore, a capitulation was agreed on (14th Nov.), and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The conduct of the Austrian general marshal Frolich, in the capture and capitulation of this place, is said to have been one of the principal causes of the misunderstanding between the two imperial courts.

The siege of Coni was carried on with great vigour; the French, far from being able to offer it any assistance, had continued to fall back. Championet's head-quarters were trans-

transferred to Sorpelle, a little town at a small distance from Nice. The summit of the Apennines at the Colle di Tende were abandoned by the French, and the general in chief, continuing to cover the Ligurian Apennines from Finale to Gavi, had reinforced with 4000 men the posts opposed to general Bellegarde's division, on the side of Ormea. On the other side of the line, the French army had marched again upon Novi, and Acqui, of which they took possession, but were afterwards dislodged, and forced to retreat upon the Bochetta. General Klenau, who had not given up his projects on Genoa, on the eastern side of the coast, attacked the French on various points (14th Dec.) and forced them to abandon their positions and retreat on the heights of St. Martin. The position of Genoa became extremely critical, from the facility with which the Austrians had the means of concentrating their forces. St. Cyr formed the daring resolution, which also was become indispensable, of resuming in his turn the offensive. He marched therefore the following day against general Klenau, whose left was almost impregnable, flanked by the sea, and supported by the fire of two ships of the line and frigates. To turn their position was a difficult operation, both on account of the disproportion of forces, and the disadvantage of the ground, almost inaccessible from its elevation, and the difficulty of the outlets; but there was no alternative. General Arnaud received orders to keep on the defensive on the point flanked by the sea, whilst St. Cyr, after having detached two battalions on Montefacia, bore down on the centre and the right flank of the positions of the Austrian army.

After a furious struggle, the French having made themselves masters of the outlets, climbed the heights, drove in the right flank of the Imperialists, the defeat of which drew on that of the left. The Austrian army was pursued, and harassed in its retreat as far as Soré by general Arnaud. The intelligence of the commander of artillery, who, at the head of a detachment, took the posts of Carpendizo and Scoffera, and that of adjutant-general Watrin, who gained possession of Torriglia, contributed much to the success of this day, on which the French troops displayed the greatest intrepidity. The imperial army, pursued and harassed, rallied behind the Magra, and joined itself to the division under general Hohenzollern. General Ott's division, which had marched to the assistance of general Klenau, took its cantonments in the duchy of Modena and Parma. The blockade of Gavi was raised by the Austrians, and Hohenzollern's corps established its winter-quarters at Alessandria.

Meanwhile, the siege of Coni was carried on with great activity and vigour. More than 7000 men were employed in the trenches and batteries. The besieging army, already numerous, was continually receiving new reinforcements; the waters had been turned off, so as to prevent the mills from working, and 200 pieces were ready to open on the town. In short, notwithstanding a terrible fire from the place, the trenches were opened (27th Nov.) at 400 paces from the covered way. The garrison attempted a sortie, in order to destroy the works, but their efforts were fruitless. The works were pushed with so much activity, that the first parallel was finished in four days. Artillery was

established on nineteen batteries (12th Dec.) and the next day began to play on the place. The fire was so terrible, that the troops which defended the works, at the end of four hours were obliged to abandon them precipitately. At the same time, a bomb falling on a powder magazine, blew up a redoubt. The Austrians took possession of it, and, continuing their operations, at length completed the second parallel (2d Jan.) From the bombardment the town was now on fire in different places.

In the evening the redoubt blew up; the fire extending further and further, and the continual fall of bomb and balls taking away every possibility of extinguishing it. The inhabitants prayed general Lichtenstein to spare the town; the prince refused, informing them at the same time that he would not treat, except a flag of truce, commissioned with full powers, would repair to the camp. The French commander, who had no hope of assistance, and who found no advantage in prolonging a resistance which could only end in the total destruction of the town, determined in the evening to capitulate; an officer was sent to agree to the articles of capitulation, which were signed, after some debates, and the garrison, consisting of 2,500 men, surrendered prisoners of war. Thus Coni, justly considered as the key of Piedmont on the side of France, fell into the hands of the Austrians.

After the taking of Coni general Melas transferred his head quarters to Fossano. The Austrians at the close of the year, and also of the campaign, occupied all the passage which separate France from Italy; that is to say, the Colle di Tende, which the French had evacuated, the Valley of Aosta, as far as the fort of the Great and Little St. Bernard, the Valley of Suza, as far as the defiles of Mount Cenis, and the Valley of Ossola, beyond the Simplonella. Their lines extended, by the great lake, and those of Lugano and Como, as far as Bellinzone and Chiavenna. On the side of the Apennines, the Ligurian republic was, as it were, invested by different corps of Imperialists, which occupied Ormea, Cairo, Novi, Serravalla, and the environs of Gavi, as far as the Bocheita. Klenau's division on the eastern coast was within four miles of Genoa, and communicated by Sestri with the troops stationed in Tuscany.

The French, on their side, maintained themselves in their positions at Fenils and Cesena, from whence their posts extended to Colombia, Solemine, and Mollière. At the marble cross, near Nice, was general Pointet; at Finale the generals Lemoine, Chausal, and Gardanne; at Loano, general Feras, with 5,000 men: general Miollis had his head-quarters at Savona; and the generals Victor and Gardanne at Port Maurice and Pieva. The desertion occasioned by want of provisions had considerably weakened the French army.

Such was the situation of the remains of the Austrian and French armies at the end of a campaign which will long be celebrated in the annals of war. However astonishing may have been the progress of the Austrian troops from the Adige to the frontiers of France, the skilful manœuvres which contributed to accelerate or retard their success will fix the attention of military men more than the success itself. Italy, in all modern times, has been easily won and lost. At the close of the fifteenth century Charles

Charles the VIIIth conquered it in three months, and in the four months succeeding scarcely found his way back to his state. Under Lewis the XIIth, the conquest of the Milanese was made in twenty days, and, with the assistance of Ferdinand, that of Naples in four months; but divisions taking place, as usual, between the allies, Italy was abandoned, and took the surname of the tomb of the French. The campaigns of Francis the Ist, in Italy, are a well-known part of history: but what will distinguish this last campaign is principally the military skill which was displayed in the defensive.

When the battle of Magnan was lost by Scherer, at the moment when 45,000 Russians were marching to reinforce the Austrian army, it appeared altogether improbable that Moreau, with a disorganised army, should not only have defended the Milanese, but even have kept his station in Piedmont and in the State of Genoa; much less that he could have rallied Macdonald's army, whose capture or destruction seemed inevitable. The great generalship which he displayed, both in retarding the passage of the Adda, and in the choice of that position, where he contrived, by deceiving the enemy with respect to his projects, to concentrate his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, and not only keep the imperial armies in check, but even obtain an important success against forces infinitely superior; in short, the unexpected rallying of the army of Naples with the wrecks of the army of Italy, an event so important, and which Suwarrow had not the genius, though he had abundantly the power, to prevent, will for ever do equal honour to the military talents of Moreau and Macdonald.

A singularity of this campaign, which will distinguish it more particularly from all those which have taken place in preceding wars, is the importance which the state of Genoa acquired, considered as an entrenched camp. This astonishing defence of the Ligurian territory, for upwards of six months, against all the efforts of Austrian and Russian troops, commanded by the most experienced generals of Europe, not only served to protect the frontiers of France, but at the same time offered the easiest outlets for the invasion of the Milanese and Tuscany, which the gain of a battle might again put into the power of the French, as well as the whole of Piedmont. That event, in the moment while we are writing, has indeed taken place. May the little advantage which either party has gained by this disastrous contest lead them to see their true interests, and may they speedily restore to a distracted world the blessings of peace!

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1799.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1799.	Bank Stock.	3 p.ct. red	3 p.ct. cons.	4 p.ct. cons.	5 p.ct. Navy.	5 p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	New Loan.	5 Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Imp. 5 p.ct.	Imp. Ann.	Irish 5 p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish Lot Tickets.
Jan.	139½	54⅜	55	68½	81¼	82¼	15	6¼	167¼		2½ pr.		53⅝			52⅛	10⅝	76¾	13 16 0	
	137½	53⅛	52⅞	66¼	81	81	15¼		161¼		¾ dis.		53½			51	10½	76	13 14 0	
Feb.	140¾	55	54⅜	70⅛	83¾	84⅛	16	6⅜	168		2⅝ pr.	63	54⅜			52⅛	10⅝	77¼	15 6 0	
	138¼	53½	52½	69⅞	80¼	81⅞	15⅛	6⅛	162¼		¾ dis.	59	53⅝			51	10½	75¼	13 1 0	
Mar.	142½	55⅞	54⅝	71	84		16	6⅜	168			57⅝	55	54¼	⅛ dis	52¼	10¾	77¼	20 0 0	
	134½	54⅜	53⅛	69⅞	81⅜		15⅛	6¼	161¼			57⅛	55	54	¼ dis.	51¼	10⅜	76	8 10 0	
Apr.	140	54¾	55	71⅛	86¼	83⅞	16⅛	6⅛	170	7 pr.		57⅝	54⅛		1 dis.	52⅞	10⅞	75¼		7 12 0
	135	54⅛	53⅝	69⅜	81¼	83⅛	15⅜	6	165	3		57⅛	53⅝		4	51¼	10½	74		7 8 0
May	140¾	56	56¼	70	87¾	85½	16¼	6⅛	171¼	2 pr.			5⅜		3 pr.	53	10¾	80		7 16 0
	137	54⅛	54¾	68⅞	85⅝	83¼	15⅝	6	169				55		1	52⅛		74⅜		7 14 0
June	154¼	61½	62¼	76¾	80¾	90¾	17⅜	6¼	185		Omni.		60¼		4 pr	58⅞	11¼	87¼		8 0 0
	140	58⅞	56⅛	70½	87⅛	85⅛	16	6⅛	170				55¼		1 dis	53⅛	10¾	80		7 16 0
July	168¾	65	60	83½	96	97	19⅛	6½	199	4 pr.	15 pr.		64¼		3 pr	53⅛		93		8 10 0
	153	59¼	61	75⅝	93⅛	89¾	17⅝	6⅜	180½	1 dis.	6		61¼		2 dis	57¼		86¾		8 0 0
Aug.	176	69	68⅛	86	99½	99	20¼	6⅞	203½	9 pr.	21	173½	64¾		7 pr	57⅞	12⅞	96½	15 9 0	
	164	62⅞	61	80¾	92¼	93¼	18¼	6½	190		9¼	170			1	51	12¼	90⅞	15 8 0	7 10 0
Sep.	174	69	69	85	99	100⅜	19¼	6⅝	202	2	20¼				5½ pr	57¼	12⅛	96	15 12 0	7 14 0
	163	68½	66⅜	83¼	93¼	98¼	19⅛		193		7¼				3 dis.	56⅛	12	89⅜	15 10 0	7 10 0
Oct.	160⅜	61	63⅛	6½	93½	90⅝	18⅛	6⅜	197½	4	10½		60¼	62¾	5	52⅛		89	15 12 0	7 17 0
	155¼	58	58¾	74⅞	88	88¾	17⅞	5⅝	189	2	2¼		57⅞		1	48		81¼		7 14 0
Nov.	160⅜	62⅞	63½	7 ⅛	95	91⅞	17⅞	6¼	200	6	12½		62¼	62½	7	51⅝		80¼	15 5 0	8 5 0
	152	59	59¼	74⅜	90¾	88⅛	17⅜	5⅞	190¾	3	4½		59	60⅛	5	48⅛		82½	15 12 0	7 17 6
Dec.	158	63¼	63⅛	77⅜	94⅞	92¼	18	5⅞	198¼	5	11¼		62¾		7	52⅜		85¼	15 17 0	
	154¾	61⅛	62¾	76⅛	94¼	90½	17⅞		197¼	2	9		61⅛		4	49½		84¼	15 15 0	

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1799.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1799.

LONDON, JANUARY 7.

THIS day an account was received in town from Portsmouth of the arrival there of the Woolverine gun-vessel, commanded by capt. Mortlock. This vessel sailed from the Downs only on Thursday last, on a cruise off the French coast, and on the following day she fell in with two large French luggers, one carrying 16 guns, and the other 14, and having on board 140 men each. A very warm action immediately commenced, which was sustained for near two hours, during which the Frenchmen attempted to board the Woolverine. Capt. Mortlock, with his own hand, lashed one of the French vessels to an iron stanchion of his ship, which, however, unfortunately gave way, and the Frenchman got off; and, they being close in with their own shore, they both escaped. Capt. Mortlock was wounded mortally: the master was likewise wounded, and eight men; and a seaman and a marine were killed. When it is considered that the Woolverine mounts only 12 guns, and carries but 70 men, and that the united force of the enemy was 30 guns, and 280 men, this must be allowed to be one of the most gallant actions which a single ship has fought, during the war, distinguished as it has been by naval gallantry.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 8. The gazette contains an account of the capture of the French ship privateer La Minerve, of 16 guns, and 140 men; and the re-capture of the Asphalon of Newcastle, by his majesty's ship Indefatigable, capt. Sir E. Pellew.

This gazette contains likewise a letter from Sir E. Buller, commanding the sea fencibles along the coast of Devon, which states, that the Susannah brig, having sailed from the port of Dartmouth for Torbay, and come to an anchor off West Down Head, five miles from that place, being perceived to be boarded by a French privateer (L'Heureux Speculateur, of 14 guns), the Brixham sea fencibles went off in a boat, armed with musquets, and succeeded in recapturing the brig, which, on their appearance, was deserted by the Frenchmen, whom they also pursued and took. And that lieutenant Nicholas, with his usual zeal, with collector Brooking's assistance of small arms and boat, went also from this port with part of the sea fencibles, accompanied by a boat from his majesty's cutter Nimble, but was not fortunate enough to succeed in the attempt.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of a French brig privateer of 14 guns and 64

men, by his majesty's ship Triton, capt. Griffith;—and also, the French cutter privateer La Rancune, carrying two swivels, small arms, and 21 men; and two brigs, the Lark and the Dion, which she had captured, by the Pigmy cutter, lieut. Shepheard commander.

Jan. 14. The corning-mill belonging to the gunpowder works of messrs. Pigou and Co. at Dartford, this day blew up, by which unfortunate accident two men and a boy were killed. A few of their scattered remains were collected together and interred, but by far the greatest part were literally blown to atoms. One man had fortunately left the mill not more than a minute before the explosion took place; and what, though singular, is true, this is the third time he has thus miraculously escaped from similar accidents.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 19. This gazette contains an account of the capture of L'Air schooner letter of marque; and Le Bon Ordre, of sixteen guns and 65 men; by his majesty's ship Clyde, capt. Cunningham.

Whitehall, Jan. 21. Letters received from the earl of Balcarras, by his grace the duke of Portland.

Jamaica, Nov. 7, 1798.

My Lord,

On the 31st of October I received a dispatch from the Bay of Honduras. Col. Barrow informs me, that the settlers had been attacked by a flotilla consisting of 31 vessels, having on board 2000 land troops, and 500 seamen. Arthur O'Neil, governor-general of Yucatan, and a field marshal in the service of Spain, commanded in person. I have great satisfaction in transmitting the letter of the lieutenant-colonel; by which your grace will be informed, that this armament has been repulsed, and the expedition entirely frustrated. The lieut.-colonel speaks in the handsomest manner of the conduct of capt. Moss, of his majesty's ship Merlin, and of the wonderful exertions of the settlers and their negro slaves, who manned the gun-boats. The conduct of lieut.-col. Barrow, and of the settlers, in putting the port of Honduras Bay into a respectable state of defence, as well as the gallant manner in which it was maintained, gives me entire satisfaction; and it is with pleasure that I report their services to your grace.

I have, &c.

BALCARRAS.

Honduras, Sept. 23, 1798.

My Lord,

After the date of my last dispatch of the 11th, 14th, and 21st August, by the express boat Swift, I continued to strengthen our flotilla, which now consists of

No. 1. Towser, one gun, eighteen-pounder.
— 2. Tickler, one gun, eighteen-pounder.
— 3. Mermaid, one gun, nine-pounder.
— 4. Swinger, four guns, six-pounders; and two guns, four-pounders.
— 5. Teazer, six guns, four-pounders.

Besides eight flat gun-boats, carrying each a nine-pounder in the prow.

Nos. 1, and 2. are commanded by Mr. Gelston and Mr. Hosmer, masters of merchant vessels, who with some of their crews, volunteered the business in a very handsome manner: to those gentlemen I am much indebted for their able and active services. The masters and crews of all the other vessels consist entirely of volunteers from the colonial troops, and together amount to 354 men, now on float. The enemy

enemy was so well watched by scout-boats and canoes, that not a single movement could be made by him without our knowledge; and, finding that he aimed at the possession of St. George's-key, the armed vessels, Nos. 1, 4, and 5, were sent to that place to guard the narrow channels leading to that commodious harbour. On the 3d of September the enemy endeavoured to force a passage over Montego-key-shoal with five vessels, two of which carried heavy metal, but was repulsed. He renewed his attempt on the following day; but our little squadron, being now reinforced by six gun-boats, beat them off with great ease; and the five vessels returned to the main body of the fleet, then at anchor about two leagues to the northward. This movement gave our people an opportunity of drawing and destroying all the beacons and stakes which the enemy had placed in this narrow and croaked channel, and without the use of which nothing but vessels of a very easy draught of water can pass. On the 5th, the same vessels, accompanied by two others, and a number of launches, endeavoured to get over this shoal by another passage, but were repulsed, apparently with loss. On this, as well as on the two preceding days, the Spaniards expended an immense quantity of ammunition to no manner of purpose; while our people fired comparatively little, but with a steadiness which surpassed my most sanguine hopes. Capt. Moss, in his majesty's ship Merlin, left his anchorage at Belize on the evening of the 6th, and arrived at St. George's-key about noon on the 6th of September. The Spaniards, having found a passage through the lee ward channels impracticable, had got under weigh on the morning of that day with their whole fleet, seemingly with a view of forcing a passage through the windward, a sand-bore passage, to the eastward of Long-key; but, on seeing the Merlin beating into the harbour of St. George's-key, and that our fleet was reinforced by the armed vessels Nos. 2, and 3, and a large gun-boat, they returned to their former anchorage between Long-key and Key-chapel. I was now of opinion that the enemy would alter his mode of attack, and endeavour to make a landing on the main land to the northward of our posts at the Haul-over. Under this idea I began to prepare small vessels and gun-boats, in which I meant to embark with 200 men, including detachments of his majesty's 63d and 6th West-India regiments, and of the royal artillery, with one howitzer and two field-pieces, six-pounders: with this force it was my intention to block up the channel between the main and the western point of Hicks's-keys, and to obstruct as much as possible a landing in that quarter; or, if foiled in both of these objects, to throw the whole strength into the works at the Haul-over, and to defend that post to the last extremity; while a body of experienced bush-men, all good shots, and under orders for that purpose, should hang on the flanks and rear of the enemy. On the morning of Monday, the 10th of September, fourteen of the largest vessels of the Spanish fleet weighed anchor, and at nine o'clock brought to about a mile and a half distant from our fleet. Captain Moss was then of opinion, that they meant to delay the attack till the following day; but nine of them got under weigh about noon: these carried each two twenty-four pounders in the bow, and two eighteen-pounders in the stern; one schooner carried twenty-two, and all the rest from eight to

fourteen guns in their waists; and every one of them, besides being crowded with men, towed a large launch full of soldiers. The other five vessels, with several large launches, all full of men, remained at this last anchorage, at the distance of a mile and a half. Our fleet was drawn up with his majesty's ship Merlin in the centre, and directly abreast of the channel: the sloops with heavy guns, and the gun-boats, in some advance to the northward, were on her eastern and western flanks. The enemy came down in a very handsome manner, and with a good countenance, in a line abreast, using both sails and oars. About half after two o'clock capt. Moss made the signal to engage, which was obeyed with a cool and determined firmness, that, to use his own expression to me on the occasion, would have done credit to veterans. The action lasted about two hours and a half, when the Spaniards began to fall into confusion, and soon afterwards cut their cables and sailed and rowed off, assisted by a great number of launches, which took them in tow. Capt. Moss, on seeing them retreat, made the signal for our vessels to chase; but night coming on, and rendering a pursuit too dangerous in a narrow channel and difficult navigation, they were soon after recalled. At half after three in the afternoon, I received a letter from capt. Moss, stating, that the enemy was preparing to attack him, and requiring all the assistance which I could give. I immediately ordered as many men to embark and proceed to his assistance as small craft to carry them could be procured. The alacrity shown on this occasion was great indeed; but, as a requisition of this nature was by no means expected, the necessary arrangements had not been made for so speedily embarking the troops, and of consequence some irregularity ensued; for, the cannonade being distinctly heard, and a certainty of an engagement having taken place, it became impossible to restrain the eagerness of the colonial troops, who, possessing canoes, dories, and pit-pans, without thought or retrospect of those left behind, hastened with impetuosity to join their companions, and share their danger: hence arose difficulty and disappointment to the regular troops, who, being under arms, and anxious to proceed with all expedition, suffered delay from want of the necessary boats and craft to embark in. As soon as I saw seventeen craft of different descriptions, having on board 200 men, set off with orders to rally round the Merlin, I immediately joined them, in hope of assisting capt. Moss, and harassing the enemy; but, although we were on board the Merlin, a distance of three leagues and a half, in the wind's eye, we were too late to have any share in the action. But I am of opinion, that the sight of so many craft, full of men, coming up with velocity, hastened the return of the enemy, and that their appearance on the following day, as well as the junction of two armed ships, the Juba and Columbia, which I had ordered round to St. George's-key, on the 9th, induced the fleet to prepare for returning to their respective posts. The Spaniards remained under Key-chapel until the 15th; on the morning of which they made various movements, and, in the course of the day, some of them anchored under Key-caulker. On the morning of the 16th, it was discovered that they had stolen off; eight of their largest vessels got out to sea, and stood to the northward; the remainder, being twenty-three in number,

number, shaped their course for Baccalar. We have every reason to believe that the enemy suffered much in the action of the 10th, as well in killed and wounded as in the hulls and rigging of the vessels engaged; and I am happy to inform your lordship, that we had not a single man hurt, and that no injury was done to any of our vessels deserving of notice. It would be unjust, my lord, to mention the names of any officers, either of the military or militia, on account of any particular service performed by them; for, the conduct of all being such as to merit my best thanks, no particular distinction can be made. It is also unnecessary for me to say any thing respecting capt. Moss: his penetration in discovering, and activity in defeating, the views of the enemy, his coolness and steady conduct in action, point him out as an officer of very great merit. The expedition was commanded by Arthur O'Neil, a field-marshal in the armies of Spain, and captain-general of the province of Yucatan. The Campeachy fleet was commanded by capt. Bocca Nagra: 2000 soldiers were embarked and distributed, in proportion to the dimensions of the vessels, on board of the fleet, which consisted of 31, and navigated by 500 seamen.

THO. BARROW.

23. At a court of common-council, the lord mayor produced a letter from the hon. Mrs. Damer, offering her services to execute and present to the court a bust of lord Nelson, either in bronze or marble; which being read, Sir John Eamer moved "That the thanks of this court be given to the hon. Mrs. Damer, for her liberal proposal; and that the court, participating with her in the enthusiasm which every Briton must feel, and in gratitude to the noble lord for the late victory gloriously obtained by him, do with great pleasure accept the generous offer of the honourable artist, whose talents will tend to perpetuate any cause in which they may be engaged." This was seconded by Mr. Nichols, in an appropriate compliment to Mrs. Damer; and, on the question being put, it was unanimously resolved in the affirmative, and ordered to be signed by the town-clerk: and the lord mayor was requested to send the same to Mrs. Damer.

Mr. Vandercom moved that the resolution of a former meeting against the principle of the income tax should be expunged, and this motion was carried by a majority of 72 to 40.

[At a subsequent court on the 31st, it was moved by Mr. Waithman, and seconded by Mr. Goodbehere, that Mr. Vandercom's motion be rescinded, which was negatived by a majority of 86 to 42.]

Admiralty Office, Jan. 26. The gazette contains an account of the capture of Le Grand Indien French privateer, mounting eighteen carronades, and two long twelve-pounders, and carrying 126 men, by his majesty's ship Shannon, captain Fraser.

FEBRUARY

5. A proclamation for a general fast, on Feb. 27, was this day issued.

6. This night a very severe shock of an earthquake was felt in Guernsey. Several houses were rent from top to bottom, and the inhabitants were extremely alarmed, and quitted their habitations. It is imagined that the effects of this concussion of the earth occasioned the following remarkable phænomenon among

the romantic scenery of Under Cliff, on the south side of the island, as given in a letter from a gentleman resident there to the owner of the estate on which it happened.

" Dear Sir,—This day I was desired by your tenant, farmer Harvey, to go down to Pitlands, to take a view of your cottage there, in order to communicate to you what follows:—About Tuesday last, the whole of the ground, from the cliff above, was seen in motion, which motion was directed to the sea, nearly in a straight line. Harvey perceived the house to be falling, and took out the curious antique chairs. The ground above beginning with a great founder from the base of the cliff, immediately under St. Catharine's, kept gliding down, and at last rushed on with violence, and totally changed the surface of all the ground to the west of the brook that runs into the sea; so that now the whole is convulsed and scattered about as if it had been done by an earthquake. Of all the rough ground, from the cottage upwards to the cliff, there is scarcely a foot of land but what has changed its situation! The small arable fields are likewise greatly convulsed, but not to the degree that the rough ground is; as far as the fence from the Chase side, the whole may be called one grand and awful ruin. The cascade, which you used to view from the house, at first disappeared, but has now broken out and tumbled down into the withey-bed, of which it has made a lake. This last appearance is owing, I suppose, to the frost, which prevents the water from running off. The few trees by the cottage, at the base of the rock on which you had placed a seat, have changed their situation, but are not destroyed. Harvey wanted, when I was there, to go into the house to fetch out some trifling articles, but I dissuaded him; and very well that I did, for soon after the wall to the west sunk into the ground. What damage is done besides that which the house has suffered, I cannot say. The whole surface, however, has undergone a complete change, and at present there are every where chasms that a horse or a cow would sink into. This seems to be an eventful period with us, and particularly where your property is, as there is a founder from the top of the cliff, in that piece of land which Dixon rents, that has nearly covered the whole with fragments of free-stone. Amongst the dead were one of the Isle of Wight soldiers, a carpententer from the brracks, a groom of Sir Richard Worsley, and three or four women, who were killed by the fall of the cliff. The quantity of land thus convulsed and scattered about is upwards of 130 acres, abounding in large terrific rocks, and fine water-falls. This convulsion does not appear to have been a new event in this island. Mr. Warner, in his history of it, describing the road from Steephill to Chale, a distance of five or six miles, observes, that " it is thrown into such whimsical swellings, and indentations, and lies in such romantic confusion, preserving at the same time a resemblance of parts constituting an uncouth and extraordinary whole, that I cannot help thinking it may be considered as a prodigious land-slip, occasioned in distant ages by the absorption of the foundations of this vast tract in some huge cavern or gulph below, after being sapped and undermined by subterraneous waters;" an opinion which is justified by various instances of similar lapses, in other parts of the kingdom, and perhaps confirmed

confirmed by the rectilinear formality of the naked remaining cliff."

Near the same time, one of the long chain of hills, called Hambleton Hills, in the North Riding of the county of York, fell into the plain below, and spread over a considerable quantity of ground. Falling in the night, fortunately no person was injured. It was called Brockel-scar, situate near the village of Kirby Knowle, and contained on the surface of about three-quarters of an acre of ground, with much wood growing on it.

8. The gazette contains a letter from capt. Gore of his majesty's ship Triton, giving and account of his having captured, after a chase of eight hours and a half, the French brig L'Amiable Victoire, mounting sixteen brass eight-pounders, two iron six-pounders, and eighty-six men; sails very fast, is of large dimensions and quite new.

9. The mail-guards who arrived in town declare they never experienced so severe a night as that of Feb. 8. The storm of hail was so driven against their faces, as to benumb and swell them. A gentleman, who should have arrived by the Chester-mail, relates, that from Northampton, which he left on Friday night, he got on tolerably well, notwithstanding the violence of the driving snow, to Broughton-field, whence the guard, for two miles, explored a passage for the horses, which could with difficulty be made to face the storm. At length, arriving at Hockliff, he found, among other coaches, the Manchester mail; and was told, by persons who had returned with the heavy Coventry and Chester coaches, that they and their passengers were stuck fast in the snow on Chalk hill. The dawn having by this time broken, he with one of the superintendants of the post-office, and the guard, set off on horses to Dunstable, and taking a chaise with six horses from thence, they arrived with the mail of the General Post-office at half past twelve on Sunday.——The mail-coach from Shrewsbury, on Saturday morning, stuck in the snow in Tilworth-field, whence the guard carried the mail some way, and then obtained a chaise, which being unable to get forward, he proceeded with the mails on horseback to London: nor was the Worcester mail-coach more fortunate. The passages which had been cut through the former snow, upon that and other roads, having been filled with the heavy drifts of Friday night, the guard was obliged to leave the coach blocked up at Nettlebed, from whence he proceeded, occasionally walking and riding to London, where he arrived in tolerable time.—The second fall of snow so completely blocked up the Newmarket road, that three passengers coming to town by the Norwich mail would not proceed any farther than Bournbridge. One of the superintendants of the post office proceeded with the guard, on two of the horses, and by great exertion and risk arrived with the mails in London, though too late for Saturday's delivery.

12. At Plymouth was experienced the most severe hurricane ever remembered there, at N. W. and W. N. W. At 4 P. M. the Naaid frigate broke from her moorings, and got ashore on the wet mud; but the tide flowing, she was floated off without damage. The Bon Ordre privateer in Catwater broke adrift, and got ashore on the Cat-down side: the New Church partly unroofed, several stacks of chimneys blown down, the slates and roofs blown to a great distance. At six P. M. a large stack of chimneys

neys at Ladywell school, at the east end of the town, broke in upon the roof of the house, forced through into the childrens' bed room, carried away the beams, flooring and beds, accompanied by near 10 tons, down into the first floor, where near 30 children were working. By the beams resting for a few moments, the mistress and twenty-seven of the children escaped; but the cries of three children were heard under the ruins, and Mr. Rentfree, the master, with great exertions, dug them out, almost suffocated, and much bruised. By the interference of Providence, every person was miraculously saved from apparent and inevitable destruction.

Much injury was sustained on the Thames by the tremendous storm of this night. Several vessels, particularly such whose cables had been hurt by the floating ice, were driven from their moorings, and, by getting foul of each other, they received considerable injury in their rigging, as well as in several other respects. Among the small craft there was great havock, both below and above bridge, great numbers of them being dashed to pieces, sunk, or driven away. By the overflow of the river at Weybridge considerable tracts of the adjacent meadows and corn-lands were laid under water.

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jordan, the booksellers, convicted of a libel, in publishing the rev. Gilbert Wakefield's "Address to the Bishop of Llandaff," were brought up to receive judgment. The former was ordered to be confined six months in the king's bench prison, and to pay a fine of 50l.; the latter to be imprisoned one year in the house of correction in Cold-Bath Fields.

12. The gazette contains a letter from capt. Horton, of his majesty's sloop Fairy, giving an account of his having captured the Nostra Senora del Pont St. Buonaventa, mounting six carriage-guns, two carbines, and carrying fifty-five men; and re-captured the John. Also of captures by his majesty's ships under the orders of comm. Duckworth, at and near Minorca: the Spanish ship Francisco Vavier, alias Esperansa, laden with drugs and bale goods, by the Cormorant; Le Tartar, French privateer, by the Cormorant; the Spanish ship, Misericordia, laden with paper, by the Coromandel; the Spanish ship Virgin Dolorosa, laden with merchandise by the Ulysses; the Spanish ship Virgin del Rosario, laden with merchandise by the Ulysses; the Spanish ship San Antonio, laden with beans, by the Centaur; the French ship, Marie Rose, laden with wine and merchandise, by the Leviathan; the Spanish ship, Virgin Solidad, laden with rags, by the Argo; the Spanish ship San Antonio di Cadua, laden with rags, by the Dolphin's boats; the Spanish ship St. Vincent Fiza, laden with merchandise, by the Leviathan. And part of a cargo laying in store, belonging to the Genoese and Spaniards.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 16. Copy of a letter from capt. Middleton, of his majesty's ship Flora, to lord St. Vincent.

Flora, off Cerigo, May, 14.

My Lord,

Having chased a French national brig into Cerigo, and finding it impracticable to follow in the ship, from the narrow entrance of the harbour, and the commanding situation of the forts, on the evening following I sent the boats of his majesty's ship, under the command

command of lieut. Russel, with officers as per margin,* who volunteered their services in a very handsome manner, with such of the ship's company as chose to go to cut her out, which they did in a very gallant manner, under a severe fire from the forts, the brig, and several vessels in the harbour. She proves to be Le Mondovi brig corvette, of sixteen guns, twelve brass six-pounders, and four iron twelve-pounders, manned with sixty-eight men, commanded by citizen Bonnevie, lieutenant de vaisseau, a new Venetian-built brig, sails well, though not coppered, is well found, and in my opinion fit for his majesty's service. I cannot express to your lordship the high sense I have of the gallant behaviour of lieut. Russel, and of the officers and men sent on this service, which they effected with little loss, notwithstanding the enemy were prepared to receive them. I have sent lieut. Brown to command them for the time being. As I think it probable, during the cruise, we may meet a ship of equal force, it will be proper to give lieut. Russel that opportunity of promotion, in case of success, he so highly merits on this occasion, as well as many others, since under my command. I send a list of killed and wounded, and have the honour to remain, &c.

R. G. MIDDLETON.

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship that I anchored on the 11th inst. at St. Nicholas, on the island of Cerigo, and cut out a French polacre ship from under the fort; she being in ballast, I found it necessary to scuttle her, and have landed her prisoners with Le Mondovi, on getting a proper receipt for them at Cerigo.

Killed and wounded belonging to the Flora.

Killed, a private marine; wounded, 3 officers and 5 seamen. Name of the killed, John Perks. Names of the officers wounded,—lieut. Parry of the marines, slightly in the hand; Mr. Morton, master's mate, dangerously in the back; Mr. Tancock, gunner, slightly in the head.

Killed and wounded of the enemy.

1 seaman killed; 1 officer and 4 seamen jumped overboard, and supposed to be drowned; 8 seamen and soldiers dangerously wounded.

Copy of a letter from capt. Bowen, of his majesty's ship Caroline, to lord St. Vincent.

Caroline, Lisbon, Dec. 15.

My Lord,

This serves to advise your lordship, on the 4th inst. P. M. lat. 38 deg. 45 min. long. 12 deg. I observed a strange sail to windward; but the weather being hazy, and she at a great distance, I could not form a perfect idea of her being a cruiser; and having at that time the charge of two prizes, with which I was on my way to Lisbon, I, by way of a decoy, made a signal for the same to form a line, taking care to keep the Caroline's stern towards the stranger; and I had the satisfaction, in a short time, to find the stratagem succeeded; for the cruizer (as she turned out), seeing I took no notice of her, chased me, and, as I before observed, the weather being hazy, she got within the superior sailing of the Caroline before she discovered her mistake; she, however, led me a chase of four hours,

* Lieut. Russel (1st.) lieut. Hepenstall (2d), lieut. Perry, Mr. Morton, Mr. Tancock, Mr. Betley, midshipmen, Mr. Hawkins, midshipman.

in

in conclusion of which I had the satisfaction of securing her. She proves to be a French brig privateer, her name Le Serailleur, commanded by capt. Malbernac, out of Bourdeaux 56 days; she mounts ten brass 4-pounders, and two brass 6 pounders; her complement was 82 men, but when captured had only 58 on board, the rest being dispersed in two Americans she had captured. I am, &c.

T. BOWEN.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Harvey to Evan Nepean. Esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, Fort-Royal Bay, Martinique, December 10, 1798.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that since my letter to you of the 7th ult. the under-mentioned French privateers, belonging to Guadaloupe, have been captured, and sent to the different islands, by the ships and vessels of his majesty's squadron under my command, as against their several names expressed: by the Amphitrite, captain Ekins, La Guadaloupienne schooner, of 10 guns and 80 men; La Prize de Matthe, schooner, of 8 guns and 65 men; La Bordelais sloop, of 6 guns and 38 men:—by the Solcby, captain Poyntz, La Prosperite schooner, of 8 guns and 61 men:—by the Pearl, captain Ballard, L'Independence brig, of 12 guns and 66 men:—by the Santa Margarita, captain Parker, Le Quatorze Juillet, coppered brig, 14 guns and 65 men:—by the Cyane, captain Matson, La Iombie cutter, of 8 guns and 72 men. And I have further to acquaint you, that his majesty's sloop Victoreuse, captain Dickson, destroyed on the 10th ult. a French privateer schooner of 12 guns, which he found at anchor at Rio Caribbe, on the island of La Margarita. The conduct of captain Dickson in performing this service was highly spirited, as the privateer lay under the protection of two batteries, one of four and the other of two guns, which kept up a fire on the Victorieuse, who received but little damage in her masts and rigging, but had two men killed and two wounded. The crew of the privateer escaped on shore.

I have, &c.

H. HARVEY.

[This gazette likewise contains an account of the following captures: a Spanish man-of-war brig, mounting 16 six-pounders and 88 men, by the Dorothea, captain Downman, in company with the Strombola, Perseus and Bull-Dog; the Spanish ship El Bolante, of 4 guns and 19 men, laden with dry goods, and the French ship La Garonne, of 10 guns and 47 men, laden with wine and dry goods, by the Flora and Caroline;—La Boulonnois French cutter privateer, of 14 guns and 70 men, copper-bottomed, by the Anson, captain Durham;—the French cutter privateer La Glenur, mounting six 4-pounders and 32 men, by the Fly sloop, Zachary Mudge commander;—the Foudroyant French privateer ship, pierced for 24 guns, and mounting 20 twelve and six-pounders, the former brass, 8 of which were thrown over in the chase, by the Phœnix, capt. Halsted.]

At the court at St. James's, the 13th of February, 1799—Present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas the island of Minorca has been surrendered to his majesty's arms, and the territory and forts of the same are delivered up to his majesty,

jesty, and the said island is now in his majesty's possession; his majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all his loving subjects may lawfully trade to and from the said island of Minorca, subject, nevertheless, to the duties, rules, regulations, conditions, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, required by law. And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 19. This gazette contains an account of the following captures by his majesty's sloop Sylph, captain White: two fast-sailing Spanish letter-of-marque brigs, coppered; one the St. Antonio, laden with cocoa, the other the Primavera, laden with sugar, cocoa, indigo, &c.; and the sloop Three Sisters, re-captured.

21. In the court of king's bench, Mr Cuthell, the original publisher of the "Address to the Bishop of Llandaff" was tried before a special jury; and, after calling several respectable persons to his character, who all concurred in stating "that he dealt in old historical, philosophical, and other learned books, and not at all in political or other pamphlets, and that he was a man of excellent moral character," was found guilty.

Mr. Wakefield was also tried as the author of the work; which having been proved in evidence, he defended himself, and read a written speech, upwards of two hours long, full of invective against his majesty's ministers, and particularly against the attorney-general, who did not condescend to make any reply to it. The single question which the attorney-general put to the jury was, whether Mr. G. Wakefield was to be governed by one law, and all his majesty's subjects by another law?—The jury found the defendant guilty. Bail was immediately given for his appearance to receive judgment, himself in 1000l and Mr. J. T. Rutt, merchant, in Thames-street, and Mr. Samuel Lewin, in 500l, each. [See March 30.]

25. Was capitally convicted at the Old Baily, James Turnbull, for feloniously assaulting Thomas Finch, a person employed in the mint, putting him in fear, and stealing 2000 guineas, and upwards, the property of the governors and company of the bank of England. When Turnbull heard his sentence, he instantly replied, "I have now heard my sentence, and thank God for it!"

Admiralty Office, Feb. 26. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the French cutter privateer Le Midan, by the Boadicea and Atalante.

28. A Mr. Lammins, calling himself a merchant and broker, and living in the city, was put upon his trial, in the court of king's bench, on a charge of seducing artificers out of the kingdom. It appeared that he had not only entered largely into the scheme of enticing artificers in the cotton branch to go to Hamburgh, and from thence to France, but had likewise purchased large quantities of implements used in the cotton manufactory at Manchester, &c. for the purpose of exportation. The case being made out in the particular instance of the seduction of one James Tagg, the defendant was found guilty. The penalty under the statute is 500l. and one year's imprisonment.

3. The following letter gives an account of the loss of the Proserpine frigate, on board of which Mr. Grenville, plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin, took his passage.

Newark Island, Feb. 4. On the 29th of January we sailed from Yarmouth, with a fair wind, in the Proserpine frigate, captain Wallis. Nothing particular happened for the first two days; on the 31st we were close up with Heligoe Land, and got off a pilot: the same night we lay at anchor at the mouth of the river Elbe. On the following morning we weighed, and proceeded a little way up the river, when we touched ground, but after a short time had the good fortune to get off, and proceeded a little farther, when it fell a dead calm, and we came to anchor abreast of this island.

At this period so much ice was coming down the river, that it was judged prudent to put out to sea; but we had not proceeded far, before we again struck on the sand abreast of the Scarhorn beacon, about two miles from land, where the remains of the ship still lay, without any prospect of being ever got off. When she first struck, though surrounded with ice on all sides, every exertion was made to get her off at high water. All her guns, shot, and stores of every kind, were thrown overboard, but all endeavours failed; and on Saturday morning (Feb. 2.) it was resolved that all hands should leave the ship, and endeavour to reach this island. It was half past one when we quitted her, and we all set off on our march together; but the weather was so intensely cold, that about 12 men and boys, and a woman and her child, died on the way. One marine reached the light-house, but died soon after, owing to his unfortunately drinking too much liquor. Two of the marines, which are missing, are thought to have returned to the ship, where they will certainly perish. They were both men of bad character, and went back for the purpose of plunder.

We reached this island in about two hours and a half, after a very fatiguing march over the ice. As to myself, I bore it remarkably well, and was one of the first who reached the shore. Mr. Grenville bore it with undaunted courage, and never once seemed cast down with the dangers that surrounded him; indeed all belonging to his suite behaved very well; and as for the captain, officers, and men, nothing could surpass their great exertions and good conduct, from the commencement of our misfortunes to the reaching of the shore.

We have lost every thing; Mr. Grenville has not even a change of linen; but he saved his dispatches. The losses of the officers are equal to ours, as they have not a change of cloaths.

We are obliged to wait at this island till the next tide, in order to take the opportunity of walking over the sands, which are eight miles distant from Cruxhaven.

We mustered, on landing, 173 persons, including officers, passengers, and men. The people of Newark were so exceedingly kind to us, that we wanted for nothing. Mr. Grenville and the gentlemen of his suite, with the officers of the ship, are all quartered in the best houses, and mess together. Mr. Grenville is in good health and spirits, and has behaved with great kindness to all around him. I must not omit to inform you, that the loss of his majesty's ship was not owing to the neglect of the pilots, as every buoy had been carried away

away by the ice, and all the landmarks were covered with snow.

Cruxhaven, Feb. 7. I have only time to say, we arrived here safe last night, though not without some difficulties. Mr. Shaw is going off to Berlin with all possible expedition, there to remain till Mr. Grenville arrives.

3. The court of common council came to a resolution to request parliament, that a clause might be inserted in the income bill, obliging the assessors, and all others concerned in carrying the act into execution, to take an oath of secresy.

MARCH

5. The court of directors of the East-India company has consented to the wishes of government, and given up the point of recruiting for its own service. This puts a period to a very long controversy. Chatham barracks is to be the depôt for East-India recruits, who are in future to be engaged for a period of ten years, leaving it to their option to enlist, after the expiration thereof, for a farther term of five years. The company are to defray the expense of their passage home, after their discharge in India.

Admiralty Office, March 5.

Copy of a letter from rear-admiral Harvey to Evan Nepean, esq., dated Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, Jan. 22, 1799.

SIR,

I inclose, for their lordships' information, copies of two letters, one of which I received from capt. Fahie, of his majesty's ship Perdrix, and the other from capt. Dickson, of La Victorieuse. The spirited conduct of the captains, officers, and men, on both occasions, will manifest to their lordships their zeal and exertion for the king's service.

HENRY HARVEY.

La Perdrix, Tortola, Dec. 13.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 17th inst. I spoke, to leeward of St. Thomas's, an American, who informed me that he had been boarded the preceding evening by a French ship of war, 7 leagues to the eastward of Virgin Gordo. I used every exertion to get to windward of that island, but, from the strong gales which prevailed, accompanied by frequent and heavy squalls, I did not effect it until the 10th. On the 11th, at day-light, a sail was discovered from the mast-head in the south-east, which, by our glasses, was soon distinguished to be a ship, and evidently a cruiser. Not a moment was lost in pursuing her; and, after a chase of 16 hours, I brought her to close action, which lasted 42 minutes, when she ceased firing, and lay an unmanageable wreck on the water. She proved to be L'Armée d'Italie, a French private ship of war, mounting fourteen 9, and four 12 pounder long guns, with 117 men, commanded by citizen Colachy, 11 days from Guadaloupe, and had captured the Bittern brig and Concorde schooner, of Martinique, part of the crews of which vessels were on board. It is impossible for me, Sir, sufficiently to express the high sense I have of the steady and spirited conduct of lieutenants Edward Ottley and James Smith, and of Mr. Moses Crawford, the master; Mr. Samuel Piguenet, the purser, is also entitled to my warmest thanks, having volunteered the danger of the deck. In short, Sir, I cannot more forcibly acknowledge the merit of the officers and crew of his majesty's ship at large, than by saying their conduct was such as, even at the present day, to render them worthy of the name of British seamen; and I have the plea-

pleasure to add, that but one man was wounded. The enemy's loss, as far as I can obtain information, is 6 killed and 5 wounded. Our sails and rigging are much cut, but in other respects we have not sustained material injury.

W. C. Fahie.

Victorieuse, Testigos, Dec. 6.

SIR,

On the 29th of last month I received intelligence of three privateers to leeward. I proposed to colonel Picton, as the only sure method of keeping the trade open, to attack Rio Caribe and Gurupano, destroy their forts, and bring off their guns, as the privateers would then have no shelter, if chased by us. He perfectly agreed with me, and ordered major Laurel, with 40 of the Royal Rangers, to embark and proceed with me. On the 2d I pushed down, in company with the Zephyr; and, having reached Cape Three Points, we destroyed the schooner Proserpine, a Dutch privateer, of 2 guns and 13 men, from Caraçoa, on a cruise. On the 3d, having reached within 18 miles of Rio Caribe, at two in the morning I landed the troops, with a party of seamen, to attack the forts in the rear, while the brigs attacked in front. At day-light the commandant sent to beg we would not fire, as he would give us possession without resisting. We immediately re-embarked the troops, took off the guns, and made sail for Gurupano, where we arrived at four in the evening. Observing a French privateer in the harbour, I sent a flag of truce to the commandant, to say I was determined to take her out, and on his peril to fire on me. He answered, he would protect her, and that I should give him up the guns I had taken at Rio Caribe. I found there was no time to be lost, and ordered major Laurel, with the troops, lieutenants Case and M'Rensey, with 30 seamen from the Victorieuse and Zephyr, to land, and carry the forts by storm, while the brigs attacked in front. At five we anchored and opened a smart fire on both forts; in ten minutes the troops and seamen carried the lower fort, and I observed the Spanish flag struck at the upper one, but instantly replaced by French colours. In five minutes the upper fort was carried. I have taken the guns and ammunition off, destroyed the forts, and sent the privateer to Trinidad; she had 6 guns and 80 men. I cannot conclude my letter without informing you, I never saw more real courage displayed than by major Laurel, lieutenants Case and M'Rensey, of the Victorieuse, and soldiers and seamen under their command, by attacking two forts with 70 men, defended by at least 300. Great zeal was also shown by the officers and seamen of the Victorieuse and Zephyr; and I am much indebted to capt. Champain, to whom I beg leave to refer you for farther information.

E. S. Dickson.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of Le Jason French privateer brig, of 14 guns and 52 men, by his majesty's sloop Jealous, captain Temple.]

5. The Leyden papers are full of the most afflicting details of the sufferings occasioned by the ice, and the overflow of the Rhine, the Danube, the Mein, the Neckar, the Rhone, and of all the principal rivers of Germany and France. The ravages have been so considerable as to have become the subject of a message from the directory to the two councils. Such a cold winter has not been experienced for many years. The Danube in several places is frozen

to

to the bottom; fish, therefore, are very scarce and dear. On the road to Sophis, a caravan, with all their cattle, were frozen to death by the severity of the weather: their goods were found untouched. The pacha of the district caused their effects to be conveyed to the next town, in order that they may be restored to the real owners.

Admiralty Office, March 12.

Extract of a letter from captain Sir Charles Hamilton to admiral lord Bridport; and another from captain T. Hamilton, commanding the sea-fencibles at Margate, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated the 9th instant.

Melpomene, March 3, *off Brest.*

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 28th ult. about 9 leagues from the Saints, I captured a ship privateer named Le Zélé, mounting 16 guns and 69 men. As soon as I had shifted the prisoners, I went in pursuit of her prize, (the Betsey, a valuable English brig, from Santa Cruz, bound to Liverpool), and was within a mile of her when she ran on shore among the rocks of the Penmarks. C. HAMILTON.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, about 10 o'clock, a small cutter was observed boarding two brigs, 8 or 9 miles from the North Foreland. The wind being to the eastward, with a flood tide, prevented the Camperdown cutter, lying in Westgate Bay, from chasing. I sent an orderly dragoon to the admiral at Deal, not knowing the force of the privateer. The moment the capture was perceived, 40 or 50 of the sea-fencibles pushed off in 3 boats, and near three o'clock re-captured the two brigs, the privateer having made off.

☞ This gazette contains a proclamation, forbidding the passing of persons from Ireland to Great Britain, except they have passports.

By the sinking of the pavement nearly opposite the front gate of the Royal Exchange, a very large deep well, of great antiquity, has been discovered. The water is of excellent quality, and the ward of Cornhill purpose erecting a pump near the spot. Upon examining Stow's History of London, it appears to have been covered over more than 600 years; for he notices, as standing there, a conduit and a watch-house, together with a place of confinement for disorderly persons, at the top of which was placed the pillory for their punishment; all which, he says, were removed in the year 1380. What is remarkable, the top of the well was not secured either by arch or brick work, but only covered with planks.

Downing-street, March 21. The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified, by the right hon. lord Grenville, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that the necessary measures having been taken, by his majesty's commands, for the blockade of the ports of the United Provinces, the said ports are declared to be in a state of blockade; and that all vessels, which may attempt to enter any of them after this notice, will be dealt with according to the principles of the law of nations, and to the stipulations of such treaties subsisting between his majesty and foreign powers, as may contain provisions applicable to the cases of towns, places, or ports, in a state of blockade.

Admiralty Office, March 23.

A copy of a letter from admiral Sir Richard King, bart. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated the 25th of March, 1799.

Telegraph, Torbay, March 19.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, I arrived here at seven o'clock this evening, with L'Hirondelle brig corvette, mounting sixteen guns, long nine and six-pounders, and eighty-nine men when she sailed from St. Maloes three days since, but having captured an American schooner, and an English ship, reduced her complement to seventy-two. I discovered L'Hirondelle on Monday morning at day-light, two miles on the lee-bow, the Isle de Bas south-east nine leagues. She immediately tacked and stood towards me: at half past seven, being close alongside, an action commenced, which continued for three hours and a half; and after several attempts to board on both sides, she being totally unrigged, she struck, and proved to be the vessel above described. Five of the crew were killed and fourteen wounded. The Telegraph had five wounded. I am proud to say the company of the Telegraph behaved as English sailors always do on such occasions; and to acknowledge the very able assistance I received from Mr. G. Gibbs, the master. I shall return to Plymouth the moment the wind will allow me.

J. A. WORTH.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the French ship privateer, Le Mercure, of sixteen guns and 103 men, by his majesty's ship Melampus;—also, a smuggling cutter, laden with tobacco and spirits; and L'Hereux Hazard, French ship privateer, mounting sixteen 6 and 9-pounders (but pierced for twenty guns), and having on board ninety-four men, by the Naiad.]

Admiralty Office, March 30.

Extract of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. dated at Gibraltar the 26th of February.

I inclose letters from capt. Bowen of his majesty's ship Argo, and capt. Saunders, of his majesty's ship L'Espoir, giving an account of the capture of the Santa Teresa Spanish frigate, and African xebeque; also a letter from capt. Markham, of his majesty's ship Centaur, relating the events of his cruise on the coast of Catalonia.

Argo, off Port Mahon, Feb. 8.

SIR,

I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that, in carrying your orders into execution, in company with the Leviathan, on the 6th inst. at 4 P. M. drawing round the east end of Majorca, under storm-stay-sails, with a violent gale westerly, I discovered two large Spanish frigates at anchor, near a fortified tower on the south point of the Bahia de Alcude, who, immediately on seeing us, cut their cables, and made sail to the N. N. E. We instantly gave chace with all the canvas the ships could bear; unfortunately the Leviathan's main top-sail gave way, which caused her to drop astern. The enemy seeing this, took the advantage of it, and, after the close of the day, spoke to each other, and separated; one hauling her wind to the northward, and the other set top-gallant-sails, and kept away before it; which latter I followed. The darkness of the night precluded the Leviathan from seeing their manœuvre, as also my signal to her to alter her course to port; however, the Leviathan kept sight of the Argo, and was near up with us at midnight, when I got alongside of the enemy, who still persevered in his endeavours to get off, (although his small sails were either shot or carried away in the chace), and did not surrender

surrender until she had received our whole broadside, which wounded two men, and did much mischief to her rigging. She proved to be the Santa Teresa, commanded by Don Pablo Perez, mounting in all forty-two guns, besides swivels and cohorns, and manned with 280 seamen and marines, besides 250 soldiers; in all, 530 persons on board. My first-lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Lyne, has much merit in keeping sight and observing the different shifts of the enemy, by which great advantage was gained by the Argo during the chace; much commendation is due to his professional skill and great exertions after taking possession of the prize, in saving her tottering mast from tumbling over-board, which he could not have done had not capt. Buchanan sent him speedy assistance of officers and men from the Leviathan, to whom I feel myself much indebted. Great praise is due to all my officers and seamen for their vigilance and exertions in shortening and making sail in squalls during the chace; and, had the enemy given them an opportunity of showing farther proofs of their zeal and loyalty, I am convinced they would have behaved as British seamen always do upon these occasions. I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES BOWEN.

P. S. The Santa Teresa is just out of dock, re-built, new-coppered, and is in every respect almost as good as a new ship. She was completely stored and victualled for four months, and is esteemed one of the fastest-sailing frigates out of Spain, of large dimensions, upwards of 950 tons, and fit for immediate service. Her consort, the Proserpine, that made her escape, is of the same force, but not so large.

L'Espoir at Sea, Feb. 22.

SIR,

At a quarter past noon, town of Marbello bearing N. N. W. three leagues, a brig and two xebecs in the S. E. quarter, appearing suspicious, I hoisted my colours to them, when the brig and one of the xebecs hoisted Spanish, upon which a Moorish brig in tow was cast off, and L'Espoir hauled to the wind in chace. It was soon perceived that they were armed vessels; but, not being so fortunate as to weather them, we exchanged broadsides with both in passing. L'Espoir being attacked, soon brought the xebec to close action, which continued for an hour and a half, when a favourable opportunity of boarding her was embraced, and after a sharp contest of about 20 minutes she surrendered, and proved to be the Africa, commanded by Josepho Subjado, in the service of the king of Spain, mounting fourteen long 4-pounders, and four brass 4-pound swivels, having on board seventy-five seamen and thirty-eight soldiers, from Algesiras, bound to Malaga. Lieut. Richardson (in whom I have much confidence) and all the officers and seamen of his majesty's sloop I have the honour to command, behaved with the same courage they have done on former occasions. During the action, the brig (which, I have since learned, mounted eighteen guns) stood on shore, and anchored. I inclose a list of the killed and wounded; and am, with respect, &c.

JAMES SAUNDERS.

List of the killed and wounded.

L'Espoir; two seamen killed; two ditto wounded.

Africa; one officer, eight seamen, killed;

killed; one captain, two officers, and twenty five seamen, wounded.

Centaur, at Sea, Feb. 16.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that, in obedience to your orders, I proceeded to Sallo Bay, in his majesty's ship under my command, after the Spanish frigates; and, having been joined by the Cormorant alone, of the squadron under capt. Bowen, I at length, after beating against heavy gales of wind from the 28th of January to the 9th of February, reached Sallo Bay, in which I found twenty-one Swedish and Danish merchantmen; but no men of war had been in sight of Sallo since the 2d of February. Having looked into Fangel Bay, and Tarragona also, where lord M. Kerr, in the Cormorant, took a tartan, and drove another on shore, I proceeded towards Majorca, and at day-light the Cormorant took a settee laden with oil, and I chased two large xebecs and a settee, all privateers in the royal Spanish service; one of which, La Vierga de Rosario, I captured at two o'clock, mounting fourteen brass twelve-pounders, and ninety men. The other two escaped by the wind shifting at dark, when within shot. The same night the Aurora joined, and proceeded for Tarragona, in consequence of intelligence I received of two Spanish frigates being bound there with Swiss troops from Palma. On the 15th I fell in with the Argo and Leviathan, and the next morning stood in for Sallo Bay. Finding the frigates were not in the neighbourhood, I attacked the town of Cambrella, and, the Spaniards having quitted their guns on a tower, sent the boats in under lieut. Grosset of the Centaur, who, after dismounting the guns, burnt and captured as per margin *: La Velon Maria was taken in the offing, from Aguilas bound to Barcelona. The Proserpine frigate, consort to the Santa Teresa, taken by the Argo, after having escaped to Palamos, has since, I am informed by capt. Bowen, hauled close into the bar at Barcelona. JOHN MARKHAM.

Corfu, March 3. This day the French garrison surrendered by capitulation to the united forces of the Russians and Turks. The Leander and the Brune frigate were taken in the port.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Indefatigable French ship privateer, of eighteen guns and 120 men, by the Ethalion; and another privateer, of eighteen guns, by the Anson;—also, the following list of ships and vessels captured and destroyed by the squadron under the command of Sir Hyde Parker: by the Queen, the Spanish armed schooner, L'Aimable Marseilles, of four guns and forty men, taken; by the Queen and Lark, a French schooner privateer, name unknown, of four guns and thirty men, cut out of Port Nieu; by the Acasta, the French brig privateer Active, of eight guns and thirty-six men; the Spanish armed schooner Cincinnatus, of two guns and thirty-three men, taken; a French schooner privateer, name unknown, of six

* Five settees, burnt; tartan, name unknown, laden with wine, taken; one settee, name unknown, laden with hoops and staves, taken; one settee, name unknown, laden with wine, taken; one settee, name unknown, lading unknown, taken; Le Velon Maria tartan, armed as a letter of marque, with one brass and two iron 12-pounders, and two 8 pounders, fourteen men, laden with wheat, taken.

guns

guns and sixty men, burnt, by the Acasta; by the Trent and Acasta, the Spanish armed ship Penada, of fourteen guns, and forty men, taken; by the Renommée, the French sloop privateer Le Triomphant, of six guns and fifty-six men, taken; by the Renommée and Squirrel, the Spanish armed brig Neptune, of four guns and twenty-three men, taken; by the Magicienne, the Spanish armed sloop, Julie, of four guns and twelve men, taken; by the Surprise, the French schooner privateer Laurette, of six guns and forty six men, taken; by the Swallow, French schooner privateer Bonaparte, of six guns and fifty men, taken; by the Pelican, the French schooner privateer La Belle en Coisse, of four guns and fifty-seven men, taken; by the Amaranthe and Surprise, the French schooner privateer Petite Françoise, of four guns and thirty-five men, taken.]

APRIL.

Downing-street, April 2.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Mr. consul Foresti, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Port of Corfu, March 3, on board the Russian ship of war the St. Paul.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on the 1st inst. an attack was made by the united Turkish and Russian forces on the island situated in this port, called La Scoglio di Vido, and by the French, L'Isle de la Paix. After a very brisk fire of about two hours and a half from the ships of war, the troops were landed, and the said island was captured. An attack was made at the same time on the out-works of the town, and fort St. Salvado was taken by the Russian and Turkish troops, and the French themselves evacuated another out-work, named Il Monte di Ibram. On the morning of the 2d a flag of truce was sent off by the French commander of the garrison of the town of Corfu, to the Russian vice-admiral, for the purpose of informing him of the wish of the garrison to capitulate; a Russian officer was therefore sent to the town with the propositions of the Russian and Turkish commanders, and they were accepted of with little variation. The capitulation of the garrison, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, was signed this afternoon on board of the Russian vice-admiral's ship.

SHEREDION FORESTI.

Articles of Capitulation.

The French to give up to the Turkish and Russian commissaries the town and forts of Corfu, together with the artillery, provisions, stores, ammunition, and all other public effects. The garrison shall march, with all military honours, out of all the forts and posts they occupy; afterwards be conveyed to Toulon, giving their word of honour not to bear arms for eighteen months against the grand-signor, the emperor of Russia, the king of England, or the king of the Two Sicilies. All public property, whether belonging to the town or the garrison, (the ship Leander, and all other vessels belonging to the French republic, included,) to be given up to the commissaries of the Turkish and Russian powers.

Admiralty Office, April 2.

Copy of a letter from capt. Keates to the right hon. lord Bridport, K.B.

Boadicea, at Sea, March 24.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on the 7th inst. I re-took an American, from Charles-Town, bound to Hamburg; on the 8th fell in with and liberated a neutral ship from Charles-Town bound to Embden, and took the privateer La Requin, a brig pierced for eighteen, mounting fourteen guns, with seventy men, which, when I first discovered her, was in the act of taking possession of the neutral. It is with extreme concern I add, that the day following, in a violent gale of wind, the Requin overset, although at the time she had no canvas spread; by which misfortune Mr. W. Clay, master's mate of the Boadicea, a young man of much merit, nine valuable seamen, and one prisoner, lost their lives.

R. G. KEATS.

6. The following is the list of governors and directors of the bank of England, for the year ensuing:—

GOVERNORS:

Samuel Thornton, Esq. governor;
Job Matthew, Esq. deputy governor.

DIRECTORS:

Thomas Amyand, Esq.
Thomas Boddington, Esq.
Roger Boehm, Esq.
Samuel Bosanquet, Esq.
Bicknell Coney, Esq.
Edward Darell, Esq.
Nath. Bogle French, Esq.
Daniel Giles, Esq.
Thomas Langley, Esq.
Thomas Lewis, Esq.
Beeston Long, Esq.
William Manning, Esq.
Ebenezer Maitland, Esq.
William Mellish, Esq.
Sir Richard Neave, Bart.
Joseph Nutt, Esq.
John Pearse, Esq.
Charles Pole, Esq.
Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Edward Simeon, Esq.
Peter Isaac Thellusson, Esq.
Godfrey Thornton, Esq.
Brook Watson, Esq. and Ald.
Benjamin Winthorp, Esq.

Admiralty Office, April 6. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Spanish packet Golondrina, from the Havannah, bound to Corunna, pierced for twenty guns, but had only four on board, coppered, 200 tons burthen, a remarkable fast sailer, having a cargo of sugar, cocoa, and indigo, after a chase of fifteen hours, by the Mermaid, capt. Newman, in company with the Sylph;—also Le Debut, French brig letter of marque of eight guns, pierced for sixteen, laden with different sorts of merchandise, by the sloop Sylph, capt. White.

6. In consequence of a heavy fall of snow on Thursday, many of the mail-coaches did not reach town this morning till several hours after the accustomed time; and the Manchester coach had not arrived at a late hour on Saturday evening. So deep was the snow in the neighbourhood of Congleton, that the Liverpool coach was entirely buried in it, and the mail forwarded on horse-back. Near Stone like impediments presented themselves, and the communication between Holyhead and Chester has been wholly suspended. Add to these, so thick was the fog and sleet last night, for twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, that the coachmen and guards were obliged to alight and lead their horses.

8. The passengers who arrived at the general post-office by the Edinburgh mail this morning say, the snow

snow began falling about seven on Friday morning at Newcastle, and continued till six at night. No carriage could proceed farther than Northallerton; they attempted with a chaise and six, but in vain, and then with the guard took saddle-horses at Easingwold, and chaise to York. They say they never saw snow fall so fast, and that it was six feet deep. The mail had not arrived at Newcastle from the north when they set out, though many hours beyond its time. The snow was so deep between Nottingham and Leeds, that no coach could travel on Friday night: the mail was sent by horse. The Liverpool stage-coaches and mails were dug out of the snow at Talk-on-the-Hill. The Whitby and Scarborough coaches were set fast on the Woulds. The snow was about six feet deep about a mile from Garstang. The Manchester and Liverpool stages and mail-coaches on their way to Carlisle were set, and left till the next day, the passengers walking to the inn. Between Leek and Macclesfield, on the Cheshire hills, the Manchester stages, that ought to have arrived on Friday night and Saturday morning, were stuck fast and did not reach London until Sunday.

Admiralty Office, April, 9. The gazette contains an account of the French brig privateer Resolu, of fourteen 6 and 8-pounder guns, and sixty-five men, by the Spitfire, capt. Seymour;—also, the French national lugger, La Sans Quartier, pierced for sixteen guns, but had thrown all her guns overboard in the chace, having on board fifty-six men, by the Diana, capt. Proby.

Hamburgh, April, 5. According to the most recent accounts from the Austrian army, it appears, that, after the action of the 21st ult. general Jourdan retreated in the night, between the 21st and 22d, to Stockach and Engen. He then occupied the line from Schaffhausen through Egen to Dutlingen; in the neighbourhood of which last place he assembled the principal part of his army. The archduke advanced towards him on the 25th, when general Jourdan attacked the Austrians. His left wing was at first successful; but, his centre and right having been defeated, he was obliged to retreat with his whole army in great disorder; his right wing towards Switzerland, and he himself, with the remainder of his army, towards Friburg and Offenburg, by the Black Forest. Whilst this was passing in Suabia, general Massena, in person, attacked, on the 23d, the position of Feldkirk, where general Jellachich commanded in the absence of general Hotzé. The French were repulsed with very great loss, and driven over the Rhine. General Hotzé is since returned to Feldkirk from Buckhorn, with the corps of 12,000 men, which he had marched to that place, the French having retreated from thence in consequence of the archduke's victory of the 21st. The loss on both sides in these different actions, which appear to have been hard fought, has been very considerable; but much greater on the part of the French than on that of the Austrians, who have, however, lost several officers of distinction. On the 21st the French are stated to have lost 4000 men, on the 23d 3000, and on the 25th their loss is stated to have been much more considerable than on either of the preceding days. On the 26th the archduke marched in pursuit of the enemy.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the French

brig privateer L'Utile, of sixteen 8-pounders, ten of which are brass, and 120 men, by the Boadicea, capt. Keats.]

Admiralty Office, April 16. This gazette contains an account of the capture of La Prudente French ship privateer, copper-bottomed, of eighteen guns and 100 men, (she had captured two schooners), by the Concorde, capt. Barton;—also, Le Marsouin, French lugger privateer, of fourteen guns and fifty-eight men, by the Astrea, capt. Dacres.

Venice, March 29. Early on the morning of the 26th inst. the French made an attack on the Austrian advanced posts at Santa Lucia and Bussolengo, before the expiration of the truce, but were repulsed with considerable loss at both places. 1000 French prisoners, and sixty officers, with two pieces of cannon, have been sent to Verona. The Austrians had many officers and men killed and wounded. General Kray repulsed the enemy at Legnago, killed 3000, made 2000 prisoners, took fourteen pieces of cannon, and pursued the remainder towards Mantua. The Piedmontese insurgents are become so formidable against their new lords, as to threaten the capital. Continual reinforcements of Austrian cavalry and infantry pass every day, by forced marches; and his imperial majesty never had, during the war, such a numerous and fine army as we see at present in Italy.

[This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Argus French privateer, carrying eighteen brass 9-pounders, pierced for twenty-two, and 130 men; and the re-capture of the Minerva, a valuable Liverpool West-India ship, that had been captured by the Argus, and an American schooner; and the capture of the Mutius Scævola French privateer, and a Spanish coaster, by La Pomone, capt. Reynolds.]

Admiralty Office, April 23. Extract of a letter from Sir Henry Burrard Neale, bart. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Plymouth, the 17th April.

SIR,

I beg you will acquaint their lordships, that I arrived with the St. Fiorenzo in Plymouth Sound this morning, with a French brig prize, from St. Domingo bound to L'Orient, with sugar and coffee. I also captured a French brig in ballast, on the same day, not yet arrived. I inclose, for their lordships information, a copy of my letter to lord Bridport, of the 16th inst.

H. NEALE.

St. Fiorenzo, at Sea, April 16.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on the 9th inst. after reconnoitering two French frigates at anchor in the port of L'Orient, I stood towards Belle Isle. On our approach I saw some ships at anchor in the Great Road; but, as the weather was hazy, and the ships under the land, I could not sufficiently ascertain their strength until we had run the full length of the island, when I fully distinguished them to be three French frigates, and a large sailing gun-vessel, with their topsail yards ready hoisted to come out to us. At this instant a heavy and sudden squall of wind from the N. W. carried away the Amelia's main top-mast, and her fore and mizen top-gallant masts; the fall of the former tearing a great part of the main-sail from the yard. The enemy, who were apparently waiting our near approach, got under weigh immediately, and made sail towards us in a line a-head. Circumstanced as we now were, I felt we had but one duty to perform;

and

and that we could do nothing more than testify our readiness to meet them. I therefore made the signal to prepare for battle; and, when they had advanced a little to leeward of us, I shortened sail so as for the Amelia to keep under command, with her fore and mizen-top-sails only; and made the signal to bear up, preserving the weather-gage, and keeping close order. The enemy tacked to meet us; and we instantly commenced an action, receiving the fire from one of the batteries on the island at the same time. The enemy were so little disposed to close quarters, we were under the necessity of bearing down upon them three times, until they were close upon the islands of Hoëtt and Hedic. After engaging them one hour and fifty-five minutes, they wore ship, and stood from us. I am extremely sorry we had it not in our power to do any thing more with the enemy (who had a port close on each side of them) than to compel them to relinquish an action, which, from their superiority, and the crippled state of the Amelia previous to the action, had inspired them with the hope of success. Soon after the action ceased, they bore up for the Loire, two of them apparently much shattered; and the gun-vessel returned to Belle Isle.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I acquaint your lordship, that the active and spirited conduct of capt. Herbert is deserving of the highest applause; and I feel that no encomiums of mine can do justice to his merit. The officers and ships' companies of both ships conducted themselves with the greatest order and most determined courage: they are entitled to every commendation I can bestow. I take the liberty of naming in particular lieutenants Farnal and Holmes, the first lieutenants of each ship, as very deserving officers. The damage sustained by his majesty's ships is principally confined to the masts, sails, and rigging. By a vessel captured since the action, I learn the frigates we engaged were La Cornelie, La Vengeance, and La Semillante. They have been lately stationed at Belle Isle to guard the coast. Inclosed is a list of killed and wounded in each ship. I have, &c.

H. NEALE.

"List of killed and wounded.

Fiorenzo; one seaman killed; eighteen seamen wounded, two of them dangerously.

Amelia; Mr. Bayley, midshipman, and one seaman, killed; seventeen seamen wounded, one of them dangerously.

Vienna, April 10. The enemy has been entirely expelled from the Tyrol, and dislodged from the posts of Funster-Munster and St. Maria in the Engadina. He has also been driven from the Adige, beyond the Mincio.

Hamburg, April 16. On the 30th ult. the French attacked the Austrians on the Upper Adige, between Verona and Roveredo. At first they obtained some success; but they were in the same day repulsed with very considerable loss. Accounts have been received from the Tyrol, that the French force which had penetrated into that country had been obliged to evacuate it completely; and that gen. Jourdan's army, as well as a great part of Bernadotte's, had repassed the Rhine, having left a garrison in Manheim, and in the works of Kehl, but had abandoned the blockade of Philipsburg. The Austrians had advanced to Friburg and Offenburg, and had summoned Kehl to surrender. Advices from Rastadt, of the

8th

8th April, mention that gen. Staray had gained a very considerable advantage over the French general St. Cyr, as the latter was retreating from Freudenstadt to Offenburg, on his way to Kehl; and that the French had lost a considerable park of artillery.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the French lugger privateer Le Coursour, mounting four 4-pounders, and six swivels, and forty-six men, by the Phœnix lugger private ship of war, commanded by Mr. Daniel Hamon.]

23. This being St. George's day, the Society of Antiquaries met at their apartments in Somerset-place, in pursuance of their statutes and charter of incorporation, to elect a president, council, and officers of the society, for the year ensuing: whereupon George, earl of Leicester. Rev. John Brand, A. M. Sir H. C. Englefield, bart. Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Samuel Lysons, esq. John, lord bishop of Salisbury, John Topham, esq. Charles Towuley, esq. Hon. Brownlow, lord bishop of Winchester, Joseph Windham, esq. and Rev. T. W. Wrighte, A.M. eleven of the old council, were re-chosen of the new council: and Charles George lord Arden, Alexander Aubert, esq. Sir Geo. Beaumont, bart. John marquis of Bute, Richard lord bishop of Gloucester, Richard Payne Knight, esq. John Henniker Major, esq. Alleyne lord St. Helens, Hon. Frederick Stuart, and Henry Penrudock Wyndham, esq. ten of the other members of the society were chosen of the new council; and they were severally declared to be the council of the society for the year ensuing. And on a return made of the officers, it appeared, that George, earl of Leicester, was elected president; John Topham, esq. treasurer; Samuel Lysons, esq. director; the revd. John Brand, A. M. secretary; and the rev. T. W. Wrighte, A. M. secretary for the year ensuing. On the event of this election we congratulate the friends of the noble president, on having, by a very handsome majority, defeated the machinations of his enemies.

25. Answer of lord Nelson to the vote of thanks of the British house of commons:

Vanguard, Palermo, Jan 31, 1799.

SIR,

Believe me, I feel as I ought the noble reward which our country has bestowed on me by its thanks; and I beg you will, sir, have the goodness to express to the honourable house my gratitude. I can answer for that of my brave brethren who fought with me in the battle of the Nile. To you, sir, who have not only so handsomely but so elegantly conveyed to me the resolutions of the house, words are inadequate to express what I feel; but, believe me, sir, I am, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your most obliged, and faithful servant,

NELSON.

To the right hon. Henry Addington, speaker of the house of commons.

Admiralty Office, April 27. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the French privateer brig Le Papillon, carrying ten brass nine-pounders, and four thirty-six-pounder carronades, and 123 men, by the Melampus, capt. Moore.

It also contains the official details of the military operations which have taken place both in Suabia and in Italy, since the beginning of the campaign; which we shall duly notice.

This

[This gazette likewise contains two orders in council, the one for laying an embargo on all vessels belonging to the territories of the grand duke of Tuscany, which are, or shall be, in any of the ports of these kingdoms. The other, to continue for six months, from the 29th inst. the prohibition of the export of rock and other salt.]

27. This gazette contains a minute detail, from the Vienna gazette of the 10th, of the desperate engagement between the archduke and general Jourdan, at Stockach, on the 25th ult. The narrative relates a continuance, during several hours, of the alternate successes and active valour of each army, and the ultimate success of the Austrians, as proceeding not more from unceasing exertion than from the ability with which not only the archduke, but all the officers under him, profited by every means that occurred during the long continuance of the fight. His royal highness speaks in the most animated terms of the gallantry and talents of the princes de Furstenberg, of Anhalt-Bernberg, who died on the field of battle; as well as of the prince of Anhalt Cothen, who, perceiving that his cavalry could not act, solicited to be allowed to fight on foot, and led a division to the attack; of the prince of Furstenberg, who, seeing a favourable opportunity, attacked without waiting for orders; and, in fact, of all the officers and troops, a vast number of the former of whom he particularly names. This gazette likewise details, from the same high authority, the particulars of the battle of Legnago and Verona on the 26th ult. Gen. Kray, who commanded in chief the Austrian army, bestows the highest encomiums on generals Frolich and Letterman, marquis Chatesler, colonels Rudt, Abaskern, Somerieu, Skal, and Zach; lieutenant-colonels Mescantin and Korber, the first of whom was killed; and the other wounded; lieutenant-colonel Wierder. The French admit they lost in this action 2000 men, amongst whom were generals Vignolles killed, and Delmas wounded. The Austrians took eight pieces of cannon, three howitzers, thirty-two ammunition waggons, and 1100 prisoners. The battle of Verona began by the French early on the morning of the 26th, whose object was to take that city by surprise, for the purpose of compensating the army, "which, as they had already subsisted fifteen days without pay, they should be indemnified with two hours pillage of the city." The French carried, were twice beaten from, and again took, and during the day kept, the posts of St. Lucia; they likewise seven times took, and were beaten from, St. Massino. The battle lasted with unprecedented obstinacy for eighteen hours. Gen. Keim, who relates prodigies of valour of his officers and men, was carried wounded off the field. The Austrian loss consisted of eleven officers and ninety men killed; forty-two officers and 2675 men wounded. The French at St. Lucia took 1000 men, but during the action lost from 8 to 10,000.

Second Battle of Verona.

30. Immediately after the battle of Legnago, general Kray lost no time in marching, with the greater part of the army, to Verona. On the 29th, gen. Victor sent an officer to the commander in chief, to propose to him a truce for twenty-four hours, in order to carry off the slain, which still remained in the field of battle, and occasioned a dangerous infection. To this proposal gen. Kray consented, but fixed its duration

duration to the following day at twelve o'clock; but at ten o'clock the enemy began to attack our advanced posts upon the left banks of the Adige, posted opposite to their front at Pola. The advanced posts were insensibly repulsed; and, at the same time, the enemy filed off across the mountains near St. Ambrosio, in order to turn Verona. The retreat of the advanced posts, as well as of the battalions of Schriever, of Sordy, and of Tellacheeb, was already effected as far as Parona, when the regiment of Nadasti, the battalions of Weber, Fequelmont, Mercantin et Korher, together with the regiments of cavalry of Lobkowitz Karaczay, and the 7th regiment of hussars, who had been kept in readiness, put themselves in motion, attacked and overcame the enemy in a moment. The attack was made in three columns; of which one was conducted along the Adige; the other upon the chaussée of the Tyrol; the third along the mountains. The attacks were performed with such promptness, that the enemy could not maintain themselves on any side; and we thus reached their bridge, where they had planted, on the opposite bank, a battery of twelve cannon, which obliged us for a moment to suspend our fire; but, after a short pause, the assault of the bridge was ordered. The grenadiers of Korher, Fequelmont, and Weber, immediately carried and destroyed it. The enemy, who had marched over the mountains to turn Verona, found themselves cut off, and were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. A great number are wandering in the mountains, who will be brought in by degrees. It is remarkable that the enemy, in this expedition, had but one piece of cannon. They must have entertained the hope of surprising and taking Verona by storm. Our loss does not exceed forty six in killed, and 166 in wounded. The enemy have lost 1000 men, and 1112 prisoners. The enemy made this attack with the whole division of Serrurier, and with the half of that of Victor, amounting in the whole to 15,000 men. According to a still more recent account from general Kray, the enemy had, on the first of April, made a retrograde movement, which induced him to direct the advanced guard, commanded by count Hohenzollern, and consisting of two regiments of cavalry, and five battalions of infantry, to proceed forward as far as Castel Nuovo. This advanced guard was supported by a division of general Zopff, which had passed the Adige, and encamped under Verona. On the 2d of April detachments were sent to Peschiera and Villa Franca; and major general Fulda, of the 5th regiment of hussars, with two squadrons, made twenty-nine officers and 800 privates prisoners at Villa Franca, and took two pieces of cannon, nine ammunition waggons, and 300 small arms. Several shells from two howitzers were thrown into Peschiera, to alarm the enemy; and on the same day (2d April) the general crossed the Adige with his whole army, and took possession of a camp in front of Verona, supported on the left by Tomba, and on the right by St. Lucia. The enemy still occupies the ground between the Adige and the Tartaro, towards Legnano; but has so entirely evacuated the whole space near the Lago de Garda, that the communication with the Tyrol, by the Valley of the Adige, is open; and the count de St. Julen has already advanced from the Tyrol as far as Rivoli, and has sent patroles as far

as

as Peschiera. At present the enemy appear inclined to cross the Adige, having with them forty pontoons. This passage may be expected to be attempted near Ronco and Roverchiano; but the commander in chief is prepared against every design which the enemy may endeavour to effect, in consequence of our movements forward, and will attack them in front, or with still greater advantage in the rear. General Klenau has patrolled along the river Po as far as Ostiglia, and has alarmed the whole country. The enemy, who occupied that space with few troops only, has retreated in every direction; and the general, as well as his patroles, were received with acclamations of joy on both sides of the Po. General Klenau had sunk, in the Lago Oscuso, a small armed vessel, and another has been dragged on shore; since which the enemy have sunk all their vessels armed with cannon, and have sent the crews to Ferrara. The French general has proposed to general Kray to exchange the officers who had been made prisoners on the 26th and 30th. He was answered, that he must first send his majesty's officers; and then an equal number of French officers, of those whom we had made prisoners, would be returned.

Field-marshal Bellegarde writes from Schluderns, April 5, that, after an obstinate resistance from the French near Tauffers, Munster, &c. he had driven them past Cyernez, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and 300 prisoners, besides a considerable number of killed and wounded; the Austrians having likewise, materially suffered. From the report of field-marshal-lieut. Kray, of the 4th instant, it appears that the advanced guard of general count Hohenzollern had taken more than 500 prisoners; and general count Klenau states, that, being desirous of attacking, with one company, two gun boats, which were in the Po d'Ariano, and having passed the river for that purpose, the inhabitants of the island of Ariano had shown great satisfaction, had taken up arms, seized upon the boats, and made 60 Frenchmen prisoners. On the 2d, the enemy, attempting to reconnoitre from Ostiglia to Merlava, were stopped by the armed peasantry, and forced to retire.

Vienna, April 12. The field-marshal lieutenant Kray has sent the following account. The enemy, after the check sustained on the 30th ult. near Verona, had descended the Adige, and taken post between that river and the Tartaro, from whence they threatened to repass the Adige. But field-marshal lieutenant Kray, understanding that they had been unable to rally all their forces, took the resolution of attacking them immediately. The enemy's head-quarters were at Isola della Scala, one camp near Magnan, opposite to our army under Verona, and a second near Lecca, on the rivulet Menago, opposite to Legnano. Field-marshal lieutenant Kray's plan was, first to attack the enemy's camp near Magnan, and to penetrate, if possible, as far as Isola della Scala. He accordingly drew near the enemy on the 5th inst. and at ten in the morning attacked them with three columns, supported by a fourth. The action soon became general; the enemy made a most obstinate resistance. The ground was a long time disputed; but the firmness and bravery of the Imperial Troops obtained the victory. The enemy were routed on all sides, and driven from their camp at Magnan. Night coming on

on put an end to the combat. During the night, the Imperial troops formed a line by Leccedre castle d'Azano, Hotta Fredda, and Valese, to watch the motions of the enemy after this second defeat. At the departure of the courier we had taken 11 pieces of cannon, 30 ammunition-waggons, 7 standards, and above 2000 prisoners. Our loss in killed and wounded is estimated by field-marshal lieutenant Kray at 2000 men; that of the enemy must be far more considerable, as his majesty's troops performed prodigies of valour.

13. According to two accounts of the 5th and 7th inst. from his royal highness the archduke Charles, it appears that the enemy, who were posted at Freudenstadt, Homberg, and Neustadt, moved, and attacked a part of his royal highness's army with great force at Alpiersbach, Friburg, and Turwangen, and at the same time ordered their advanced posts to march towards Sultz on the Necker, where there was a small Austrian corps. His royal highness immediately sent general Nauendorff forward with a reinforcement of several battalions, and ordered him to attack the enemy on every point, and to endeavour to drive them back to the mountains. General Gorger at the same time marched towards Alpiersbach, whilst generals Meersfield and Guilay moved to Friburg and St. George, where they attacked the enemy, dispersed them, took many prisoners, and one ammunition-waggon. At the same time general Clinging moved towards Neustadt, which post the enemy left on his approach. General Kienmeyer, who had been to the neighbourhood of Schaffhausen and Stain, repulsed a strong detachment of the enemy, and pursued them as far as Schaffhausen, where his (general Kienmeyer's) advanced posts now are. The enemy having some apprehensions for Stain and Dissenhosen, burnt the bridges at both places. On the 5th it was reported at all the advanced posts, that the enemy had retreated from every quarter, as far as Freudenstadt, where the rear of the French general St. Cyr's division was still posted. Lieutenant-colonel Steinhoser, of the Blankenstein regiment of hussars, pursued the enemy with great spirit near Homberg, fell in with them, killed some, and took several prisoners. On the 7th the enemy retreated also from Freudenstadt, and abandoned several posts on the Kniebiss, from whence they marched by Oberkirch towards Kehl, to which place several other columns, who were directing their march to Laar, through Offenburg, had retreated. The column from Friburg took the road to Old Breysach, where they passed the Rhine, and broke down the bridge behind them. His royal highness ordered his light troops to pursue the enemy in every direction, and took possession of all the prinzipal positions which the enemy had abandoned, the army being now posted in the neighbourhood of Villengen, Donaueschingen, and Engen.

Admiralty Office, April 29.

Copy of a letter from capt. Moore, of his majesty's ship Melampus.

SIR, *At Sea, April 19.*

I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday morning, in lat. 50 degrees 23 min. north, long. 15 deg. 20 min. west, we chased a ship, which, at our firing at her, hoisted French colours. The wind blowing exceedingly hard at N. W. with a very high sea, she got before the wind when within half gun shot of her, and, setting all possible sail, obstinately

stinately persisted in attempting to escape. After carrying away our studding-sail-booms, we continued firing our chase guns, when she suddenly gave a broad yaw to windward, instantly overset, and in the space of two minutes she went down, and not an atom of the wreck could be seen. The greatest exertion and the utmost expedition were used in bringing the Melampus to the wind as near the spot as possible, with the view of saving these unfortunate people; but nothing remained on the surface. I find, by the information of the captain and officers of Le Papillon, which sailed from Nantes about the same time with this ship, and who knew her both from her appearance and the signal she made to us, that she was Le Nantois, of 14, 12, and 6-pounders, and 150 men; and I am very sorry to add, that, from other circumstances, there is no room for doubt, that the master and part of the crew of the Echo, of Poole, which she had taken, were amongst the sufferers on this melancholy occasion. I am, &c. G. Moore.

Vienna, April 15. From the latest reports received from field-marshal lieutenant Kray, it appears, that, after the battle of the 6th, near Magnan, the enemy had abandoned, on the 6th instant, Isola della Scala and Villa Franca; had posted their rear-guard at Roverbella; had retired upon the 7th beyond the Mincio, near Gorto; and, having left a strong garrison in that place, the rest of the rear-guard had directed their march towards La Volto, probably in the design either of reinforcing the garrison of Peschiera, or of throwing provisions into it. This induced field-marshal lieutenant Kray to push forward his advanced guard as far as Villa Franca, to cause three battalions and some chasseurs to advance as far as Vallegio upon the Mincio, to defend the bridge at that place, and four divisions to support them. We found at Isola della Scala 200 wounded, the greater part of whom were French, but some of them our own people. Amongst the former was general Pigeon, who died on the 7th of his wounds. On the departure of the courier, we had already made 2500 prisoners, of whom 130 were officers. We also took 16 pieces of cannon, and 40 ammunition-waggons. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 8000 men. The disorder was so great amongst them, that the generals were plundered by their own soldiers.

Vienna, April 16. Field-marshal lieutenant Kray, exclusive of the circumstantial details which he gives of the movements in the last battle near Magnan, and of the consequences which resulted from them, adds, that major-general Klenau had penetrated as far as Governello with his light troops; that he had taken from the enemy 18,000 muskets, 60 oxen, a great quantity of brandy; and made 150 men and two officers prisoners. At the same time colonel Dreskovich, supported by the inhabitants of the Po di Goro, near Ariano, seized three gun-boats, with 13 cannon, 17,932 sacks of salt, 24 merchant vessels, with their cargoes, and 20 others unladen.

Vienna, April 18. His royal highness the archduke Charles has sent an account here, dated the 14th inst. of general count Nauendorf having taken possession of Schaffhausen on the 13th in the evening, after having made several attacks upon the town with part of his advanced-guard. The said general punctually obeyed the orders of his royal highness in sparing the town as much

much as possible, and wished also to enter into an engagement with the enemy not to destroy the beautiful bridge, which is considered a master-piece of workmanship; the enemy, however, rejected this proposition, and placed themselves in a posture of defence, but were driven back with precipitation. They then set fire to the bridge, which soon became a prey to the flames, and also two houses that were situated close to it. In all other respects the town remained uninjured. His royal highness will soon transmit the particulars of this affair. By a farther account received from general Kray, dated the 8th inst. it appears that general count Klenau had taken possession of the post of Governolo, the only one which the enemy was still able to maintain on the Lower Mincio; and in that, as well as in the fortress near Ponte Moline, 100 men and several officers were made prisoners; by which circumstance we are entire masters of the Tartaro and Tarro.

Vienna, April 19. Particulars of the battle of Osterach, which took place on the 21st of March between the Imperial troops, under the orders of archduke Charles, and the French forces commanded by general Jourdan.—Information having been repeatedly received that the enemy continued to make farther progress on Suabia, and that they had driven back our advanced posts and detached corps, his royal highness determined to march against them. On the 20th of March his royal highness was informed that the enemy had attacked the whole line of our out-posts along the Osterach; that they had succeeded in driving them in on one side; but that, notwithstanding the inferiority of numbers, our troops had not only stopped their progress but had even repulsed them as far as Polstera. On the side of Attchausen the enemy could penetrate no farther than Hofzirchen, from whence they were shortly after dislodged. The enemy had concentrated the greatest part of their forces behind Osterach, and placed their advanced guard on the right bank of the river of that name. His royal highness took the necessary measures for attacking them on the following day. During the night he divided his troops into three columns; the first was to march from Sulgau to Pfokenstadt; the second, under the command of the archduke, pushed forward upon Kussen; and the third, from Attchausen to Ratzenreite: each column had its advanced guard. Early on the 21st all our advanced guards attacked the enemy, and were soon followed by the columns, who charged the enemy on all sides. By the good disposition and bravery of our troops, the enemy, in spite of their obstinate resistance, were defeated and driven back every where. They retreated, during the night, with great precipitation to Stockach, where our advanced guard pursued them. The French general Ferino, who, with his division and that of general Aubi, had driven back one of our brigades, finding himself, by the defeat of general Jourdan's army, obliged to make a retreat, owed his safety only to the extreme expedition with which he effected it. We, however, made a great number of prisoners, and took three pieces of cannon. The loss of the enemy amounts to 5000 men. We have lost 2160 killed and wounded.

Supplement to the Battle of Tauffers and St. Marie, on the 4th of April.

We found at St. Marie a very considerable magazine of ammunition, containing more than 90 casks

casks filled with cartridges and powder.

Account of the Events of the 8th of April.

Field-marshal lieutenant Bellegarde ordered general count Alraini to harass the enemy by different movements, in order to facilitate the operations of the army of Italy. He beat and drove back the enemy wherever he met with them. Having halted with his corps before Rocca D'Anso, he pushed forward his advanced guard, and took possession of Bagalino. Our loss in these different actions is very inconsiderable, compared to that of the enemy. We took from them one cannon, one standard, and made many prisoners. Accounts are this moment received that we are in possession of Rocca D'Anso, and that the enemy are retreating upon Vestone and Brescia.

SUPPLEMENT.

General Melas, who is arrived at the army of Italy, has sent intelligence of the enemy having retreated, by Azola, behind Chiesa; that our advanced guards extend beyond the Mincio, that they are before Goito, and upon the heights before La Volta and Monzambano. Peschiera is already surrounded at a certain distance, on the side of Suave and Mazinirola,—our patroles having advanced as far as the citadel without meeting with any of the enemy's pickets. General Klainau has also invested Mantua, on the side of Molinella. That general has made himself master of the enemy's posts at Lago Sacro, and of four pieces of cannon. Gen. Melas informs us that the people are every where very favourably disposed, particularly in the neighbourhood of Mantua, that our troops are received in all places with shouts of joy; that the populace in general give evident marks of their attachment to the old constitution, as well as of their hatred to the French and a democratical government.

MAY.

Admiralty Office, May 4. Ships and vessels taken and destroyed by the squadron under the command of rear-admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, K. B between March 13 and Nov 23. 1798

By the Jupiter, Reasonable, Imperieuse, Braave, Rattlesnake, and Star; the Danish ship Matilde Marie, from Copenhagen, bound to the Mauritius, laden with naval stores and sundries, naval stores condemned; the Danish sloop Fanny, from Rodrigo, bound to the Mauritius, laden with paddy and Indian corn, vessel sunk, cargo condemned; the French brig Le Drago, from Madagascar, bound to the Mauritius, laden with slaves, vessel sunk, cargo condemned; the Danish sloop Forseget, from Serampore, bound to the Mauritius, laden with piece goods, under trial; the French sloop Francis Augustus, in ballast, condemned; the French brig L'Abondance, from Madagascar, bound to the Mauritius, in ballast, condemned.—By the Jupiter, Raisonable, Imperieuse, Braave, Rattlesnake, Star, Tremendous, Sceptre, Stately, and Garland, the Danish Ship Christianus septimus, from Batavia, bound to Copenhagen, laden with coffee and sugar, under trial.—By L'Oiseau, the Danish ship Angélique, from Madras and Tranquebar, bound to Manilla, laden with piece goods, cargo belonging to American residents of Madras, under trial; the Danish ship Goede Hensight, from Copenhagen, bound to the Mauritius, laden with naval stores and sundries, under trial; a French brig

cut out by the boats from the river Noire, Isle of France, condemned; a French brig cut out by the boats from the river Noire, Isle of France, and afterwards sent in with prisoners; a French sloop, sunk; the French brig Henrietta, from Bourbon, bound to the Mauritius, laden with rice, condemned; the French brig Re-union, corvette, 6 guns, and 27 men, condemned.—By the Stately, Braave, Garland, and Star; the French ship Nécessaire, from the Mauritius, in ballast, run on shore on the rocks of St. Luce, Madagascar, and lost; a French sloop, from the Mauritius, in ballast, run on shore; the French ship Bonne Intention, from the Mauritius, taken at Foul Point, and sent to assist the Garland, since arrived at the Cape; the French sloop Ca Ira, from the Mauritius, in ballast, taken at Foul Point, and afterwards destroyed; the French brig L'Elisabeth, from the Mauritius, in ballast, taken at Tamative, Madagascar, and sent to assist the Garland, since arrived at the Cape; the French ship L'Espérance, from the Mauritius, in ballast, taken at Foul Point, and sent to assist the Garland, since arrived at the Cape; the French brig L'Ursilie, from Madagascar, bound to the Isle of France, laden with rice, condemned. — By L'Oiseau and Rattlesnake, the Spanish schooner Santa Rosa, from Buenos Ayres, bound to the Mauritius, laden with 12,300 dollars, beef, pork, and flour, arrived at the Cape.

Vienna, April 24. A letter from marshal Suwarroff, dated Veliggio, April 18, states, that the French had repassed the Adda, after throwing 15,000 men into Mantua, and 5000 into Peschiera; and that the marshal was preparing to follow them, after leaving general Kray with a corps of about 20,000 men to invest those two places. Marshal Suwarroff's patroles had been pushed as far as Cremona; and general Klenau's to the neighbourhood of Bologna, without meeting any considerable body of the enemy. By accounts received in the evening of the same day, it appears that the enemy were employed in throwing up entrenchments at Lodi and Cassano. Marshal Suwarroff, with a body of between 45 and 50,000 men, was to have marched on the 9th to Monta Chiaro, on the Chiefa, in order to occupy Brescia, and then to advance on the Oglio and Adda.

Vienna, April 24. His royal highness the archduke Charles has reported the following particulars relative to the taking of Schaffhausen. As the enemy still retained possession of the town of Schaffhausen and the suburb of Constance, called Petershausen, both situated on the Right bank of the Rhine, with an apparent view to assemble there, and particularly in Schaffhausen, a number of troops, and to make an advantageous attack from both points upon the corps of lieutenant-general count Nauendorff, which was posted in the neighbourhood, his royal highness directed that the enemy should be driven from those two points, and that their stations should be occupied by our troops. In consequence of this arrangement, lieutenant-gen. count Nauendorff was charged to order lieutenant-general count Baillet to advance against Schaffhausen with a considerable body of light infantry and cavalry, supported by four battalions of the line and some reserve artillery. He obeyed these orders, and summoned the enemy to abandon the town in the course of half an hour, and to retire to the left bank of the river. The officer who

who commanded in Schaffhausen sought to gain time by negotiation, with a view to draw unto himself a reinforcement; but lieut.-gen. Count Baillet, aware of the enemy's object, ordered his artillery, which he had posted to great advantage, to fire upon the bridge and the gate of the town; without farther delay attacked the enemy in the town; and, notwithstanding a very obstinate resistance, drove them across the Rhine, the bridge over which they burnt in their retreat. The enemy lost upon this occasion several hundred men killed and wounded, and 100 taken prisoners; seventeen pieces of cannon, and arms of various descriptions, were taken. Our loss does not exceed twenty men. Lieut.-gen. count Baillet particularises the spirited conduct of a private of the regiment of Lacy, who voluntarily swam across the Rhine, and, under the protection of our fire, loosened two vessels which were on the left bank, and got back with them as far as the middle of the river, where, however, the current drove him against the burning bridge, which set fire to the two vessels. This circumstance obliged the man to dive, and to swim back to the right bank. His example encouraged another; both plunged into the Rhine, and brought over some vessels; the consequence of which was, that seventeen or eighteen more men of the regiment of Lacy, followed the others, and got possession of many more vessels. His royal highness, as a reward for so meritorious a zeal, and as an encouragement to others, gave the first man the golden medal, and the second the silver medal. On the 14th, at day-break, maj.-gen. Penazeck made an attack upon Petershausen with great spirit and decision, drove the enemy from it, and sunk the ships which were on the opposite bank. The detachment which was sent through Pforzheim and Brucksal, towards Philipsburg, on the same day that it had re-established the communication with that fortress, had pushed on patroles towards Manheim. At the same time lieut.-gen. the Rhinegraf of Salm, commandant of Philipsburg, reported that a patrole of the inconsiderable detachment of the dragoons of Bamberg, which formed a part of the garrison, had pushed forward through Waghausel, and had taken four French chasseurs with their horses. The Rhinegraf took this opportunity of commending the conduct of the above detachment, as well as the remainder of the garrison during its blockade.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of Le Vengeur French cutter privateer, mounting 12 guns, and 98 men, by the Martin sloop, capt. St. Clair.]

9. At the sittings before lord Kenyon, a case was determined, Middleton qui tam, *versus* Blake, which deserves the most serious attention of the clergy; an action brought against the rev. Mr. Blake, who is vicar of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, to recover eleven penalties for non-residence. It appeared that this gentleman had been vicar of that parish for nineteen years, but had resided on his estate at South Molton, Devon, and never came up to London to visit his parish but to receive their Easter offerings. On the part of the rev. defendant, witnesses were produced to show that he was in an extremely poor state of health; that he was very much afflicted with the gout; and, very generally after he had resided in Lon-

don about a month, he was seized with illness, and sometimes was obliged to remain in town three months before he was able to return to the country. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 1201.

A subterraneous passage has been discovered in Mr. Washbourne's garden, near the church at Edmonton, by the falling in of the ground at the foot of an elm which grew upon it. It appears to be capacious, and extends eighteen feet on the west; how far eastward has not yet been ascertained. It is in form of a Gothic arch, three feet wide and four and a half high. The marks of a miner's tool are quite fresh above twenty feet. At the end of thirty-six feet they dug down, and found pieces of board which had covered a chasm that fell in some years ago; but at present it cannot be traced farther. Conjecture is, it was dug by Mr. Muffit, vicar of Edmonton, from which living he was ejected in 1642, being a powerful loyalist, either to secret himself from the Cromwellians, or to escape into the woods, which, as tradition says, all the great common fields then were, from Tuckey-street to Long-hedge, Tottenham. There is also a tradition in the late Mrs. Adams's family, that an ancestor of her's was concealed about that time in a great wood, and privately fed for six months; and that that great wood was Windmill field, between Green-street and Enfield.

Admiralty Office, May 18.

Copy of a letter from lieut. Searle, transmitted to Evan Nepean, esq. by Vice-Adm. Dickson.

Courier, off the Texel, May 14.

SIR,

Having received orders from capt. Cobb, of his majesty's ship Glatton, to proceed from Yarmouth Roads, and put myself under the command of capt. Sotheron, of the Latona, I left Yarmouth the 11th inst. and on the morning of the 12th I observed a brig in the act of capturing a merchant sloop, about 6 or 9 leagues off Winterton. I immediately made all sail, and at half-past one brought her to close action, proving to be a French privateer of sixteen guns, of 6 and 9-pounders. We continued in close action an hour and forty minutes; when after every exertion being used, her superiority of sailing, together with having the advantage of the wind, she accomplished her escape, though, I flatter myself, in that shattered state as to render her incapable of continuing her cruize. We continued in chace of her till midnight: when it came on thick and foggy weather we lost sight of her. At day-light in the morning we perceived a vessel in the north-east; supposing it to be the brig we had previously engaged, again made sail; at eight came up with and captured the Ribotteur French schooner, of six 3-pounders, two of which were thrown overboard in the chace, and twenty-six men, which we found to be in concert with the brig above mentioned. I have to observe, that, at the time of my engaging the brig, a lugger privateer was then laying at some distance to leeward, but showed no inclination to assist the vessel we were then engaging. I have the pleasure and satisfaction to inform you, that no men could have acted with greater spirit of gallantry than all on board the Courier; and have particularly to mention lieut. Campbell, of the Latona, and lieutenant Glanvill, of the Ranger, for their great assistance during the whole of the engagement; as well as messrs. Trescott and Campbell, mates of the Latona; and Mr. Willis, mate of the

the Ranger. I am sorry to add, we had five men wounded, but have every reason to believe the enemy suffered considerably more.

T. SEARLE.

Vienna, April 26. His royal highness the archduke writes from Stockach, the 20th inst. that as the enemy after having been driven from Schaffhausen and Petershausen, still occupied an advantageous position in the small town of Eglisau, on the right bank of the Rhine, he had directed prince Schwartzenberg to dislodge them from that post; that, in pursuance of these directions, he approached the place, and summoned the enemy to surrender; that, upon an answer in the negative being returned, he had attacked them with such impetuosity that they were soon compelled to abandon their station and retreat. Our loss in this affair consists of only fourteen men killed and wounded. His royal highness also states, that, from the report of field-marshal lieut. Kospoth, it appears, that a detachment had been sent from Friburg to Vieux Brisac, in order to demolish the entrenchments that the enemy had raised there, but immediately had abandoned. The following day a detachment of the enemy, consisting of 300 cavalry and 700 infantry, made their appearance on the right bank of the Rhine. In the mean time, in another quarter, we fell in with the enemy's piquet of 10 horsemen, who were made prisoners.

Gen. Melas sends the following account of the proceedings of the army in Italy, dated the 15th inst.

On the 14th the whole army passed the Mincio, and encamped near Campagnola and Monte Olivetano, pushing the advanced posts as far as Marcaria on the Oglio, and Monte Chiari on the Chiese. The enemy retreated on the right beyond Oglio, and on the left beyond the Chiese. General Vukassovich instantly occupied Salo, by which he established his communication with the army. On the 18th the army encamped between Capriano and Caffelo. Mantua is left to its own means of defence; it is blockaded at a certain distance, and our patroles advance to its very gates. We took from the enemy at Casel Maggiote a convoy of thirty-six pontoons, dispersed the escort, and made five officers, and 180 men, prisoners. One of our detachments even entered Cremona, where they learnt that there were only 400 Frenchmen at Pizzighetoni, that the enemy's army had retreated beyond the Adda, and their head-quarters were at Lodi. A detachment from our Venetian flotilla had cast anchor at the mouth of the Premuna, where it had made several prizes, and released several of our boats. In the Lago Sacro we took 128 prisoners, (of whom six were officers), with fifteen brass cannon in a vessel, and 200 pieces of iron ordnance, without carriages, on the shore. The armed peasants, supported by one single detachment of gen. Klenau, attacked a detachment of Cisalpines near Mirandola, who had two pieces of cannon, and made 234 prisoners. Gen. Suwarroff has already taken the command of the combined Italian army. When these accounts came away, the first column of Russian troops were at Villa Franca; the remainder were following by forced marches. In addition to the above, maj.-gen. Hohenzollern mentions the capture of two large merchantmen, several chests filled with uniforms, great quantities of ammunition, one cannon, and several gun carriages,

riages, with some prisoners, at Cremona. At Castel-Nuovo, a park of fourteen pieces of artillery, four mortars, a prodigious quantity of ammunition, twenty horses, and several prisoners, fell into our hands. Maj.-gen. Vukassowich, on taking possession of Salo, seized a large vessel fully equipped, having on board three chests full of musquets and other military stores. Two lieutenants, with fifty men attacked a post near Brescia, at two o'clock in the morning, consisting of three officers, and 100 men, of whom twenty-five were killed, twenty made prisoners, and the remainder, many of them wounded, fled.

Downing-street, May 22.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received from the right hon. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. by the right hon. lord Grenville, dated Vienna, May 7.

An officer arrived here yesterday from Milan, with an account of marshal Suwarroff having forced the passage of the Adda, on the 27th past, completely beaten the enemy, and established his head-quarters on the 30th at Milan. By this victory all the Milanese, except the castle of Milan, is wrested from the French, and it must also soon fall, as the garrison does not exceed 1200 men, of which only 400 are French. The disorder of the enemy in their flight was extreme; and it is supposed that they went towards the Po. Another body of the enemy, it is said, are throwing up works at Reggio and Parma, in order to cover Mantua. I inclose the extraordinary gazette published late last night on this occasion, and most sincerely congratulate your lordship on these brilliant and important events. It is with great satisfaction I add, that, by accounts just received from gen. Bellegrade, it appears that that general has driven the enemy from nearly the whole of the Lower Engadine. On the 3d inst. he himself was at Suz, and gen. Haddick was at Zernetz; Schuls was also occupied by the Austrians.

Translation of the Vienna Extraordinary Gazette of May 6, 1799.

Count Bokarme, who arrived here this morning as courier from the field-marshal count Suwarroff Rimniskoy, has brought the following details of the movements of the united imperial armies. On the 26th of April, the Russian troops attacked the enemy before Lecco, and prince Pangrazian, commander of the chasseurs, supported by two grenadier battalions, drove the enemy back to the bridge, in spite of their advantageous position. The same day gen. Seckendorf marched out of the camp near Trevillo with two battalions and two squadrons as far as Crema, where the enemy had shown themselves 1500 strong, and sent his patroles towards Lodi. Gen. count Hohenzollern, who had already advanced to Cremona, sent out some strong parties to Pizzighetone, and as far as Parma over the Po. The enemy entrenched himself on the Adda upon every side, determined to defend himself to the very last. Field-marshal Suwarroff resolved on the 27th to force the passage of this river. With this intention gen. Vukassowich crossed the river in the night near Brivio, by the means of a flying bridge, which had been nearly destroyed by the enemy, but was afterwards quickly repaired; and took, with four battalions, two squadrons, and four pieces of cannon, a good position on the right bank, near Brivio, sending

sending his patroles towards Ogiliate and Gurlate, where they met with the enemy. An Austrian column arrived at nine o'clock in the evening behind the village Gervasto, opposite to Trezzo, consisting of the division of field-marshall lieut. Ott as advanced guard; and that of field-marshal lieutenant Zoph to support it. The captain of the pontoniers, who had been previously sent forward, reported that it was impossible to throw a bridge, owing to the declivity of the mountains, and the sharp turnings of the river. On receiving this report the quarter-master general, marq. Chasteller, went to the place himself, and finding the execution of the design difficult, though not quite impossible, resolved, with the assistance of the fourth Bannat battalion, and that of the chasseurs (whose colonel volunteered the service), to have the pontoons carried down by men, and to attempt to re-establish the bridge. Between twelve at night and five in the morning all the pontoons and beams were fortunately brought down, and at half-past five the bridge was completed. Thirty chasseurs of the corps of Aspre, and fifty volunteers of Nadasty, were carried over in a boat to the opposite side, and remained at the foot of the rugged mountain, on which the castle of Trezzo is built, without making the least noise. The bridges being finished, maj. Retzer, with six companies of the above-mentioned chasseurs, and one regiment of Russian Cossacks, passed the Adda; one battalion of Nadasty, two of Esterhazy, and the fourth Bannat battalion, then passed the river under the command of colonel Bideskuti, and fell upon the enemy in and behind Trezzo. The French, who considered the building of this bridge impossible, had not the least notice thereof. The above brigade was followed by the seventh hussars and two Cossack regiments. The enemy was driven back as far as Pozzo, where field-marshal lieut. Ott, whose whole division crossed the river, fell upon that of the enemy commanded by gen. Grenier, which was on the point of advancing against gen. Vukassowich at Brivio. The battle was very obstinate; the enemy took post between Pozzo and Brivio, where it was most vigorously attacked. On this occasion the brave col. Bideskuti was wounded in the head. The enemy, who in the mean time had drawn re-inforcements from Victor's division, was on the point of turning our right wing, and the Bannat battalion had already begun to give way; when gen. Chasteller led up the two grenadier battalions, Pers and Stentoch, which formed the head of field-marshal lieut. Zoph's division, just then coming up against the enemy. The battalion Pers, having attacked in front, suffered considerably; but the Stentoch battalion, with two squadrons of hussars of archduke Joseph's regiment, under the command of capt. Kirchner, led on by lieut. Bokarme of the engineers (to the sound of military music), fell on the enemy's left flank, which was totally routed; and the hussars, having broken through the French, made 500 prisoners, and cut 200 to pieces. The village Pozzo was carried sword in hand. The enemy in the mean time had received re-inforcements, and marched his troops up in order in the road that leads from Baprio to Milan, but was again attacked, and major Retzer, with the Nadasty battalion, took Baprio, and made 200 pri-

soners. The enemy was pursued; and near Gergonzollo th French general Beker and 30 wounded officers, were taken prisoners. At the same time, gen Melas marched against Cassano, and battered the entrenchments across the Rito to canal, with 12-pounders and howitzers; and as the French fell back, caused a flying bridge to be thrown over the canal de Ritorto. First lieut. of the pioneers, count Kinski, completed it in spite of the heavy fire of the enemy Gen. Melas immediately ordered the Reisky's regiment against the entrenchments which covered the bridge, which, with three cannons, was carried with so much rapidity, that the bridge, which had been set on fire by the French, was saved by our troops. Gen. Melas crossed, with his whole column, the Adda; and the same evening marched to Gergonzollo, and the next day early (28th) to Milan. The two divisions Frohlich and Ott advanced to Milan on the 28th; the right, under gen. Rozemberg, passed the Adda at Brivio on the 27th; but gen. Vukassowich, who had already passed the river, and formed the advanced guard, met with a division of French under gen. Serrurier at Bertero, which, after a most obstinate engagement, was beaten, and forced to capitulate. The whole corps laid down its arms; the officers were permitted to return to France on their parole, and the privates remained prisoners of war. After this affair general Vukassowich marched to Como, and the Russians to the right of Milan. In Milan considerable magazines of clothing, arms, and provisions, were found, of which an inventory is now making. A general, with 500 men, were also taken prisoners here. The loss of the enemy, as far as could be ascertained when the messenger left the army, amounted to four generals, and upwards of 5000 men, taken prisoners, and 6000 killed. Eighty pieces of cannon were taken, of which forty-six are heavy besieging artillery. Several standards were also taken. Field marshal Suwarroff has left field marshal Kray, with a sufficient force, in the environs of Mantua and Peschiera. Mantua is blockaded, and Peschiera besieged.

Downing-street, May 25.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from the right hon. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. and from lieut.-col. Robt. Crauford, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Vienna, May 8. I have the honour of inclosing to your lordship the gazette of this place of this evening, containing the capitulation of gen. Serrurier.

Terms of Capitulation proposed by Gen. Serrurier to Gen. Vukassowich.

All the French and Piedmontese troops stationed at Verderio give themselves up as prisoners of war, on the following conditions. Ans. agreed.—Art I. All generals, staff-officers, and field officers, shall keep their swords, horses, and baggage. The French and Piedmontese soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, to retain their baggage also. Ans. agreed.—Art. II. On both sides, in the usual order, an exchange shall first take place at the army. Ans. agreed.—Art. III. Until a general exchange of prisoners takes place, an immediate exchange of those on the spot, in possession of each army, shall be made. Ans. disallowed.—Art. IV. The remaining French, subject to this capitulation, shall continue prisoners of war. The generals, staff,

staff, and field-officers, both French and Piedmontese, shall be allowed to return to France and Piedmont on their parole, not to serve against his majesty the emperor and king, or his allies, until regularly exchanged. Ans. agreed.—Art. V. The same indulgence, as contained in the foregoing article, shall be granted to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of cavalry, who remain prisoners of war. Ans. disallowed.

(Signed) SERRURIER.

Observation. Gen. Vukassowich promises, that the soldiers, prisoners of war, shall not be sent back farther than the Ex-Venetian States, until such time as gen. Serrurier shall have arranged with his government the means of exchanging the same numbers, rank for rank, and man for man.

Vienna, May 12. A messenger arrived this morning with letters from marshal Suwarroff, of the 4th inst. from an obscure village near Cremona, and with the colours taken at Peschiera*. The marshal states, that the enemy is flying on all sides, without daring to make head against him; that the Austrians are in possession of Novara on one side, and of Pavia, whither the head-quarters were to be transferred that evening, and the castle of Placentia on the other; that Vercelli is abandoned; that on the 7th he proposed to batter Pizighetone; that a detachment had been at Modena, which they found evacuated by the enemy; that 400 Croats, and a numerous body of peasantry, closely blockaded Ferrara; that preparations were making for forming and pushing with vigour the siege of Mantua; that great quantities of cannon, ammunition, and other stores, had been taken at different places, particularly at Peschiera, where the booty far exceeded all expectation; that the inhabitants of different countries showed the utmost gratitude for their deliverance; that the Piedmontese officers who have been taken are under the auspices of the marshal, drawing up a proclamation, inviting their brother officers and soldiers to rise and join them, for the purpose of assisting in the re-establishment of their sovereign on the throne.

Extract of a dispatch from lieut. col. Craufurd to lord Grenville, dated Lindau, the 10th inst.

Part of Gen. Bellegarde's army has advanced from the Upper Engadine, in the direction towards Coire, and has passed the Albula. The French, who were in the Upper Engadine, have retired towards the Splugen. It is reported that there has been a considerable insurrection of the inhabitants of the Upper Vallais and Uri; but the particulars are not known.

Admiralty Office, May 25.

Copy of a letter from capt. Otway, of his majesty's ship Trent; and of another from capt. Vesey, of his majesty's ship Amaranthe.

Trent, Porto Rico, March 30.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that having discovered a Spanish ship, and three schooners, in a small bay, about seven leagues to the northward of Cape Roxo, I sent the boats under the command of lieuts. Belchier and Balderston, and covered them with the Sparrow cutter, the vessels being in shoal water, close in shore, and under the protection of a five-gun battery. Lieutenant M'Gee, with his

* A dispatch of a preceding date, supposed to contain the details of the taking of Peschiera, is not yet arrived.

party of marines, were landed; and some seamen under the orders of lieut. Belcher, who immediately stormed the battery, bayoneted five, and wounded several, and effectually destroyed the guns, &c. The ship and one schooner were, in the mean time, boarded and brought out by the boats; the other two schooners were scuttled by the enemy. Great praise is due to lieut. White for his spirited conduct in the Sparrow; as likewise to the officers and men of his majesty's ship employed in this service. I am happy to add, only two seamen and one corporal were wounded on this occasion.

R. W. OTWAY.

L'Amaranthe, at sea, April 14.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I this day captured Le Vengeur, French schooner letter of marque, mounting six 4-pounders, after a long chace S. W. and a brave resistance of an hour and eight minutes, nearly within pistol shot, in which his majesty's sloop under my command had one quarter-master killed, and three seamen slightly wounded. By the best account I can get, she had thirty-six men on board, including passengers, of whom fourteen were killed outright, and five wounded, one of whom is just dead, and another not likely to live. She was from St. Jago de Cuba, bound to Jeremie, with a cargo of flour, is a very fine copper-bottomed schooner, capable of mounting ten carriage guns, nearly new, and sails uncommonly fast; and was a privateer last cruize.

F. VESEY.

[This gazette likewise contains an account of the squadron under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, in the West Indies, having taken or destroyed eight armed vessels, and sixty-seven merchant vessels, of every description, between the 10th of February and 13th of April last.]

30. At half-past ten this day, lord Kenyon and the other judges came into the court of King's-bench, and Mr. Justice Grose immediately commenced an address to the following purport: "Gilbert Wakefield, you have been found guilty by a jury of your country of a crime which is disgraceful to you as a clergyman and an Englishman. The epithets bestowed upon that publication the court is of opinion were well applied; it was malevolent, libellous, and seditious. You have traduced the government of the country, and the administration of the public affairs of these realms; and by that means endeavoured, as far as it was within your power, to induce the people of this realm to withdraw their allegiance from his majesty, his crown, and government. You have, in fact, given an invitation to 50,000 or 60,000 of our enemies to invade this country, in order that they might destroy all that is valuable in a well-regulated society, namely, our laws, our religion, our property, and our national liberty and security—to root out every thing that is dear and valuable to us as Englishmen and free men, under the same vain, ideal, and false pretext, of promulgating liberty, by which they have so successively attacked and plundered Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt. They have involved in one mass of ruin those countries that never had, or intended to molest or attack them. You have dissuaded, or attempted to dissuade, your countrymen from opposing these monsters in iniquity, who, in less than ten short years, have been

catholics,

catholics, deists, atheists, and mussulmen, who have expelled their clergy, defiled the holy altars of their forefathers, dishonoured their God, and murdered their king: you have even dared to recommend to your countrymen that they shall not oppose such destroyers of the human race, and of all human happiness and social order;—men who, in the first struggles of their paroxysm, called out for a war of extermination against this country; whose motto was—"*Delenda est Carthago.*"—You said, you had a right to be heard, and you have been heard; but your address has aggravated your offence, both as an Englishman, a Christian, and a Minister. You have in your speech recommended peace; but does your book, when it invites an implacable enemy, carry such a recommendation?—The attorney-general saw through the whole of your artful design; and his excellent arguments fully refuted and exposed your insidious attempts. There is one consideration which affects the court much, your family:—the court wishes they could separate the innocent offspring from the guilty parent; but they find it impossible: it is the inevitable fate of guilt, to involve all its nearest and dearest relatives in one common ruin. But why did not this sacred charge enter into your own mind? why in the first instance commit a crime that you knew must abandon those to whom you had, under providence, given existence? This is a sad and melancholy circumstance; and I assure you the court feel it, but cannot relieve it. Another circumstance is your slender property: the court have inquired into this matter:—you are, no doubt, a fit object for a heavy fine; but they have discovered, that in your situation it would operate as a perpetual imprisonment, which the court neither wish nor will permit;—the object of all punishment is correction for the past, and, by the example, prevention in the future. The court, having therefore fully considered the whole of your case, do order and adjudge, that you be committed to Dorchester gaol for the term of two years—that at the end of this term you give security for your good behaviour for five years, yourself in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each; and that you continue in the said gaol until you have given such security. The prisoner bowed, and withdrew.—[See Feb. 21]

At the same time, the attorney-general prayed judgment of the court on Mr. John Parry, the proprietor, John Vint, the printer, and George Ross, the publisher, of the *Courier* newspaper, for a paragraph which appeared in that paper, "stating the emperor of Russia to be a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe."—Mr. Justice Grose pronounced the judgment of the court, which was, "that Mr. John Parry do pay the sum of 100l. and be imprisoned in the King's bench prison for six calendar months, and enter into security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in 500l. and two sureties in 250l. each, and that John Vint and George Ross be imprisoned in the same prison, each for one calendar month.

31. The islands of the South Sea, Otaheite in particular, are now become the residence of Englishmen. Thirty-three persons were taken there by capt. Wilson, in the ship Duff, with the laudable intention of instructing the savage natives in the Christian religion. The whole proceedings

proceedings of the voyage, and the interesting particulars of their reception at the various islands, have lately been presented to the public.

JUNE.

Admiralty Office, June 1. This gazette contains an account of the capture of La Ruse French lugger privateer, mounting 14 guns, and carrying sixty men, by his majesty's sloop of war Kite.

3. Mr. Sheriff Champion was elected alderman of Billingsgate ward, in the room of alderman Lushington, resigned.

4. This day commenced with a grand review in Hyde park. At no time, during the whole of his majesty's reign, was the anniversary of his birth celebrated with more splendid demonstrations of joy; and no part of those demonstrations was more gratifying to the heart, than the assembly of so many thousand volunteers under arms, who, from the purest patriotism, have formed themselves into military associations, and learned the military art, for the most honourable purpose, that of defending the independence of their native country. So large a body of men, thus standing forward to surround his majesty's person, and on the anniversary of his birth to manifest their resolution to maintain his rights as well as their own, was certainly the most superb spectacle that a people, satisfied with their own constitution, and desiring no improvement but what its own principles provide, and a good administration would secure, can display. Its best character too was the unanimity of the sentiment by which the body of men under arms was animated. It was not an ebullition of party spirit, or of ministerial address; but it was the united emotion of attachment to the king's person, and love for the British empire, which, through all the divisions of opinion, is the aim of every British heart. The whole number amounting to 15,000, of whom only 8,200 of the associations of London and Westminster were on the parade yesterday, serving without pay, in the vicinity of the metropolis only, gives the most satisfactory assurance that this country would be perfectly defended against any hostile attack, even by the volunteers only, since it is known that every part of the kingdom is as well defended by such bodies as the metropolis.

Soon after five o'clock this morning, the different volunteer corps in and about London began to assemble in their respective exercising ground. At seven the ground in Hyde-park was occupied by the light horse volunteers, commanded by col. Herries, and soon after the Surrey yeomanry marched, to assist in the duty of keeping the ground. The different corps continued coming in till eight o'clock, and took up the stations assigned them in the line. Soon after eight the line was completely formed, and his royal highness the duke of York entered the field, as did the duke of Gloucester, and the whole staff of the district. The line was formed in three columns. The left column, under the orders of lord Heathfield, occupied the space on the west side of the park, from the Serpentine River to the N. E. gate of Kensington gardens, and consisted of the following corps; viz. hon. artillery corps. St. George's regiment, loyal Hackney, royal Westminster, loyal Islington. The centre column commanded by maj. gen. Ludlow, extended along the north-side

north-side of the park, and consisted of Bloomsbury, &c. St. James's, north-east London volunteers, loyal Hampstead, Temple, loyal Pimlico, Finsbury-square, Somerset-place, Knight-marshal, the Ward associations of Farringdon Without and Within, and Castle Baynard. The right column, major-gen. Doyley, was drawn up from the N. E. corner down to Hyde-park corner, and comprised as follow: Stoke-Newington, Tottenham, Enfield, Edmonton, Hans Town, St. Andrew and St. George, St. Clement Danes, Clerkenwell, St. Sepulchre, St. George, Bloomsbury, loyal London volunteers, St. Luke's Chelsea, Brentford, St. Margaret and St. John, St. Mary-le bone, St. Martin's, Union, Chiswick, St. Paul's Covent-garden, Fulham, St. George, Hanover-square, South-east London volunteers, Streatham, Limehouse, Ratcliffe, Clapham, Battersea, St. Catharine's, Poplar and Blackwall, Whitechapel, Highgate, Lambeth, St. Pancras, Wapping, Hendon, St. Olive, eight Ward associations, Shoreditch. The cavalry corps assembled behind the walnut-trees, and were afterwards formed in the lower part of the park, with their right towards earl Bathurst's house, and their left towards the Serpentine River. They were the loyal Islington, Clerkenwell, Battersea, Clapham, Wimbledon, Lambeth, Deptford. At nine, his majesty entered the park. Upon a signal gun being fired, a royal salute was given from the guns of the hon. artillery company; his majesty passed up the park to the right of the line, and proceeded slowly along it; a ceremony, which, from its length, necessarily occupied a very considerable time. He then took his station on the elevated part of the park, and, upon a signal-gun, the whole line primed and loaded. Upon another gun, the firing commenced, from the right, by corps, and extended along the whole line; three rounds were then fired successively from right to left. After the firing, the whole line waved their caps in the air, and gave three hearty huzza; which, joined to the sound of military music striking up at the same moment, and the various expressions of joy from the spectators, even the female part of them joining by waving of handkerchiefs, is said to have drawn tears of joy from their gracious sovereign. An aide-de-camp from the commander in chief, by his special command, went round to the commanding officers of corps, to say that his majesty's sentiments of the general appearance and military proficiency of the volunteers assembled should be more fully expressed hereafter. The corps then passed his majesty in grand divisions, in a most excellent manner, under the directions of gen. Dundas, who headed them on horseback; after which they filed off to the stations respectively allotted for them. The whole of the evolutions pointed out to them in the general orders having been performed, and another royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, his majesty, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the martial appearance and excellent conduct of this loyal and patriotic army, departed from the ground at about a quarter before one, amidst the joyous shouts and affectionate greetings of the people, who assembled on the occasion to the amount of near 150,000, including all the beauty and fashion of the metropolis. The sight was truly grand, and highly grateful; and, notwithstanding the evolutions were considerably

considerably impeded by the high wind and some rain, the line performed its manœuvres in a manner which, considering the novelty and the difficulty of so large a body acting together in perfect concert, reflects the highest honour on the discipline of the volunteers. The firing was, with some few exceptions, executed with great regularity, The exceptions apply to a few of the newly-embodied corps, and to others, which, originally small in number, had incorporated with each a short time previously to the review. This defect shows the necessity of acting in large bodies, and will, we trust, lead to an immediate junction of various small corps. His majesty was accompanied in the field by their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, and the dukes of Kent and Cumberland, in their respective uniforms. Her majesty and the princesses, accompanied by the countess of Harrington, and lady M. Stanhope, viewed this splendid assemblage of citizen-soldiers, armed in defence of the best of sovereigns, and the happiest and most perfect constitution upon earth, from the house of lady Holdernesse, in Park-lane, and that of lord Cathcart; at both of which they received refreshments. It was much to be regretted that the weather was rather unfavourable; but this circumstance, though it might diminish the brilliancy, did not derange the military array, or repress the curiosity of the public; for we never saw a greater crowd assembled upon any occasion. To select any particular corps as the subject of praise might seem invidious; and it is only necessary to observe, that the appearance and discipline of this patriot army were such as to grace the noble cause in whose support they have so loyally volunteered. Their numbers were 7352 infantry, and 841 cavalry, making together 8193 men. By the provident regulation of not admitting carriages into Hyde-park, all tumult and confusion were prevented; and, though the multitude of people on horse and foot was immense, we have heard of very few accidents. Not merely the surrounding walls, windows, and roofs of houses, were crowded, but all the trees were loaded with spectators, and the scene extremely heightened. A poor woman was kicked by one of the horses on her head, and was taken to the hospital, attended by the officer to whom the horse belonged. From fatigue one of the corps dropped down in a fit, but was soon recovered.

We have been thus particular in giving the details of this extraordinary review, being without exception the grandest sight ever seen in Hyde-park, and certainly the most gratifying to the feelings of his majesty, who then witnessed nearly 10,000 volunteers, and effective men, trained, armed, and accoutred, at their own expense, in support of his royal person and government. At one o'clock the park and tower guns were fired, their majesties and the princesses soon afterwards went to St. James's palace, where the queen held a drawing-room, which was one of the most splendid and brilliant that has been witnessed for many years.

Downing-street, June 6.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from Sir Morton Eden, K. B. and lieut.-col. Robt. Craufurd, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Vienna, May 18. Field-marshal Suwarroff having learnt that Moreau

rean was posted near Alexandria, on the banks of the river, with the two divisions of Victor and Grenier, and whatever force he had been able to collect from Turin, and other places, the field-marshal resolved to march with his whole army against Tortona, which he took on the 9th inst. The army passed the Scrivia on the 10th, which was so swoln and rapid as to render it impossible to construct a bridge. The men passed through the water up to their middle, and joined the Russian advanced guard near Torré di Garrofole. Field-marshal Suwarroff has detached field marshal lieut. Otto, with 5000 infantry and 1500 horse, against gen. Montrichard, who is posted at Bologna. This corps has already advanced as far as Modena; and the enemy has retired towards Ponte Tremoli. By this means, our army will draw supplies from the fertile provinces of Ferrara, Bologna, and Modena: and at the same time the territory of Parma is wrested from the hands of the French. Field-marshal lieut. Keim, with six battalions, and four squadrons, joined the grand army before Tortona, after the reduction of Pezzighetone. Gen. Hohenzollern was sent with four battalions to Milan, where are already six battalions, commanded by gen. Latterman, with orders to press the siege of the castle of that city.

Vienna, May 22. Col. and brig. Stauch, after very fatiguing marches, reached Chiavenna with his brigade on the 9th inst. at which place col. le Loup, of the van-guard of gen. Vukassowich, had arrived on the preceding day. The enemy commenced their retreat from Chiavenna by the Valley of Giacomo, leaving at the first place 32 pieces of cannon, of which we have taken possession.

Extract of a letter from lieut. col. R. Craufurd, dated head-quarters of gen. Hotze, Mayenfeldt, May 22, 1799.

On the 14th inst. I had the honour to write to your lordship a few lines, containing the account of the successful attack made by general Hotze on the enemy's post at St. Lucien's Steig, and his other positions in the Grison country. In the course of the evening of the 14th, above 1000 more prisoners were brought in; so that the number taken in this affair amounted in the whole to between 3 and 4000 men. The difficulties attending this operation were extremely great; and its success reflects the highest honour on the general and the troops. The fortified post of St. Lucien's Steig completely closes and defends the direct passage from Veldkirch into the Grison country: its natural and artificial strength is such as to render a direct attack upon it in front extremely difficult and imprudent; and its flanks are so well supported as to render it impossible to turn it without marching over such mountains as might almost have been deemed impracticable for troops. The first or right-hand column marched from Feldkirch, on the great road, straight to the Steig. The destination of this column was to form in front of the post, to make such demonstrations as to threaten an attack, and endeavour to draw off the enemy's attention from his right flank, and to be in readiness to pursue the enemy with the cavalry and flying artillery as soon as the other columns should have obliged him to abandon the Steig. The second column, commanded by major-gen. Yellachitz, consisting entirely of infantry, made a considerable détour to the left, effected

effected this march by extraordinary exertions over the chain of mountains by which the right flank of the position of the Steig is covered, and descended about day-break in the rear of that flank, in a place where, from the extreme difficulty of the ground, the enemy could not expect an attack. This column dislodged the enemy from the post of the Steig, and made prisoners great part of the infantry that defended it. The third and fourth columns, commanded by gen. Hiller and col. Plunket, marched from Veldkirch up the Montafune valley, from whence they with great difficulty crossed at different points the chain of mountains which separate it from the valley called the Brettigaw; and, driving the enemy from the different positions he occupied on this side, they descended into the valley of the Rhine by Marchlines and Zizzers; the advanced guard of the first column pursuing the enemy from the Steig arrived at Zizzers time enough to cut off the retreat of the enemy from the Brettigaw. Of the remains of the enemy's corps in the Grisons, one column retired through Coire to Reichenau, where they took post behind the Rhine; and another passed that river at the Zollbrucke, and marched through Ragatz towards Sargans, leaving a rear-guard at Ragatz. On the 15th, general Hotze reconnoitred the enemy at Richenau; but finding them very strongly posted, and not having any infantry at hand, he could not attack them. The same day, however, he ordered col. Cavacini to attack them at Ragatz, from whence they were driven with considerable loss. About 50 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, were taken. The advanced posts were pushed forward to Sargans. On the 16th the enemy retired from Reichienau towards Disentis, where they were attacked on the 18th, and obliged to retreat with the loss of two cannon, and several men. On the same day, they were driven from Wallenstadt and Werdenberg, on which occasion they also lost three pieces of cannon. On the 19th, the enemy, with a very superior force, made a very severe attack on the corps commanded by col. Cavacini at Wallenstadt, but was completely repulsed. On this occasion, the battalion of Swiss emigrants, commanded by col. Rovorea (which formed a part of col. Cavacini's corps), were engaged for the first time: it suffered a good deal, and behaved with great bravery. The enemy is now in full retreat from the Pockenbourg, and canton of Appenzel. The Austrian patroles entered St. Gall the night before last, and found between Rheineck and that place 13 pieces of ordnance, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition which the French had abandoned in their retreat. On the whole, the enemy's loss in this quarter, from the 14th to this day, exclusive of killed and wounded, may be estimated at near 4000 prisoners, and 36 pieces of cannon. Lieut. gen. Bellegarde is at Chiavenna.

June 10. Sentence was passed upon lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguson (see April 25), the former, that he should be imprisoned for one year in the Tower of London; pay a fine of 1000l.; and, at the expiration of his imprisonment, give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 10,000l. and two sureties in 5000l. each. Mr. Ferguson to pay a fine of 100l. be imprisoned for one year in the King's

King's Bench prison, and give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 500l. and two securities in 250l. each.

Downing-street, June 12. Dispatches, of which the following are copy and extract, have been received from the right hon. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. and lieutenant-col. Robert Craufurd, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Extract of a letter from Sir Morton Eden, K. B. dated Vienna, May 20.

I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship an extraordinary gazette of this day, containing an account of the progress of the army under the command of the archduke Charles of Switzerland, and of gen. Bellegarde's determination (the object of rescuing the Grisons from the French being now attained) to proceed, with the troops under his command, to support the operations of the army in Italy; and a detailed relation of the attack of Lucien's Steig, and the neighbouring posts, by general Hotze.

Vienna, May 24. From two reports received from his royal highness the archduke Charles, dated at Stockach the 20th inst. and at Singen the 21st inst. it appears, that general Bay, whom lieutenant-gen. Hotze had detached to attack the enemy near Asmos, had driven him from that post, carried a flêche, and taken one piece of cannon, and a tumbril. General Bay proceeded to storm the enemy's entrenchments, and pursued him in his retreat to Werdenberg; in the course of which he took one more piece of cannon. Notwithstanding a very obstinate attempt of the enemy to make a stand at Werdenberg, our brave troops succeeded in repulsing him upon this occasion, and one of the enemy's companies was, with the exception of 30 men, cut to pieces. While General Bay was executing the above operation, col. Gavasini, of the regiment of Kerpen, who was ordered by lieutenant gen. Hotze to advance to Wallenstadt, and, if possible, to gain possession of the road which leads through the mountains from Werdenbergh to Wallenstadt; reached Wallenstadt on the 19th, and posted his troops about half a league on this side the lake. He was soon after attacked by a very superior number of the enemy, who continued sending fresh troops through Flums against his flank, but could not gain a foot of ground. On the contrary, col. Gavasini, in the end, succeeded in bringing a small column to act upon the enemy's right flank, and in repulsing him towards sun-set, with considerable slaughter, as far as Murk. His royal highness observes, that col. Gavasini, upon this occasion, gave fresh proofs of his spirit and intelligence, having prevented the enemy, notwithstanding his superiority, from gaining the least advantage. Our loss was, however, not inconsiderable, as it amounted to 300 men killed and wounded, among whom were eight officers, 3 killed, and 5 wounded. A legion formed of Swiss emigrants, which was engaged for the first time, distinguished itself very much, and the country people have every where risen in a mass with enthusiasm. The rapid progress of lieutenant-gen. Hotze obliged the enemy to abandon the neighbourhood of St. Gall, as well as the banks of the Rhine, near Constance and Schaffhausen, and to retreat beyond Winterthur. Lieutenant-gen. Nauendorff, who observed this, immediately crossed the Rhine with a part of his advanced guard, and pushed forward

the light cavalry to observe the enemy's farther movements. He was informed, that the enemy had abandoned the Thur and the Thor, and had fallen back towards Zurich. Lieutenant gen. Nauendorff sent patroles of light troops towards St. Gall, to establish a communication with those of the corps which was advancing from that quarter under lieutenant-general Hotze. His royal highness, on the 21st, moved his camp from Stockach to Singen, at which latter he also established his head-quarters on that day. As soon as lieutenant-col. Williams learnt that the enemy had evacuated Rheinech, he directed the cruise of the whole of his flotilla towards Albon, with a view to impede their retreat. He farther sent to Roschach count Tusconis, one of the officers acting under him, who seized there 8 pieces of cannon of different calibres, 3 mortars, a quantity of shells, ships'-stores, and ammunition, and 6 gun-boats which were not quite built, all which were brought to Bregentz. A farther report from his royal highness, dated on the 22d at Singen, states, that lieutenant-colonel Williams had reported from Roschach, that he had advanced with a division of the regiment of Waldeck dragoons, which had reached that place under lieutenant Burscheid, as far as St. Gall, from which town the enemy had retreated a short time before. He occupied it, and took three pieces of cannon and two tumbrils. Lieutenant-gen. Hotze also reported, that captain count Leiningen, of the regiment of Bender, had, with the assistance of some armed peasants, taken in Altstütten two cannon, five tumbrils, and a considerable proportion of arms and ammunition; and that general Bay had, in the prosecution of his attack upon Werdenberg, taken two more cannon and 400 firelocks. Lieutenant-gen. Nauendorff already occupies Frauenfeld and Winterthur, and his patroles are in the direction of Zurich and Balach. In Dissenhofen, where he established a bridge of pontoons, he found nine pieces of cannon, 100 firelocks, and a supply of ammunition. Major Morpert, who belonged to his advanced guard, fell in with a detachment of the enemy at Munsterlingen, on the borders of the Lake of Constance, which, being attacked at the same time by the crew of one of the vessels forming part of the flotilla who had landed, was dispersed, and the greatest part taken. This detachment formed the escort of a transport of artillery, which fell into our hands, and consisted of four cannon, one howitzer, and one tumbril. Lieutenant-gen. Kospoth reported to his royal highness, that captain Lück, of the 13th regiment of dragoons, had, at the desire of colonel Frenelle, fallen upon, and surprised, the 3d regiment of French hussars, which were encamped near Leimen, not far from Heidelberg, had cut to pieces about 100 men, and dispersed the remainder, taking several prisoners, and 60 horses. On his side, one officer and two men only were slightly wounded. His royal highness speaks in the strongest terms of the meritorious conduct, upon several occasions, of the above-named two officers. General Melas reports, that lieutenant-general Ott had ordered the light battalion of Mihanovich to attack the enemy in Pontremoli, from which post he was dislodged. Major Mihanovich particularly distinguished himself upon the occasion, having, besides driving the enemy, who occupied

so advantageous a post with no less a force than 800 men, taken two cannon, 17 mules laden with ammunition, and 30 prisoners, and having pursued the remainder of the enemy into the mountains. With a view to give effectual support to the operations of col. Strauch, and prince Victor of Rohan, after the enemy had assembled near Bellinzone a considerable number of troops, gen. count Hohenzollern was sent with five battalions against Chiavenna, and directed also to take the command of the whole corps there; while gen. Latterman carries on the blockade of the citadel of Milan with the troops that remained there. Gen. Vukassovich reports, that at Consignano, in Piedmont, the armed peasants had risen upon, and disarmed, 100 French soldiers; that they had done the same in Carmagnola, and had wounded two French generals, one of whom had died of his wounds. Lieutenant-gen. Bellegarde reports, that, in order to support most effectually the operation of lieutenant-gen. Hotze in the Grisons, he had marched his corps forward in four columns; that the first, under general count Nobili, advanced from Süs over Mount Flola against Davos; the second, under lieutenant-gen. Haddick, from Pont across the Albula; the third, under col. La Marseille, over Mount Julies, into the Upper Stein Valley, while he himself, with the remainder of the troops, moved upon Lenz. The enemy did not any where make much opposition; and the column of count Nobili alone was obliged to force an abbatis near Dotfli: after which, however, the enemy retreated with the utmost expedition, but not without the loss of one captain, two lieutenants, and 150 men, who were taken prisoners. Lieutenant-gen. Bellegarde adds, that since the object in view, namely, the conquest of the Grisons, is now accomplished, he should, without delay, proceed to co-operate with the army of Italy, leaving, however, colonel count St. Julien, with his brigade, to cover the Engadin, to keep up the communication with lieutenant-general Hotze, and, if necessary, to co-operate farther with him.

Admiralty Office, June 15. This gazette contains an account of the capture of a Spanish brig of war, named El Vincelo, mounting 18 six-pounders on her gun-deck, and 6 brass four-pounders on her quarter-deck, and two on her forecastle, and having 140 men on board, by the right hon. lord Mark Robert Kerr, captain of his majesty's ship Cormorant; (during her chace, she threw 6 of her six-pounders overboard;)—also La Victoire French brig privateer, mounting 16 nine-pounders, and 160 men, by his majesty's ship Revolutionaire, captain Twysden;—also the French privateer brig La Venus, mounting 12 four and two nine-pounders, and manned with 101 men, by his majesty's ship Indefatigable, the hon. captain Curzon.

Birmingham, June 15. This day the embankment of the reservoir of the Wyrley and Essington canal, on Cannock-heath, gave way, and the water swept every thing before it in the line it took through Shenstone, Hopwas, Drayton, &c. till it fell into and overflooded the Tame at Tamworth. At Blackstone, 7 miles from the reservoir, the new stone-bridge was torn up; numbers of sheep, and some cattle, were drowned; but two or three persons, aware of the accident at the first, rode forward, and giving the farmers the alarm, they had

time to remove the chief of their cattle and horses to the high ground. The damage sustained is, however, very great, and calculated at many thousand pounds. At Hammerwich, near Litchfield, the meadows are twelve inches deep with the gravel the water brought down with it.

19. The duke of York reviewed the Oxford University corps, and this day he reviewed the Oxford City Loyal Volunteers: both corps in Fort Meadow. His royal highness was pleased to express his entire satisfaction at the very excellent appearance they made. He was mounted on the same horse that carried him from Dunkirk. There were upwards of 10 000 people assembled. The ground was kept by four troops of Oxfordshire yeomanry. On Tuesday, after the review, his royal highness went in procession to the theatre, where the degree of Doctor in Civil Law was conferred on him by his grace the duke of Portland, in his robes, as chancellor; and in the evening, after having partaken of a collation at St. John's college, his royal highness visited the Bodleian Library, where he desired a sight of some original charts of Flanders. This day the city of Oxford presented him with the freedom in a gold box.

The court of directors of the East-India Company came to the resolution of thanking lord Nelson for the eminent services rendered by him to the company, and to request his acceptance of the sum of £10,000.

Woburn, June 21. This night the duke of Bedford's sheep-shearing ended. It was the greatest meeting of the kind ever seen in England. Amongst those present were, the duke of Manchester, the marquis of Bath; the earls of Egremont, Lauderdale, and Winchelsea; the lords Sherborn, Preston, Ludlow; John, William, and Robert Russel; the president and secretary of the Board of Agriculture, the president of the Royal Society. Mr. Coke, M. P. for Norfolk, Sir Harry Featherstone, Sir John Ramsden, Sir Charles Danvers, Mr. Colquhoun, M. P. for Bedford; and a great assemblage of farmers, breeders and graziers, from every part of the kingdom: Westcar, from Buckinghamshire; Quartly, from Devonshire; Billingsley and Parsons, from Somersetshire; Jobson, from Northumberland; Breedon, Buckley, and Stones, from Leicestershire; Stubbins, from Nottingham. Ellman, from Sussex; Wall and Monk, from Kent; Crook, from Wiltshire; Bridge, from Dorsetshire; and Ducket, from Surrey. From 100 to 190 sat down to dinner for five days successively. Premiums, offered a year before by the duke of Bedford for cattle and sheep, and ploughing, were distributed; and his grace let above 70 South Down and new Leicester rams for above 1000l. The successful candidates for sheep were, Mr. Smith, of Northamptonshire, for a weather 54lb. a quarter; Mr. Platt and Mr. Butfield, both of Bedfordshire, for ploughing with horses; Mr. Ranciman, with a Norfolk plough; and Mr. Ducket, with an ox plough. The conversation was entirely agricultural; and much was excited by the question, Whether the New Leicester or the South Down were the better breed of sheep? Some wool-staplers attended, who, it is said, did business at the prices of 1s. a pound for long wool, and 1s. 10d. for South Down. Spanish wool from sheep bred in England was sold at the great price of 5s. per pound.

Derening-

Downing-street, June 21.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received from lieutenant colonel Robert Craufurd by the right hon. lord Grenville.

My lord, *Zurich, June* 7.

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that, in consequence of a very severe action which took place on the 4th inst. Massena has been obliged to abandon his entrenched camp before this place, and that the Austrians took possession of the town yesterday afternoon. In my dispatch of the 31st ult. I had the honour to acquaint your lordship, that, after the affair of Winterthur, the enemy retreated behind the Glat. In the subsequent days, the right wing of the archduke's army, under general Nauendorff, advanced towards Buelach, the centre of prince Reus's column towards Kloten, and general Hotze's to Bassersdorff. In order to threaten the enemy's right flank, and in hopes of thereby inducing him to quit the position at Zurich (the real strength of which was not yet known), gen. Zellu-chich was sent with a column round the Greifensee, and afterwards advanced towards Zurich, in connection with another part of general Hotze's corps, which crossed the Glat below Greifensee, but considerably to the enemy's right. As these demonstrations were, however, without effect, an attack was determined upon. Between the Glat and Limmat is a considerable chain of hills, running nearly parallel to these rivers, and covered in most parts with thick woods. On this ridge, just in the front of Zurich, Massena had chosen a most excellent, and not very extensive, position, which for several weeks past he had caused to be strengthened by numerous entrenchments, and in which, after the affair of Winterthur, he collected a considerable part of the army. The right wing was posted on the hill called the Zurich Berg, which is greatly elevated above every other part of the ridge within its reach, and is covered with very thick woods, in which the enemy had made considerable abbatis, entirely surrounding the hill, and defended by redoubts; and, this being the most interesting and decisive point of the position, it was occupied by a large body of infantry, the right flank of which was thrown back *en potence* towards the town. The left wing of the army was placed on the continuance of the above-mentioned chain of hills; likewise protected by extensive woods, abbatis, and entrenchments: in the centre the ground was much lower, quite free from wood, and of easy access. Through this open space (which is not quite a cannon-shot in extent from wood to wood) pass the roads leading from Kloten and Winterthur to Zurich. This is the only part of the position in which cavalry could have acted; but it was completely covered by a chain of closed redoubts, considerably retired, and serving as a curtain to connect the two wings, by which it was so flanked and defended, as to render the attack of this line extremely difficult, so long as the wings of the army maintained the heights on each side of it. The left flank was farther covered by a corps posted between Regensberg and the Glat, having its retreat towards Baden. The only defect of the position in front of Zurich was, that in case of defeat the whole would have been obliged to defile through the town, situated close behind the right of the position, and in which there is but

one bridge across the Limmat; for (whether owing to the rapidity of the river, or what other cause I know not) the enemy had not, as it was supposed he would have done, constructed any pontoon bridges in the rear of his centre, or left. From the above-mentioned circumstances of the enemy's situation, it was evident, that, if the Zurich-berg was forced, it must have brought on the total defeat of their army; whose retreat through the town, just at the foot of this hill, would have been attended with the greatest difficulty. Early in the morning of the 4th inst. the army marched to attack the enemy. Gen. Hotze's corps marched off to the left, crossed the Glat, formed on the enemy's right flank, and began the attack of the Zurich-berg. The enemy defended this post with the greatest obstinacy; and, although a considerable part of prince Reus's column was afterwards sent to assist in the attack, it was found impossible to force it. The enemy was driven, indeed, from some of the abbatis and entrenchments, but maintained his principal position on the Zurich-berg, till night put an end to the action. During the night, and the whole of the next day, both parties remained exactly where they had stood at the end of the affair, the Austrian infantry of the left wing being in many places almost within musket-shot of the enemy's abbatis and works. The great fatigue which the troops had undergone on the 4th determined the archduke to defer till the 6th the renewal of the attack. But the enemy, whose loss in the affair of the 4th had been very great, and who foresaw the total ruin of his army if the Zurich-berg should be forced, retired in the night from the 5th to the 6th, leaving in his entrenchments thirty-five pieces of cannon, three howitzers, and a great number of ammunition-waggons. In the afternoon of the 6th the Austrians occupied the town. In the attack of the 4th inst. the Austrian infantry suffered a considerable loss in killed and wounded; among the latter were general Wallis, lieutenant-general Hotze, and major-general Hiller. General Hotze received a musket-shot in the arm early in the affair, but it did not hurt the bone, and fortunately does not prevent his continuing to command his corps. His absence at this moment would have been sensibly felt, and sincerely regretted. Cherin (general of division, and chief of the staff), together with two other French generals, were severely wounded, and two adjutant-generals are among the prisoners, of which there are a considerable number.

ROBERT CRAUFURD.

21. This day, in pursuance of his majesty's gracious intention previously intimated to the different volunteer corps in and about the metropolis, he honoured them with his royal inspection. His majesty mounted his horse at Buckingham-house at nine o'clock, and, proceeding by Westminster-bridge, he found, drawn up between the Asylum and the Obelisk, the Surrey corps, amounting, according to the returns, to 1596.—Having passed these with the usual salute, his majesty entered the city by Black-friars'-bridge. At the Surrey end of the bridge the king was met by the lord mayor with the city sword, which he, according to custom, presented to his majesty, and which was most graciously returned. The grenadier company of the East-London Militia, with Sir Watkin Lewis at their head, formed a guard for

for the lord-mayor. His majesty, preceded by the lord-mayor and sheriffs on horseback, and uncovered, pursued his route along Bridge-street, Blackfriars, and St. Paul's Church-yard, towards the Royal Exchange. Bridge-street contained 1054, and St. Paul's Church-yard 1000 men under arms. The Royal Exchange and the Bank were next visited; whence his majesty proceeded to the India-house and Tower-hill. Before tracing farther his majesty's route, it will be proper to refer to the services of the light-horse volunteers, previous to their being inspected by him. This corps formed on their own parade at eight in the morning. Two squadrons of horse, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Beachcroft, were marched off, and took post from Blackfriar's-bridge to St. Paul's Church-yard, to keep a clear passage for his majesty. The centre squadron of horse, with the dismounted squadron, consisting of three troops, marched under the command of lieutenant-colonel Bosanquet, for Finsbury-square, where they took post upon the right of the hon. Artillery Company. After his majesty had passed St. Paul's, the two squadrons of light-horse volunteers returned to Gray's Inn-lane, where they were inspected by the earl of Chatham, and then marched to Islington, to receive his majesty. Colonel Herries, with six file, preceded the king about five minutes through the whole of the route, and afterwards received his majesty at the head of half the regiment in Finsbury-square, and again in front of the cavalry at Islington. His majesty came from Tower-hill to Finsbury-square, which he entered on the south-east corner. He proceeded along the south-side, and first passed the light-horse volunteers; and then the honourable Artillery-Company, who had his royal highness the prince of Wales at their head, who is their captain-general. Several other corps were drawn up on the east-side of the square. His majesty, after passing the corps in the square, went out by the north-west corner towards Islington. The appearance in Finsbury-square was considered as particularly brilliant. After passing the corps drawn up at Islington, his majesty rode on by the new road, and down the duke of Bedford's private road to the lord-chancellor's, where an elegant entertainment was prepared. His majesty arrived there about one o'clock. About an hour afterwards, her majesty and the five princesses, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, came to the lord-chancellor's; and the royal family then sat down to their collation. About three, his majesty again mounted, and proceeded down Guildford-street to the Foundling Hospital. In Guildford-street were drawn up a regiment of the Tower Hamlets and Mile end volunteers; the latter commanded by Mr. Liptrap. These corps had drawn themselves up in Whitechapel in the morning; but, finding his majesty could not get so far down, they made a forced march, and ranged themselves in Guildford-street, that they might have the honour of receiving him as he passed. In the ground in front of the Foundling Hospital were, the Bloomsbury, the St. Martin's, the Somerset-place, the Hampstead, and several other corps, drawn up in parallel lines, all of which his majesty passed. The queen, with the princesses, entered the ground; and the carriages drawing up to the

hospital, the whole royal family alighted, and viewed the childrens' apartments, &c. which occupied nearly an hour. On his departure from the Foundling Hospital, his majesty returned by Guildford-street, and, striking down to the New Road, galloped by Marybone and Paddington towards Hyde-park. Here were drawn up, to receive his majesty, fronting the north gate, the regiment of Life-guards, commanded by lord Cathcart. In a line extending from the north side of the park towards Hyde-park corner, were arranged the Westminster cavalry, the St. George's volunteers, (with the earl of Chesterfield at their head), the Royal Westminster, the Knight Marshal, &c. &c. all of which paid his majesty a general salute as he approached their colours. After passing this line, his majesty, with his suite, proceeded down Constitution hill to the queen's palace, which he reached about five o'clock. His majesty was accompanied by their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, the dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester, and an immense concourse of general and other officers. The metropolis of the British empire never presented a prouder or more delightful spectacle. The streets, windows, and house-tops, were every where crowded with people, all vying who should most loudly express their feelings of respect and affection for his majesty's person. Many of the spectators assembled in the chapel of the Foundling Hospital, where the 'Children's hymn,' and 'God save the king,' were sung before the whole royal family. The following is the return of the strength of the volunteer forces at the different stations:—St. George's Fields, 1596.—Bridge-street, Blackfriars, 1054.—St. Paul's Church-yard, 1000.—Royal Exchange and Bank, 1011.—India-house, 500.—Tower-hill, 1038.——Goodman's Fields, afterwards moved to Guildford-street, 823.—Finsbury-square, 862.—Islington, 394.—Foundling Hospital, 1230.—Hyde-park, 2700.—Total, 12,208.

21. The following circular letter was this day issued from the Horse-Guards:

"His royal highness the commander in chief is anxious to take the earliest opportunity of obeying the orders he has received from his majesty, to convey to the different volunteer corps, inspected by his majesty this morning, the heartfelt satisfaction which every part of their conduct has excited in his mind. To his majesty it is a source of unremitting gratification, to know, that this general display of loyalty and public spirit is the genuine offspring of a constitution eminently calculated to preserve the happiness and to increase the prosperity of his people. His majesty, having ever made it the principal study of his life to watch over and maintain unimpaired those safeguards which the laws of this happy country have provided for the security of its civil and religious rights, eagerly embraces this opportunity of expressing the just pride he derives from the gratifying feeling that his uniform endeavours, during a long reign, to promote the happiness of his subjects, have insured to him the continuance of their loyalty and affection. Deeply impressed with the unequivocal and general manifestation of this zealous attachment to his majesty, called forth on the present occasion, his royal highness, from every motive

tive of duty, public and private, feels peculiar pleasure in communicating his majesty's sentiments to the several corps which have been this day under arms in the metropolis and its vicinity.

FREDERICK, F. M.
Commander in Chief.

Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Mayor.

Whitehall, June 21.

My Lord,

I have received the king's particular commands to signify to your lordship the very great satisfaction which his majesty received from the dutiful and affectionate attention of his city of London, during the course of his majesty's progress in viewing the different volunteer corps, assembled this morning under arms. His majesty is graciously pleased to attribute the order and regularity, which were every where so conspicuous, as well to the judicious and exemplary conduct of your lordship and the other principal magistrates of this great city, as to the spirit of loyalty which so eminently prevails throughout the metropolis. And I am directed to acquaint your lordship, that it would be highly acceptable to his majesty, that this sentiment, which his majesty has condescended to express, should be made known in all the parts of the extensive and respectable jurisdiction, over which your lordship so worthily presides. From the experience I have of the unremitting zeal and attention with which all their official duties are performed by the members of the corporation of London, I cannot but feel peculiarly happy in obeying his majesty's gracious commands on this occasion, and in assuring your lordship of the regard with which, &c.

PORTLAND.

Admiralty Office, June 22.

Extract of a letter from capt. Sir W. Sidney Smith, to Mr. Nepean, dated Tigre, off Tripoli, in Syria, April 2, 1799.

I beg leave to transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my report to the right hon. the earl of St. Vincent, of late events in this quarter.

Tigre, off St. John d'Acre, Mar. 23.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that, in consequence of intelligence from Gezar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incursion of gen. Buonaparté's army into that province, and his approach to its capital, Acre, I hastened with a portion of the naval force under my command to its relief, and had the satisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance. Much was done in this interval under the direction of capt. Miller, of the Theseus, and col. Phelypeaux, towards putting the place into a better state of defence, to resist the attack of an European army; and the presence of a British naval force appeared to encourage and decide the Pacha and his troops to make a vigorous resistance. The enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of Mount Carmel, in the night of the 17th, by the Tigre's guard-boats: these troops, not expecting to find a naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water side, and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape-shot from the boats, which put them to the route the instant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the side of the mount. The main body of the army, finding the road between the sea and Mount Carmel thus exposed,

ed, came in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the east, but not without being much harassed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed. As the enemy returned our fire by musketry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which were therefore to be expected by sea, and measures were taken accordingly for intercepting them: the Theseus was already detached off Jaffa (Joppa). The enemy's flotilla, which came in from sea, fell in with and captured the Torride, and was coming round Mount Carmel, when it was discovered from the Tigre, consisting of a corvette, and nine sail of gun-vessels;—on seeing us they hauled off. The alacrity of the ship's company in making sail after them was highly praiseworthy; our guns soon reached them, and seven, as per inclosed list, struck; the corvette, containing, Buonaparté's private property, and two small vessels, escaped, since it became an object to secure the prizes without chasing farther; their cargoes consisting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c. destined for the siege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ships' boats, sent further in shore to cut off his supplies of provisions, conveyed coastwise. They have been constantly occupied in these services for these five days and nights past; and such has been the zeal of their crews, that they requested not to be relieved, after many hours excessive labour at their guns and oars. to say, that we have m loss, as per inclosed however, is balanced b the part of the enemy couragement given to troops from our exan the time that is gained val of a sufficient fo Buonaparté's whole tive. I have had rea fectly satisfied with the perseverance of lieute Inglefield, Knight, ste tenant Burton of the of the petty officers a their command.

List of the gun-vesse the French flotilla, Alexandria and D John d'Acre, tak Carmel by his maj gre, comm. Sir S K. S. March 18, at P. M. after a ch hours.

La Negresse, of six three men; La Fou guns and fifty-two m gereuse, of six gun three men; La Maria guns and twenty-tw Dame de Grace, of thirty-five men; Les of four guns and twen La Torride (taken in of that day, and ret guns and thirty men ven gun boats, thir and 238 men. Th were loaded, beside complements, with non, ammunition, a of siege equipage, fo army before Acre.

N. B. The Maria was taken previously, port, No. 1, subsequ Tigre.

Return of the killed and wounded in the boats of his majesty's ships Tigre and Theseus, and in the gun-vessels employed against the French army before Acre, from the 17th to the 23d March.

TIGRE.

Mr. Arthur Lambert, Mr. John Goodman, and Mr. John Gell, midshipmen, and eight seamen, killed; twenty seamen wounded, of which eight are among the twenty prisoners.

THESEUS.

Mr. John Carr, midshipman, killed; John Waters, midshipman, and six seamen, wounded.—Total, four midshipmen and eight seamen, killed; and one midshipman and twenty-six seamen, wounded.

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

N. B. The officers, petty officers, and seamen employed on this service, were volanteers. The dead bodies of Mr. Gell and Peter M'Kircher, seamen, which fell into the hands of the enemy, were buried by them with the honours of war.

Downing Street, June 22. Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been received from the right hon. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. by the right hon. lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department.

Extract of a letter from Sir Morton Eden, dated Vienna, June 4.

I have the honour of inclosing to your lordship two extraordinary gazettes of this place: the one with a supplement, published yesterday evening; the other this day.

Vienna, June 3. General baron Kray has sent lieut. Dietiski, of the regiment of Nauendorff, with the intelligence of the capture of the citadel of Ferrara, May 23. Major-general count Klenau states in his report, that, not having succeeded in his endeavours, when he took possession of the town, to make the enemy evacuate the citadel, a regular pentagon, in perfect repair, abundantly supplied with artillery, ammunition and provisions, he was induced to direct colonel Oreskovich to order capt. Victora, of the artillery, to erect two batteries; which work was carried on with so much activity and spirit, that they were finished in the evening of the 22d. On the 23d, at three o'clock in the morning, the enemy had already evacuated the town, which general Klenau garrisoned with the light battalion of Bach. At eight o'clock count Klenau summoned the commandant of the fortress to surrender; but a negative answer was returned. The batteries being ready, and the artillery and ammunition having been conveyed into them at day-break, general Klenau ordered shells to be thrown both from mortars and howitzers into the citadel. Two magazines in the fortress having caught fire, the commandant was summoned a second time; and, after some delay, a flag of truce was sent about nine o'clock in the evening with proposals of capitulation, which were concluded at one o'clock in the morning. The enemy's fire killed two privates in the artillery, and wounded an artificer. On the 24th, in the morning, the copies of capitulation were exchanged, hostages mutually delivered up, and the gate of Soccorso was occupied an hour after. Seventy-two new brass cannon, with their ammunition, and six month's provisions, were found in the fortress. The hospital stores alone are estimated at 1,500,000 French livres. General Klenau gives praise to colonel Oreskovich, capt. Victora, and lieut. Cantori, the

the two latter of whom not only erected their batteries 120 feet from the covered way, but by their skill and bravery also set fire to the enemy's magazines, which obliged them so soon to surrender. Count Alberti, lieut. Disetski, and others, distinguished themselves upon this occasion; but particularly colonel Skall, who joined general Klenau, as a volunteer, and who proved both an able engineer, and an experienced negotiator.

Then follow the articles of capitulation. The garrison were permitted to march out with the honours of war, but were restricted from serving against the emperor, or his allies, during six months. At the end of it is added the following postcript:—As it is a principle in the Austrian service to distinguish brave soldiers, I consent to the request of the commandant La Pointe, that non-commissioned officers may keep their side-arms; and I approve in general of the above articles of capitulation. COUNT KLENAU.

The French garrison consisted of 1525 men. Ammunition of every sort, and in great abundance, was found in the place. Whilst this operation was carried on against Ferrara, lieutenant Grill was ordered upon another expedition against Ravenna. According to his report of the 26th to general Kray, he embarked on the 24 h, with four companies of the regiment of Stuart, and entered Porto di Goro on the 25th. On the 26th he landed his troops at Porto Primaro, with 2 three-pounders, having previously concerted upon the mode of attack with major Pooz, the commander of the flotilla, and Jacobi, the chief of the insurgents at Commachio. Major Pooz entered the canal of Ravenna with his flotilla, and landed his sailors. Lieutenant Grill marched to Ravenna through Pozzuolo with three companies, and two pieces of cannon; and 300 of the insurgents marched at the same time from St. Alberto. On his approach, the enemy shut their gates, and defended themselves; but the gates were soon forced open, and, after a short resistance, the enemy retreated by the gate of Lugo. They lost, in their retreat, one piece of cannon, a lieutenant-colonel, an officer, and about 100 prisoners. Major Pooz was very active in the landing; and, soon after the forcing of the gates, came to the assistance of lieutenant Grill with sixty armed sailors. Lieutenants Stromada and Frankenbush, of the regiment of Stuart, distinguished themselves particularly. To support the expedition against Ravenna, general Kray also detached a squadron of hussars, two companies of infantry, and a battalion of light infantry from Ferrara. The capture of this place secures the whole road along the coast, and the subsistence of the troops in the province of Ferrara. An account from general Melas, of the 21st of May, from Candia, states, that, after some very fatiguing marches, the three divisions of Kaim, Frolich, and Zoph, with the Russian troops under the command of general Forster, had entered the camp between Langasco and Candia on the Sesia, where the Russian general Rosenberg was already stationed with the rest of his troops, who, together with general Vukassovich, occupied the strong points of Valenza and Casale.

Downing-street, June 22. The emperor of Russia having, as a mark of friendship towards his majesty, and of esteem and regard towards his majesty's naval service, and particularly towards the officers and crews of the ships who served August

gust 1, 1798, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelson, signified to his majesty's minister at Petersburg, his desire that the Leander, of 50 guns, which, having been engaged in that action, was, after a most gallant and distinguished resistance, captured on its passage home by a French ship of the line, of 74 guns, and has since been recaptured from the enemy by his Imperial majesty's arms at the surrender of Corfu, should be presented to his majesty, in his Imperial majesty's name, with a view to its being restored to his naval service; the king has been pleased to accept, with the highest satisfaction, this distinguished mark of attention and friendship on the part of his ally; and has directed, that the Leander should be received accordingly from such officer as the emperor of Russia may direct to deliver the same, and should again be placed among the ships composing his majesty's fleet employed in the Mediterranean.

[This gazette also contains an account of a French ship privateer, coppered, mounting 16 long guns and carronades, having been driven on shore by his majesty's ship Majestic, captain Hope, and Transfer brig, under cover of a fort, a few leagues to the eastward of Velez Malaga, where, finding it impossible to get her off, she was destroyed by the boats of the Majestic, under the command of lieutenant Boger.]

24. At a common hall, George Woodford Thelluson and Benjamin Flower, esqrs. were elected sheriffs for the year ensuing; but Mr. Thelluson having paid the fine, John Blackall, esq. was elected in his room.

Downing-street, June 26. A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from the right hon. Sir Morton Eden, K. B. by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Vienna, June 11. Before communicating to the public the statement of his royal highness, which was brought yesterday by the first lieutenant Leibinger, of the regiment of Spleny, we will give, in their order, the preceding reports, hitherto delayed by the irregularity of the post. On May 25, the enemy, probably with the intention of preventing us from forming a junction with field-marshal lieutenant Hotze, attacked the whole line of our out-posts with so superior a force, as to oblige them to fall back as far as Thur, and enabled the enemy to occupy the bridge of Andelfingen. Our artillery, which was planted on the banks of the river, checked their progress; they were at length dislodged from the bridge, and driven back with considerable loss. General Kienmayer and colonel Mersery greatly distinguished themselves, by the almost total destruction of a regiment of the enemy's hussars, which endeavoured to surround them in the beginning of the affair. Gen. Piatschek was wounded in the very outset. Nevertheless, the enemy attacked field-marshal lieutenant Hotze's advanced guard with great impetuosity, and alternate success, five different times: the regiments of Kaunitz and Gemmingen particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion; but, towards evening, we were obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the enemy, and to fall back upon field-marshal lieutenant Hotze. The enemy then took the direction of Pfyn, and occupied the bridge. General Simschon was sent with a battalion of Callenberg, and a detachment of cavalry, to dislodge the enemy: he could not arrive before night-fall. The attack was made after

after dark by general Pfacher, and with such success, that the enemy were not only dislodged from the bridge, but also driven back with great loss. The enemy, finding that their attempts had failed, retired the 26th on all sides. They were followed up by our advanced guard. The enemy, notwithstanding, attacked the advanced guard of field-marshal lieutenant Nauendorff on the 27th, at Embrach, with the design of forcing the passage of the Thois, and penetrating, by that means, to the rear of our communication: this attack was repulsed. The enemy were driven from Embrach, and we took post at this large village. In the night of the 28th, the enemy withdrew entirely behind the Klatt; in consequence of which, the advanced guard of our left wing took post before Bassersdorff, and that of our right wing before Bulach. These checks, and the appearance we showed, induced the enemy to detain the columns, which were already in motion, to join the army of Moreau in Italy. The above-mentioned lieutenant Liebinger was sent on the 6th inst. by his royal highness from Klatten, with accounts, that the enemy had abandoned all the right bank of the Klatt, and, after destroying all the bridges in the rear, had taken post on the left bank of that river. In order to approach the strong entrenchments which the enemy had raised near Zurich, and to drive them from the right bank of the Klatt, for the purpose of forming a considerable advanced guard there, his royal highness ordered field-marshal lieutenant Hotze, and general prince Rosemberg, to pass the Klatt near Tubendorff, at four in the morning, and to drive the enemy from the bridge of Klatt, which was executed, notwithstanding a most obstinate resistance. At the same time, field-marshal lieutenant prince Joseph, of Lorraine, advanced from Villiken, and general Jellachich, from Zullikon, with such vigour against the flank of the entrenchments, that general Jellachich penetrated into the upper suburbs of Zurich, and the prince of Lorraine as far as the abbatis upon the Zurich-berg, which was defended by redoubts and flêches. It being of the utmost importance to the enemy to keep us as far distant as possible from their entrenched camp, they sent such powerful reinforcements to their troops posted on the Klatt, and brought such a number of batteries to bear upon us, that they not only checked the progress of the division under field-marshal lieutenant Hotze before Scwammendingen, but also repulsed the troops which had advanced to the abbatis, and even threatened the right flank of prince Rosemberg's corps near Secbach. This induced his royal highness to reinforce the advanced guard near Sebach with a brigade of infantry, under prince Reus, and part of prince Anhalt Cothen's division of cavalry. At the same time, field-marshal lieutenant count Wallis was ordered to march with two battalions of grenadiers, and the archduke Ferdinand's regiment of infantry, by Schwammendingen, to the Zurich-berg, and to carry the enemy's entrenchments and abbatis by the bayonet. The grenadiers speedily gained possession of the first flêche, and penetrated into the abbatis, where gen. Hiller was wounded, as well as field-marshal lieutenant count Wallis. The enemy being posted behind the abbatis in superior force, it was impossible to advance; but they were, however, prevented from attacking the prince of Lorraine. This gave an opportunity

tunity for field-marshal lieutenant Petrasch (who commanded in the place of general Hotze, who was wounded in the first attack) to push forward the advanced guard under prince Rosenberg to within musket-shot of the entrenchments, and to form there at dusk. His royal highness reconnoitred the enemy's entrenchments on the 5th, and, notwithstanding their strength and their advantageous situation, he resolved to attack them at two o'clock in the morning, and to take them by storm. His royal highness, in consequence, ordered his troops to be refreshed, and to take rest in sight of the enemy. This unexpected and menacing aspect disconcerted them; and, to avoid the risk of this fresh attempt, they retired on the 5th, with the main body of their army, in the greatest precipitation, towards Baden, leaving in their entrenchments twenty-five cannon, three howitzers, and eighteen ammunition waggons. The following day his royal highness took possession of the entrenchments with a strong advanced guard, and soon after the town of Zurich. He gave orders to the commanders of the out-posts to send out numerous patroles to watch the motions of the enemy. All the generals and the officers of the staff, who commanded the troops, deserve the highest praise. The success of this day is to be attributed to their courage and skill. One chief of brigade, and two adjutant-generals, are among the prisoners. The enemy estimate their loss at 4000 Ours will be made known immediately.

Vienna, June 12. As already mentioned, the corps under the command of field-marshal lieutenant count Bellegarde, has, in consequence of the fortunate change of affairs in the Tyrol and the Grison country, received orders to advance into Italy, to support the operations of the army there. The arrival of count Bellegarde in Chiavenna is already known. In conformity to particular orders since received from the commander in chief of the Italian army, a part of the count's corps was to operate in the right flank of the army of Italy, and to take a post near Migiandone and Domo d'Asolo; by this means to secure a communication between the Italian army and that under the command of his royal highness the archduke Charles; and he himself to proceed expeditiously with the remainder of his corps to Como, and thence through Milan and Pavia, against Tortona. The field-marshal lieutenant count Hadik, having already placed himself at the head of the troops collected at Bellinzone, the greatest part of which consisted of the brigades of the colonels prince de Rohan, Strauch, and count St. Julien, count Bellegarde has destined this corps to the above-mentioned operations on the right wing of the army: and he himself has embarked, with the rest of the troops, on the Lake Como, to proceed to his farther destination. By three reports from the count, dated Como, May 30, 31, and June 3, we learn, that field marshal lieutenant count Hadik had received advice of the intention of the French general Loison to get reinforcements, and to maintain his position near Airolo, and on the Mount St. Gothard; and he thought it expedient to counteract this design. With this view, on the 28th of May, in the evening, at six o'clock, he attacked the enemy on this side at the foot of the Mount St. Gothard; the obstinate defence of the enemy fully demonstrated how important this post was to them. The centre had the most difficult part of the battle, on account of

of the perpendicular rocks; and the left column could not immediately give any support, because the enemy had broken down the bridge over the Ticino. Finally, the perseverance of the light infantry under the command of its chief, lieutenant-colonel Le Loup, supported by a division of Bananis's, surmounted all those obstacles which opposed the centre. Now the battle became general, the enemy using every means that could result from number, local advantage, and courage, and it remained for some time doubtful; but when the colonel, prince Victor de Rohan, had crossed the Ticino with the left column, and ascended the steepest rock on the right flank of the enemy, and the major Siegenfeld with his column posted himself upon that mountain which commands the left of the Mount St. Gothard, it was impossible for the enemy to maintain their position in this important pass. In this critical situation the enemy was attacked on the following morning, the 29th, by colonel count St. Julien, on the other side of Mount St. Gothard, who set off in the morning at half past one o'clock from Selva, in Upper Rhinethal, ascended Mount Ursula, drove down the piquets of the enemy, and, leaving behind him a battalion, in case of a retreat on his part, he descended with impetuosity to attack the enemy's position at the Devil's Bridge, and to Urseren, compelled the enemy, by the briskness of the attack, to abandon this advantageous and important post with such precipitancy, that even the battalion destined to cover their retreat, by a well directed fire on its flank from a division of De Vins, commanded by the lieutenant Kall, of the general quarter-master staff, fell in disorder, and the commander of it, with some officers and many privates, by a quick pursuit were made prisoners. In the heat of the pursuit, our troops, animated by victory, forgot all the fatigues of the preceding nocturnal march over Mount Ursula, and the exertions of the battle, and followed the enemy over Gertina and Waasen, a space of five leagues, to the Stile, and prevented the enemy from taking a position; took prisoners several divisions of its rear, and would have driven the enemy to Altorf, at the lake of Lucerne, if the battalion placed at the Stile had not collected the fugitives, and prevented our further pursuit, by breaking down the bridge, which was prepared and preconcerted in case of a fight. In that they could the better succeed, as the column who had orders to pass the Mount Kritzly to the Stile found the road impassable, and could not arrive in time, even by the acknowledgement of the people of the country. The principal view of the attack (the junction with field-marshal lieutenant count Hadik, and the possession of Mount St. Gothard, with all the passes leading there from the Rutsthal) having completely succeeded, the colonel, count St. Julien, contented himself with taking a position near Waasen and Gertina, and supporting it by all necessary means. In these continued and obstinate battles our loss is not inconsiderable, but that of the enemy much greater. When the report was sent off, 531 prisoners were brought in, among whom are a commander of a battalion and twelve officers. The enemy left behind him in Airolo 400 sacks of rice, 100 casks of wine, some casks of brandy, and other provisions, together with one 4-pounder, and a considerable quantity of ammunition ready for the infantry. A considerable

derable quantity of silk and other merchandise, which the enemy had confiscated, was found in Airolo, but which our troops had left untouched, although the place was taken by assault. The field-marshal lieutenant Haddick took upon him to restore the goods to the former proprietors. In consequence of the reports to the 3d of June from the general of the cavalry De Melas, the position of the army in Turin, and surrounding it, has not been considerably altered. The division of field-marshal lieutenant Frolich has extended itself over Pignerol, Boncaliere, and Carignan; and general Vukassovich has beset, with his van, Carmagnol, Alba, and Cherasco. In Cherasco he has taken six metal eight and 16 pounders, five of iron, heavy artillery; one howitzer; three metal and ten iron guns; two bombs; and a quantity of ammunition and stores. According to a farther report of the general of the cavalry, Melas, the preparations for besieging the castle of Turin are urged on with vigour. To this purpose some of the guns found in this town and ammunition are applied.

JULY.

Admiralty Office, July 2. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the French schooner privateer, La Vigie, of fourteen long 4-pounders and seventy-one men, by the cutter private ship of war the Resolution, commanded by Mr. W. Le Lacheur;—also, of the Anacreon French privateer, of sixteen guns and 125 men, seventy-four of whom she had put on board prizes she had made, by his majesty's ship Champion, capt. Graham.

4. His majesty reviewed, on Wimbledon common, the different volunteer corps of the county of Surry. The line which was very extensive, consisted of twelve cavalry corps, and twenty-four of infantry; the effective strength of the whole 2300. One half of the cavalry was drawn up on the right, and the other half on the left of the infantry. His royal highness the duke of York commanded in person, having under him the earl of Chatham, and other officers on the staff of the district. When his majesty came opposite the centre a general salute was given. He then proceeded from the right to the left of the line; and, having again taken post in the centre, the whole passed the king by corps and companies, saluting as they passed. When again formed, three rounds from right to left were fired by the infantry; and it is but justice to say, that the firings were on the whole exceedingly good. The infantry corps then marched off the ground to their respective homes; and the Surry yeomanry cavalry, commanded by lord Leslie, who had been posted on the right, advanced to perform some evolutions and manœuvres, which they went through in a very creditable manner. Her majesty with some of the princesses, was on the ground in carriages; and his majesty was attended by their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester, and a long train of general and staff officers. Lord Onslow attended as lord-lieutenant of the county. After the review, their majesties and the princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, the prince of Wales, dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester, the countesses of Paulett, Uxbridge, and lady Caroline Damer, breakfasted, by invitation, with Mr. Dundas and lady Jane, at their elegant mansion; from which the

royal party, at three o'clock, took leave, to dine with the duke of Cumberland at Kew.

Letter to Lord Onslow on the above.

My Lord, *Wimbledon, July 4.*

I have received his majesty's particular commands, to convey to your lordship, for the information of the volunteer corps of the county of Surry, which his majesty has this day reviewed, the very sincere gratification his majesty has derived from the regularity, order, and military appearance they have displayed in his majesty's presence. His majesty contemplates these happy effects as the fruits of that spirit of loyalty and zeal which has associated in arms his subjects of every rank and description; and they, in common with his majesty, cannot fail to enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction of reflecting upon the great additional security which our happy constitution has received from these laudable and well-timed exertions. Knowing, as I do, the uniform vigilance and zeal with which your lordship has discharged the duties of your high situation in the county of Surry, I beg leave to congratulate you personally on this flattering testimonial of his majesty's approbation. I have the honour to be, &c.

Henry Dundas.

Admiralty Office, July 6. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the following merchant vessels by his majesty's squadron under the command of vice-admiral Harvey:—By the Bittern, the Spanish ship Amistad, letter of marque, laden with wine, brandy, &c.; by the Lapwing, two French schooners, La Revanche and L'Aimable, laden with dry goods, provisions, &c.; by the Concorde, the French schooner La Recherche laden with sugar and coffee; by the Southampton, the French schooner Caroline, laden with coffee; by the Pearl, the Dutch schooner Maria, laden with salt: by the Victorieuse, a small Spanish schooner, laden with salt; besides three British and twelve American vessels recaptured, and fourteen vessels under neutral colours, detained on suspicion of having enemy's property on board.

Downing-street, July 9.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts have been received from the right hon. lord Henley and lieutenant-colonel Crawfurd, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Zurich, July 24. I have the honour to inform your lordship, that a courier arrived this afternoon from Turin with official dispatches from gen. Kray to the archduke Charles, informing his royal highness that marshal Suwarroff had marched with a part of his army against gen. Macdonald, who was attempting to effect a junction with Moreau, and had defeated him in an action which took place at Gioani near Bobbio. Gen. Haddik has received orders from marshal Suwarroff to return by the Simplon into the Valais, which will, no doubt, occasion a material alteration in the position of the armies.

Vienna, June 23. I think it right to lose no time in informing your lordship, that by accounts just arrived from marshal Suwarroff, dated the 13th, from Asti, the intelligence of the enemy's fleet having effected a disembarkation at Genoa appears to have been unfounded, as well as that of the exaggerated amount of the force of gen. Moreau's army. Letters were at the same time received from gen. Kray of the 15th, which agree with those of the marshal in stating, that the

the enemy were moving with a force, which the most authentic accounts made to amount to about 25000 men, through the Modenese in the direction of Mantua, probably with the view of raising the siege of that fortress. Gen. Kray, who had already marched with a few of his cavalry, in obedience to marshal Suwarroff's orders, had in consequence determined to return to his station before Mantua. The marshal had detached to him reinforcements, and intended immediately to march himself to Valentia; and the Austrian troops, which occupied Reggio, Parma, and Modena, &c. had retired, and were concentrating themselves towards Mantua.

Admiralty Office, July 9.

Copy of a letter from capt. Winthrop, of his majesty's ship Circe, to lord viscount Duncan.

My Lord, *Circe at Sea, June 29.*

Having received information that several Dutch gun-vessels were lying at the back of the island of Ameland, and captains Temple and Boorder, of his majesty's sloops Jalouse and L'Espiegle, having very handsomely volunteered their services to cut them out; I ordered the boats of his majesty's ships named in the margin * to proceed under their command on the night of the 27th inst. for that purpose, and anchored with the ships as near the shore as possible, in readiness to afford every assistance in my power. I am sorry to say it now appears that the gun-vessels had previously shifted their birth with the ebb tide, and were lying aground when the boats got in, at a place where it was impossible to get near them. The officers and men were therefore ordered to cut out as many vessels from the Waddie as it might be practicable to bring away; and I have the satisfaction to add, they succeeded in getting out 12, without a man being killed or wounded, though the enemy annoyed them as much as possible from their batteries. Six of the vessels have valuable cargoes, and were bound to Amsterdam; the others are in ballast.

R. WINTHROP.

Downing-street, July 10.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from the right hon. lord William Bentinck, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

My Lord, *Placenza, June 22.*

Before I begin to relate the different actions which have taken place and which, I am happy to say, have terminated in the most complete success, it will be necessary previously to state to your lordship the situation of the allied army, by which you will be better able to understand the views of the enemy, and the movements by which they have been defeated. The great and extensive plan of operations undertaken by field-marshal Suwarroff have necessarily very much divided his force. Besides the siege of Turin, Mantua, Alexandria, and Tortona, were blockaded. The passes of Suza, Pignerol, and the Col d'Assiette, have been occupied. Major gen. Hohenzollern was posted at Modena with a considerable corps: Lieut.-gen. Ott, with 10,000 men, at Reggio, observed the movements of the enemy on that side, while field-marshal Suwarroff remained at Turin with the rest of the army. This divided state of the army appears to have presented to gen. Moreau the most favourable opportunity of retrieving the French affairs in

* Circe, Jalouse, Pylades, L'Espiegle, Tysiphone.

Italy. He hoped, by strongly reinforcing the army of Naples, that gen. Macdonald would be able to defeat the separate corps of generals Ott and Hohenzollern, and afterwards to effect a junction with the army under his own command; and he probably conceived that the field-marshal was too distant to afford assistance. With this view the army of Macdonald, which had advanced very far to the north of Italy, was joined by the division of Victor, and, from the report of the French officers taken, must have amounted to near 30,000 men, composed entirely of French, with the exception of one Polish legion. Field-marshal Suwarroff, having received information of the intentions of the enemy, immediately collected all the force at Alexandria, whence he marched on the 15th with 17 battalions of Russian 12 battalions of Austrian dragoons, and 3 regiments of Cossacks. In the mean time gen. Macdonald had fallen upon major-gen. Hohenzollern, and had obliged him to cross the Po with considerable loss. Lieut-gen. Ott had also been obliged to retire from Reggio to Placenza. On the 17th the French attacked gen Ott, and compelled him to fall back upon Castel S. Gioanni, when the arrival of the army, under the command of field marshal Suwarroff, enabled lieutenant-gen. Ott to repulse the French behind the Iidone river, with the loss of one piece of cannon and several prisoners. On the 18th the army marched in three columns to attack the enemy. The Russian general Rosenberg commanded the right column, the Russian general Forester the centre, and gen Melas the left. The Russian major gen prince Prokration commanded the advanced guard, prince Lichtenstein the reserve. The columns moved a The country is perfec very much intersected and rows of vines. It pear that the enemy particular position. corps of 2 battalion at Cassaleggio was att Russian grenadiers, made prisoners. Th retired behind the Tr too late, and the troo much fatigued, to m attack, which was o next morning. The most rapid torrent i distance from one ban is near a mile. The space is an open san several streams, whi son are fordable any French occupied th the allies the left. while the allies were make the attack, the a very heavy fire up line. For a moment t in turning the right o at Cassaleggio, and o fall back; but at this Prokration, who had with the same inten my's left, fell upon flank, and took one pi and many prisoners. did not however, giv ject. They renewed peatedly upon the vil leggio; but they w feated by the obstin the Russians. The at centre and left was e For some time the doubtful, but at nig French line was re the Trebbia. It w tion of the field-m roff to have followe cess the next morn French army retire

On the 20th, in the morning, the army pursued the enemy in two columns. The Russians on the right marched by Settima, Montaruno, and Zena, where the rear guard of the French, after an obstinate resistance, laid down their arms. The left column, composed of Austrians, marched on the great road from Placenza to Parma as far as Ponte Nura. On the 21st the army moved on to Fiorensola. Lieut.gen. Ott was detached with a corps of Austrians in pursuit of the enemy. Several prisoners have already been sent in. General Ott has reported, that the French are retiring in two columns, one upon Parma, the other upon Forte Novo. Prince Hohenzollern has again advanced to Parma. Seven pieces of cannon, four French generals, and above 10,000 prisoners have fallen into the hands of the allies. General Moreau has advanced to Tortona, where he gained a slight advantage over the advanced posts of general Bellegarde. Gen. Moreau's army, from all reports, does not exceed 12,000 men, among whom are a vast number of Genoese. Not having seen any return of the killed and wounded of the Austrians, it is impossible for me to say what their loss has been; it must have been considerable. W. BENTINCK.

My Lord, *Placenza, June* 23.

Since I had the honour of writing to your Lordship yesterday, the very important news of the surrender of the citadel of Turin has arrived. The garrison is to return to France immediately, to be exchanged for an equal number of Austrian prisoners. Gen. Fiorella, the commandant of the citadel, and all the French officers taken with him, are detained as hostages till the articles of the capitulation are executed. Field-marshal Suwarroff arrived here this morning with the main army; he will march to-morrow towards Alexandria in order to cover the sieges of that town and of Tortona. Gen. Ott has formed a junction with major generals Klenau and Hohenzollern at Parma. Gen. Macdonald has retreated with his whole corps by Forte Novo towards Genoa. W. BENTINCK.

13. The north-west wing of the King's Bench prison was about nine this evening discovered to be on fire. The flames burst forth with incredible fury, and were driven by the wind towards the centre of the building. The consternation which immediately took place is hardly to be expressed, not only within the prison but without. Many of the prisoners' wives and relatives who resided in the rules, alarmed at so dreadful a conflagration, appeared under the walls shrieking, and demanding the release of those whom their fears represented in such imminent danger; but, at the very first intimation of the accident, St. George's, the Bermondsey, St. Saviour's, Lambeth, Christ Church, and Newington volunteers, with a party of the Surry cavalry, attended, and prevented the populace in general from taking that step. Within the prison, not the slightest endeavour was made on the part of any one to escape beyond its walls; all were engaged in assisting those who were more immediately within the reach of danger. Above an hour had elapsed before the engines arrived and began to work, by which time the flames had arrived at an ungovernable height. They raged with such violence, that it was with difficulty a small part of the prisoners' furniture and effects were saved. Many wretched and indigent families, whose whole property was con-

tained in their rooms, were compelled to leave it a prey to the devouring element. How the fire was occasioned no one can with certainty tell. It broke out at N°. 10, in an upper room in the farther corner of that part of the building where the tap is, just at the entrance of the prison. There was no fire in the room, nor was there even a fire-place. The person who occupied it was an old man, of the name of Adams, who at the time of the accident was drinking at the Brace, a public room at the farther end of the prison. The story he related is, that his son had called upon him early in the evening, and had left him two 10l. notes, which he was to call for again on Monday morning; for the better security of these notes, he put them in his trunk, and he supposes, at the time he did so, a spark from the candle fell into the trunk. The part where the fire commenced is called the Old Building, and the upper rooms are not vaulted, consequently the whole was consumed; the flames then spread through the two upper stories, as far as the chapel, consuming nearly the whole of them; both in front of the parade and in the back part of the prison. Here the firemen prevented it extending farther by forcing off the division N° 6, adjoining, at the back of which it ended, by consuming the apartment occupied by Lady Murray, at N° 1, in division 15. There are between 80 and 100 rooms destroyed. When this building was erected, the floor of the upper story was not vaulted; had it been so, the present accident would have been comparatively trifling. The second story was vaulted, otherwise the whole fabric must have been destroyed. There are a few rooms which were vaulted, and are preserved, though they were surrounded by flames. It was not till one in the morning that the fire was subdued, and it was near four before it was finally extinguished.

This afternoon, about three, one of the largest powder mills on Twickenham Common, not far from Hanworth, blew up, with a most violent explosion, attended by circumstances of the most melancholy nature. Four men employed in corning the powder were blown to atoms in the air, and many of the timbers of the building thrown to a distance of half a mile. It was only on the Thursday preceding that a smaller mill, belonging to the same proprietors, blew up, but no lives were lost. The explosion of this day broke many panes of glass at the distance of one and two miles.

Admiralty Office, July 16. This gazette contains an account of the capture of L'Hypolite French letter of marque; and the Déterminé French ship privateer, pierced for twenty-four guns, mounting eighteen brass twelve and nine pounders, and having 163 men on board when taken, by the Révolutionaire;—also, of the re-capture of the brig Margaret, by the Diamond.

19. This afternoon another powder-mill at Hounslow blew up, and three men unfortunately lost their lives. It was a corning-mill, and the oldest of all the mills on the premises, as it has stood thirty-three years; and one of the men who fell a victim, Benjamin Clements, had had the management of it for twenty-five years. The proprietor of the mills had only quitted the spot a minute or two when the explosion happened, being sent for to his counting-house. The effects of the explosion were dreadful. The bodies of the three men who

who perished were mangled in a shocking manner; their clothes quite burnt off, and their skin black.

Admiralty Office, July 20.

Copy of a letter from captain Digby, of his majesty's ship Alcmene, to earl St. Vincent.

My Lord, *Alcmene, July 6.*

Receiving information of several large privateers, that had been hovering on the coast of Portugal, having gone to the westward, I thought it expedient for the commercial interest to exceed the limits of my station, and on the 22d of June, in lat. 38 deg. 50 min. north, long. 31 deg. west, a ship boarding an American was seen, which I chaced; she parting, the American made to, and told me she was French, then distant two leagues; the weather being clear I saw his manœuvres, and acted accordingly throughout the night, and by using every possible exertion I got round the island of Corvo, in calms and light winds, on the 23d; the enemy, equally active in his endeavours to avoid, preserved his distance by towing and sweeping to the westward. On the 24th and 25th I passed two English brigs, and upwards of forty sail of merchant vessels, steering for Lisbon. A breeze from the northward on the 26th brought me by six in the morning within gun-shot of the enemy; a running fight commencing, she struck after seven, in lat. 39 deg. 10 min. north, long. 33 deg. west, having suffered in her hull, sails and rigging; is named the Courageux, of Bourdeaux, pierced for thirty-two, but carrying only twenty-eight 12 and 9-pounders (of which some were thrown overboard during the chace), with 253 men, commanded by Jean Bernard; twenty-three days last from Passage, expressly to intercept a Brazil convoy. H. DIGBY.

Copy of a letter from captain Winthrop, of his majesty's ship Circe to lord Duncan.

Circe, off Ameland, July 11,

My Lord,

I feel great pleasure in acquainting your lordship, that the boats of our little squadron * made another dash into the Watt, at the back of Ameland, last night, and brought out three valuable vessels deeply laden with sugar, wine, and brandy; they also burnt a large galliott laden with brass ordnance and stores which could not be brought off, notwithstanding the perseverance of captain Mackenzie, to whom I am very much indebted for his coolness and judgment in the management of this affair; and also to captain Boorder, whose local knowledge has been of great use to me. Lieutenant Searle, who commanded a schoot converted into a gun-boat, and lieutenant Pawle, who commanded the Circe's boats, upon this (as well as upon a former) occasion, conducted themselves very much to my satisfaction, as did the honest fellows under their command, who were at their oars fifteen or sixteen hours, in a very hot day, opposed to an enemy of superior force; but I am happy to say not a man was hurt.

R. WINTHROP.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of La Vénus French privateer brig, of twelve 4 and two 9-pounders, and manned with 101 men, by the Indefatigable;—also, Le Duquesne French privateer brig, of sixteen 9-pounders, and 129 men, by the Amphitrite;—

* Circe, Pylades, L'Espiegle, Courier cutter, and Nancy cutter.

also, L'Hirondelle French lugger privateer, of five guns, two swivels, and twenty-three men, by the Hound;—and also, La Courageux lugger privateer, of fourteen guns, and forty-seven men, and one of her four prizes re-captured by the cruizer.]

Downing-street, July 20.

Dispatches, of which the following are copy and extract, have been received from lieutenant-colonel Robert Craufurd, by the right honourable lord Grenville:

My Lord, *Zurich, July 6.*

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on the 3d inst. a considerable corps of the right wing of general Massena's army, under the command of the general of division Le Courbe, attacked general Yellachitz's position in the canton of Schweitz, on the whole extent of his front, from the Sill to Schweitz and Brunnen. The affair lasted the greater part of the day; and although the French at first gained some ground, they were afterwards completely repulsed; and general Yellachitz's corps re-occupied all its former posts, except Brunnen, of which the enemy retained possession on the evening of the 3d, but from whence he was also repulsed the next morning. Major general Yellachitz bestows great praise on the conduct of the contingent troops of the cantons of Glaris and Schweitz.

ROBERT CRAUFURD.

Zurich, July 7. I have much satisfaction in being able to inform your lordship, that in consequence of the total defeat of general Macdonald's army, and the retreat of Moreau, general Haddick's corps, the destination of which has been so frequently changed, is now decidedly on the point of entering the Valais.

Admiralty Office, July 29.

Copy of a letter from capt. H. Lidgbird Ball, of his majesty's ship Dædalus, to capt. G. Losack, of his majesty's ship Jupiter.

Dædalus, Cape of Good Hope, Feb. 16.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the 9th inst. in lat. 31 deg. 30 min. south, long. 33 deg. 20 min. east, a little past day-light in the morning, we saw two sail on the starboard bow; perceiving one to be a large ship, gave chace to her at six. At half past twelve P. M. came up alongside of the chace, and brought her to action; in fifty-seven minutes after which she struck. She proved to be La Prudente French national frigate, from the Isle of France, manned with 297 men, and mounts twenty six 12-pounders on the main deck, two long 6 pounders, and two brass howitzers on the quarter-deck; she is pierced for forty-two guns, fourteen on a side, besides the bridle-port on the main deck; was built at Brest about eight years since, and is a very fine large ship. The ship in her company when we first saw her was an American, which they had sent on to the Isle of France as a prize. It is with great satisfaction that I communicate the capture of La Prudente, being one of the frigates which has done so much injury to our trade in the East Indies for some time past. All the officers and ship's company behaved to my full satisfaction during the action; and I beg to recommend in the strongest terms the first lieutenant, Mr. Nicholas Tucker, who is now in charge of the prize. Inclosed I transmit a list of the killed and wounded on board the two ships,

H. L. BALL.

Return of the killed and wounded.

Dædalus; one seaman and one marine

marine killed; eleven seamen and one marine wounded.

La Prudente; twenty-seven killed; twenty-two wounded.

Downing-street, July 23.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, were this day received from the right hon. lord Henley by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Vienna, July 6. The letters from Constantinople, of the 18th past, state, that official intelligence had been received by the Turkish government from Acre, that the garrison of that place had made, on the 21st of May, a general sally against the army of general Buonaparte, had completely defeated it, and put a great part of it to the sword; that general Buonaparte had in consequence found himself obliged to set fire to his camp and baggage, and to avail himself of the darkness of the night to retire towards Joppa; that Gezzar Pacha had immediately not only sent his cavalry in pursuit of him, but had dispatched orders to the proper places, in as far as might be possible to straiten or cut off his retreat; and that the heads of 13 French generals, and 300 French officers, sent by different Tartars, had arrived at Constantinople, and had been exposed, according to custom, on the gate of the palace, with a suitable inscription.

A second messenger from marshal Suwarroff, dispatched from Alexandria on the 1st inst. is just arrived. I am informed that, besides a detailed relation of the brilliant successes of the imperial army on the 17th, 18th, and 19th past, and by which it appears that the loss of the French amounts in all to 20,000 men killed and taken prisoners, he brings an account of the Austrians having re-occupied the town of Tortona.

Extract of a letter from lord Henley to lord Grenville, dated Vienna, July 9.

An express arrived yesterday with dispatches from gen. Kray of the 1st inst. mentioning the surrender of Bologna, by capitulation, to general Klenau, on the preceding day. In addition to the intelligence which I lately conveyed to your lordship of the defeat of general Buonaparte, and his flight towards Joppa, I have now to state, that this government has received official accounts from Constantinople, dated the 22d past, that Joppa had been taken by the allied force (meaning, it is to be supposed, that under Sir Sidney Smith and a body of Turks); that Buonaparte had reached to El Arist, on the frontier of Syria, in his flight; and that it was scarcely to be believed that, in his present circumstances of distress, he would be able to gain in safety the Egyptian side of the desert.

Extract of a letter from lord Henley to lord Grenville, dated Vienna, July 11.

It is with great joy and unfeigned pleasure, that I inform your lordship, that a messenger arrived here about an hour ago from Florence, with letters dated the evening of the 6th inst. stating, that on the evening of the preceding day, the people having assembled in great force, and cut down what is styled the Tree of Liberty, the French centinels and corps de garde had retired into the forts, and that the following day all the French troops had left that town and Pistoia, and marched towards Leghorn; the old magistrates had immediately resumed their functions, and had replaced the arms of the grand-duke in the places from which they had been taken down. No disorder whatever had taken place, and the greatest

greatest demonstrations of joy had been exhibited by all ranks of people. General Klenau writes on the 7th from Bologna, that, in consequence of the instances of the magistrates of Florence, he sent thither a detachment of troops under the command of colonel D'Aspre; these troops were attacked by the French garrison that marched out of Bologna, but succeeded in repelling them.

Admiralty Office, July 27.

Copy of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Port Mahon, June 14.

SIR,

I inclose a letter from capt. Peard of his majesty's ship the Success, recounting a very gallant exploit performed by the 1st and 3d lieutenants of that ship, the lieutenant of marines, and the crews of three boats; which appears to me equal to any enterprize recorded in the naval history of Great Britain, and will, I am fully persuaded, merit the approbation of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

ST. VINCENT.

Success, Port Mahon, June 13.

My Lord,

The ninth inst. standing towards Cape Creuse, in pursuance of instructions I had received from lord Keith, I discovered a palacca in the N. W. to whom I gave chace; but, in consequence of her being near the land, I could not prevent her getting into the harbour of La Selva, a small port two leagues to the northward of the cape; however, as she had shewn Spanish colours, and there being no appearance of batteries to protect her, and the weather very favourable, I was induced to send the ship's boats to try to bring her out, with instructions to lieut. Facey, who commanded, to return, should he find any opposition of consequence. At four in the afternoon lieut. Facey in the barge, lieut. Stupart in the launch, and lieut. Davison of the marines in the cutter, all volunteers on this occasion, put off from the ship, and at eight, after a good deal of firing, I had the satisfaction of seeing the palacca coming out round a point, which had kept them from our sight for more than an hour. During the time the boats were engaged, several of the enemy's gun-boats endeavoured to get in, but were prevented by our boats. The captured vessel proved to be the Bella Aurora, from Genoa, bound to Barcelona, laden with cotton, silk, rice, &c. mounting ten carriage-guns, 9 and 6-pounders, and having on board, when attacked, 113 men. She was surrounded by a netting, and supported by a small battery and a large body of musquetry from the shore. I am sorry to inform your lordship that our loss has been great, three of those gallant fellows having been killed on the spot; and lieut. Stupart, an officer inferior to none in abilities, with nine others, badly wounded, one of whom died this morning. The conduct of lieut. Facey, my lord, who commanded, does him, in my opinion, great honour; he appears to have been the first on board, and to have shown, throughout the whole, great firmness and good example. The attack, my lord, was made in the face of day, by forty-two men, in three boats, against a ship armed with 113 men, secured with a boarding netting and supported by a battery and a large body of men at small arms on the shore. I trust, my lord, this fair statement of facts will be a sufficient recommendation of lieutenants Facey and Stupart, and lieutenant Davison of the marines, together with the petty officers

officers and men who acted with them.
S. PEARD.

List of killed and wounded.

Barge; John Grey, killed; John Londres, ditto; John Shaw, wounded; Thomas Edwards, ditto; John Hughes, ditto; William Robinson, ditto.—Launch; Wm. Orr, killed; lieutenant G. Stupart, wounded; Richard Hornsby, ditto; William Madden, ditto.—Cutter; Thomas Needham, wounded; Wm. Lamb, ditto.

Copy of a letter from capt. Markham to vice admiral lord Keith.

Centaur, June 19.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that, pursuant to your signal of yesterday for a general chace to the N.E. I came up with and captured three frigates on the evening of this day. The Bellona and Santa Teresa frigate being nearest when the two sternmost struck. I made their signals to take possession of them, whilst I pursued the third, which struck also in an hour afterwards. The Emerald, in the mean time, took the Salamine brig: and the Captain, the Alerte. This squadron was commanded by rear admiral Perré, thirty-three days from Jaffa, bound to Toulon; for their names and force I beg leave to refer you to the list.
J. MARKHAM.

La Junon, rear-admiral Perré, Perquesser captain, forty guns, 18-pounders, 500 men. Le Courageux, Bailli captain, twenty-two guns, 12-pounders, 300 men. L'Aceste, Barree captain, thirty-six guns, 12-pounders, 300 men. La Salamine brig, Sandry lieutenant, eighteen guns, 6-pounders, 120 men. L'Alerte brig, Dumay lieutenant, fourteen guns, 6-pounders, 120 men.

Extract of a letter from capt. Wood to admiral lord viscount Duncan.

H. M. S. Hound, June 26.

My Lord,

Since my last letter to you of the 20th inst. acquainting you of the capture of La Hirondelle, French privateer, being off this harbour, I received information from the consul of a large lugger of sixteen guns, which was cruising in the Bite, or off the Scaw. On the 25th, at two A. M. I fell in with her, and after a chace of fourteen hours, having shot away her mainmast, I drove her on shore on the coast of Jutland, between Robsaout and Hartshall; blowing very hard, with a heavy sea on the beach, she was soon dashed to pieces, and, I fear, many of the lives of the crew were lost. It gives me pleasure in having destroyed her, as she was one of the largest and fastest sailing vessels on the coast, and was following the rear of the Baltic convoy when I fell in with her.

I have the honour to be, &c.
J. WOOD.

[This gazette also contains an account of the following captures: Ten vessels laden with wheat, sheep, and other articles of provisions, off Minorca, by his majesty's ship Ethalion, capt. Young. — La Caroline French privateer, sixteen guns and ninety men, by the Emerald, and La Minerve, off Sardinia.—The St. Anthonio Spanish armed brig, of fourteen brass guns and seventy men, and a xebec, by the Terpsichore frigate. — L'Egyptienne, French schooner-privateer, pierced for fourteen, mounting eight guns, by the Netley gun-vessel, lieut. Bond, who had also re-taken five or six smaller vessels.—Also, a list of vessels taken by admiral Parker's squadron, on the Jamaica station, since the 6th ult. amounting to eighteen small privateers, and some merchant vessels.]

Downing-

Downing-street, July 27. Under date Vienna, July 8, are given farther particulars of the battles which were fought on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of June, between the rivulet Tidone, and the river Trebbia; and of the pursuit of the enemy on the 20th, over the river Nura. After detailing the battle of Piacenza, and the retreat of the enemy from that place during the night of the 20th, the account adds—The army continued the pursuit to Fiorenzola, where they arrived on the 21st. Field-marshal lieutenant Ott reached Borgo St. Tonino the same day, and pursued the enemy next day as far as Parma, where general Hohenzollern had already arrived from Mantua, and found 200 of the enemy wounded; field marshal lieut. Ott took 120 prisoners on his march there. The 22d, the army rested at Fiorenzolo; but, as the news of general Moreau advancing with 18,000 men from Genoa by Bochetta into the plains between Tortona and Alessandria had reached them, the army had broke up on the 23d from Fiorenzolo, and got by forced marches already as far as the river Selvia by the 25th; but Moreau did not find it prudent to wait their arrival. General Suwarroff, in consequence of this, took possession of the town of Tortona, with four battalions, and blockaded the citadel as before Moreau had been engaged on the 20th with field-marshal count Bellegarde, who had but an inconsiderable body of men to oppose to the superior force of the enemy, being obliged to keep Alessandria blockaded. He however succeeded, though with the severe loss of 203 killed, 578 wounded, and 1229 prisoners, in such a manner that the enemy remained full four days inactive, and on the 5th commenced their retreat through Novi, and on the 26th were continuing their retreat over Bochetta. Thus was the army of the enemy in the space of ten days almost entirely annihilated, the siege of the citadel of Mantua once more secured, the whole of the river Po liberated, Tortona again blockaded, and Moreau driven back to his former position. The advantages gained during the whole of this contest consist in a loss on the part of the enemy of 6000 killed, 5085 taken prisoners on the field of battle, 7183 wounded, made prisoners in Piacenza, amongst whom are four generals, eight colonels, 502 officers of the staff and commissioned officers; in the whole 18,068 men; lastly, seven cannon and eight standards. The loss on our side consists in killed, ten staff and commissioned officers, and 248 non-commissioned officers and privates; in wounded eighty-seven officers of the staff and commissioned officers, and 1869 non-commissioned officers and privates. The imperial Russian army lost in killed, one lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and 675 privates; in wounded three generals, three colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, five majors, thirty-five commissioned officers, and 2041 privates.

Vienna, July 10. According to the information sent here the 1st inst. by the general of artillery, Kray, the vanguard of field-marshal-lieutenant Ott, commanded by general count Klenau, came up with the rear of general Macdonald at Bologna on the 30th of June, and compelled general Hullin, commander of it, to evacuate immediately, and surrender that place. His royal highness the archduke Charles has sent accounts, dated the 28th and

and 29th ult. that general count Meerveld had advanced over Hassach, by the orders of field-marshal lieutenant count Sztarray, on a reconnoitring party, by which the enemy have been driven from the environs of Offenburg, which town general Meerveld had occupied the 26th. The enemy retired to Kehl; and the generals Meerveld and Georger posted themselves, the first at Gengenbach, the latter at Oppenan. By this expedition one colonel, six officers, and 240 privates, have been brought in prisoners; the 10th and 23d French regiments of cavalry have been nearly cut to pieces. Our loss was not considerable. The detailed account promised by the archduke, of the actions before Zurich of the 4th and 5th June, are given in this gazette. The loss of the enemy in the affair of the 4th is stated at 4000 men killed and wounded; amongst the latter, generals Cherin, Cudnot, and Humbert; and of the Austrians 1600 men.

30. This gazette contains an account, dated Vienna, July 10, of the armed peasantry in Piedmont having taken possession of the fortress of Ceva, and, by their deputies, requested the commander in chief of the army to send Austrian troops into the fortress; and a journal of the march of capt. Schmelzer, and of the taking possession of the fortress by the imperial troops, and placing it in a state of defence.

AUGUST.

1. During the greatest part of yesterday the different volunteer associations of the county of Kent were collecting in the town and neighbourhood of Maidstone. All the roads thither were so thronged with companies and carriages of every description, that they were rendered almost impassable. Waggons and carts, covered over to exclude the rain, and decorated with variegated colours and oak-boughs, added to the attraction of the day. Towards the evening, the town of Maidstone was so full of volunteers and the different companies, that no accommodation could then be obtained for strangers. Even horses were in the same disagreeable predicament, as the stables were all completely occupied. Happy were they who could squeeze themselves into the corner of the most obscure and insignificant public-house; and the majority of this class sat up all night, as access to beds defied the greatest intrigue. To give peculiar pomp to the volunteers, they marched into Maidstone with drums beating and colours flying, accompanied by the bands in full tune. All the volunteers wore oak-boughs in their hats, rendering the whole a very interesting scene. Private parties poured into the town from all quarters, even at a late hour, continuing so all night; and the whole county of Kent seemed as it were uncommonly alive, and proud on the memorable occasion. The royal standard was raised on the town hall and the church, and the union flag displayed from many windows in the streets of the town. Such volunteers as marched had waggons and carts attending them, to convey those necessaries of which they stood mostly in need. During the whole of the afternoon, the road to lord Romney's seat, at Mote, about a mile from the town of Maidstone, was crowded, passing and re-passing to see the preparations making for the reception of their majesties and the volunteers the next day. A pavilion was erected on a rising part of the lawn, at the back of his lordship's house,

house, for the royal family (highly pleased on the occasion) to dine; and another, nearly adjoining, for the nobility attending. The pavilion for his majesty was elegantly decorated with festoons and wreaths of flowers, and the ground covered with green baize. Temporary tables and benches were erected near to the spot, in two divisions, (but so as to be all within sight of the royal tent), for the volunteers to dine; upon which cloths were laid, and knives and forks placed for near 6000 persons, over each of which a plate was turned, in case it should rain in the night. The tables amounted to 91 in number, and were arranged in order, close to each other, in two divisions; the whole length of the different tables, added, amounted to 13,333 yards, or nearly seven miles and a half, and the value of the woodwork exceeded 1500l. On the other side or front of the house, was a small train of artillery, encamped with tents. About five o'clock on Thursday morning, the companies began to move to the ground, and by nine the whole was occupied. The volunteers were drawn up in a double line, extending from one end of the park to the other, the Maidstone volunteers taking the right of the front line. The morning was very fine until about half past ten o'clock, when a hard shower of rain came on, and lasted about an hour. A grand pavilion was erected for the royal family, in the front of the line. About ten o'clock, the Stadtholder appeared on the ground and walked to the royal tent, where he waited the arrival of the royal family. In half an hour after, the duke of York arrived, attended by Sir Charles Gray, Sir Robert Lawrie, and many of the nobility and gentry, among whom were Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, the lord chancellor, &c. all on horseback, and each a branch of oak in his hat. The royal family set off from Kew about five in the morning, and went to breakfast with lord Camden, at his seat at Wilderness, near Riverhead; but on account of the badness of the roads in some parts, and the delay occasioned at breakfast, they did not arrive at lord Romney's till about a quarter before twelve, and in the midst of a hard shower of rain. His majesty came on the ground on his charger, attended by his royal highness the prince of Wales and the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester. The queen, and the princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, were attended by lady Harrington in the state-carriage. A royal salute was fired upon his majesty's coming upon the ground. He took the station designed him for the troops to pass, which was near the tent fixed for the royal family, into which the queen and princesses went upon their arrival; and, on account of the rain, her majesty, in a very kind and condescending manner, invited as many of the nobility as it would contain; among whom we observed lady Radnor, lady Camden, lady Darnley, lady Jane Dundas, &c. As soon as the royal family were in their tent, they requested to have oak-boughs to decorate themselves, which were immediately brought, and the queen and princesses put them in their caps, and pinned them to their bosoms. His majesty, attended by the prince of Wales, and dukes of York, Cumberland and Gloucester, Sir Charles Grey, Sir Robert Lawrie, gen. Fox, and many of the nobility, passed the ranks in front of both line,

lines, complimenting the officers of the different associations as he passed, and afterwards went and reviewed the different troops of cavalry in a back ground. He then returned to the royal tent; and, upon a signal being given by the firing of a cannon, the whole lines formed into their companies. His majesty again took his former station near the royal tent; and the whole then passed in review before them, bands playing, colours flying, and saluting the royal family as they passed. The shower ceased soon after the king arrived, and it was very fine during the remainder of the day. The prince of Wales and duke of York, while the troops were parading, came into her majesty's tent, and chatted for a considerable time with them and many of the nobility. After the different companies had passed in review twice before the royal family, they were marched to a distant part of the ground, where they were formed in different parties, and posted in the woods, along the hedges, and in the roads, when a sham fight took place in the presence of the king and royal family, among the infantry, supported by the cavalry and the artillery; this had a very pleasing effect, and was well conducted. The fire of artillery and musquetry was tremendous and incessant for some time; it then ceased, and was renewed alternately, in different parts of the supposed engagement, and seemed greatly to delight and surprise the very numerous company that were assembled. This lasted about an hour and a half, and was over a little before three. The associations then returned to their former grounds, the infantry piled their arms, and the cavalry dismounted. A signal gun was then fired for them to go to dinner. Her majesty and the princesses, who during this time had been in their carriages to see these manœuvres, attended by the king and his party, then returned to the house and dismounted. They were afterwards introduced to the pavilion provided for them near the dinner tables, and there they saw the associations seat themselves at the tables. The prince of Wales returned to town before dinner. The greatest order was observed in the different companies seating themselves at the tables; and, to prevent confusion, the names of the different companies were painted on a board, and stuck up at the end of the tables they were to occupy. In about three quarters of an hour the companies were all seated at the tables, upon which the viands and wine provided for them had been placed early in the morning; and they began their dinner, which was in a sumptuous style. At this time the queen and princesses were in the pavilion provided for them; and his majesty was in the one provided for the nobility, where he held conversation with Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, the lord chancellor, Mr. Windham, the Stadtholder, and others of the nobility. An address was presented to his majesty upon the occasion by the corporation of Maidstone, attended by Mr. Snow the mayor, Mr. Morgan the recorder, and Samuel Chambers, esq. the sheriff of the county, which his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously; and they had the honour of kissing the king's hand. Mr. Chambers, the sheriff, was knighted; and we are happy in having it in our power to mention, that the lord chancellor took the opportunity of expressing a very friendly wish towards Mr. Morgan the

the recorder, which we think will give great pleasure to the gentlemen of the bar when they hear it. A sumptuous dinner was afterwards served up for the royal family in the pavilion, to which they sat down about half past three o'clock. The dinner party consisted of his majesty, the queen, two princesses, the dukes of York, Cumberland, Gloucester, the Stadtholder, and lady Harrington, as lady in waiting to the queen. They were waited upon during the dinner, by lord Romney, his son, and the three beautiful daughters of his lordship, the hon. Miss Marshams. While their majesties were at their dinner, another sumptuous one was provided for the ministers of state and nobility, at the tent erected near that of his majesty. At this table dined Mr. Dundas, the lord chancellor, the secretary at war, lords Darnley, Radnor, Camden, marquis of Huntley; ladies Jane Dundas, Darnley, Radnor, hon. Miss Bloch, and many others of the nobility, male and female. They were waited upon by his lordship's attendants, and Mr. Gunter, of Jermyn-street, who conducted the dinner, and supplied the confectionary. Among the most active waiters we observed John Townsend, the Bow-street officer, who stood behind the minister's chairs, and supplied them with what they wanted. The volunteers having finished their dinner, his majesty's health was given, in a bumper, by upwards of 6000, all standing, uncovered, with three times three, and loud and reiterated acclamations of joy, accompanied by the music of all the bands. After this were given "the queen and royal family." Then followed, "the duke of York and the army," "the volunteers of the county of Kent," &c. with three times three, standing and uncovered. A number of the officers then came up near the royal tent, and sung "God save the King!" which, when finished, was loudly cheered three times three by all the numerous company. Ld. Romney then came forward, and, after a short pertinent address to the company, proposed to give "his majesty's health!" in which all the volunteers joined, standing uncovered, with three times three. "God save the king!" was then sung by the whole body of the volunteers, accompanied by the music of their bands, which had the happiest effect. Several other loyal toasts and sentiments were afterwards drunk, in which all parties joined. The music played "God save the king!" "Rule Britannia!" &c. &c. About half past five o'clock, upon a signal gun being fired, the different companies withdrew from the dinner tables, got under arms, and then marched off in different directions. The royal family then returned to lord Romney's house, where they were refreshed with coffee; and about six o'clock, the king, queen, and princesses, set off for London. The dukes of York, Cumberland, Gloucester—the minister, and Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, with the lord chancellor, and master of the rolls, returned to Sir Charles Middleton's, at Teston, about five miles from Maidstone, where they had slept the preceding night. Through the whole of the day the most perfect order prevailed; and a general enthusiasm pervaded all ranks. A royal salute was fired on the king's departure, when the spectators began to divide. Many of them, with the associations which belonged to distant parts of the county, retired to the town of Maidstone, which

was

was sufficient to afford accommodation but to a very small share of the numbers that returned thither. Many, after getting some small refreshments, went away. The town and streets were crowded with company during the whole of the night, who were much entertained with the illuminations and transparencies that were exhibited in different parts.

Admiralty Office, Aug. 3.

Copy of a letter from Sir W. Sidney Smith, knt. to Evan Nepean, dated at Acre, May 3.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose you copies of my letters to earl St. Vincent of the 7th of April and 2d inst. for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty; as also a sketch of the position of the forces. The enemy have made two attempts since yesterday morning to force the two English ravelines, but were repulsed with loss. The works have now cannon mounted on them, and are nearly completed. We have thus the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the 46th day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared.

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Tigre, St. Jean D'Acre Bay, April 7.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that, as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale, allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay, with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterscarp, and even into the ditch of the N.E. angle of the town wall, where they were employed in mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable when they attempted to storm on the 1st inst. The Alliance and Prize gunboats, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out, except one; and capt. Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the Prize guns, under the direction of an able officer of engineers, col. Phelipeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a sortie was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place this morning just before day-light. The impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered their attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieut. Wright, who commanded the seamen pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its then state, by pulling down the supporters. Col. Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank to enable him to command the Turkish colonels, supported the seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the

enemy, bringing off lieut. Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench, from which they were not dislodged, as also Mr. Janverin, midshipman of the Tigre, and the rest of the wounded. The action, altogether, speaks for itself, and says more than could be said by me in praise of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to col. Douglas for having preserved my gallant friend, lieut. Wright, whose life, I am happy to say, is not despaired of by the surgeon. We have, however, to lament the loss of a brave and tried officer, major Oldfield, who commanded the Theseus's marines, and fell gloriously on the occasion, with two of the men under his command. Our loss in wounded is twenty-three, among whom, is lieutenant Beatty, of the marines, slightly. The Turks brought in above sixty heads, a greater number of musquets, and some intrenching tools, much wanted in the garrison. A farther attack on the enemy's second parallel was not to be attempted without a greater number of regular troops. The return of the detachment was well covered by the Theseus's fire, capt. Miller having taken an excellent position to that effect. The result of our day's work is, that we have taught the besiegers to respect the enemy they have to deal with, so as to keep at a greater distance. The apprehensions of the garrison are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have besides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcements daily expected. W. S. SMITH.

Tigre, moored off the walls of Acre, May 2.

The enemy continue to make the most vigorous efforts to overcome our resistance in the defence of this place. The garrison has made occasional sorties protected by our small boats on their flank with field pieces, in which the most essential service has been performed by lieut. Brodie and Mr. Atkinson of the Theseus, and Mr. Joes, master of the Tigre, who commanded them. Yesterday the enemy, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened; but were repulsed with loss. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flank the town walls; the gun-boats, launches, and other rowing-boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance. Nothing but desperation can induce them to make the sort of attempts they do, to mount a breach practicable only by the means of scaling ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see even the lives of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret. Our loss is as per list inclosed, and we have herein to lament some of the bravest and best among us. Capt. Wilmot was shot on the 8th ult. by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach. His loss is severely felt. We have run out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's nearest approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theseus have worked under a heavy and incessant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelipeaux, of the engineers,

neers, who protected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to the zeal for this service; want of rest, and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning. Our grief for this loss is excessive on every account. Colonel Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in compleating it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention, to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch the gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in one night all the mischief we do them in the day, and continue within half-pistol shot of the walls, in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts, under the direction of lieut. Knight. I hope I need not assure your lordship that we shall continue to do our duty to the utmost of our power, in spite of all obstacles; among which, climate, as it affects health, and the exposed nature of our rocky anchorage, are the most formidable, since they are not to be overcome, which I trust the enemy are, by our exertions. W. S. SMITH.

Return of the killed and wounded belonging to his majesty's ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, in the sortie on the 7th of April.

Tigre; lieutenant Wright; Mr. Jenverin, midshipman, and eleven men, wounded.

Theseus; Major Oldfield, of marines, and two private marines, killed; lieut. Beatty, of marines, Mr. James M. B. Forbes, midshipman, (slightly) and Cavanagh, and four private marines, wounded.

Alliance; one seaman and two marines wounded.

Total; one major, and two private marines, killed; one lieutenant, one lieutenant of marines, two midshipmen, one serjeant, six private marines, and twelve seamen wounded.

Return of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships between April 8 and May 2.

Tigre; Mr. Edward Morris, midshipman, and three seamen, killed; lieut. Knight, a contusion on his breast, John Bolton, boatswain's mate, and six seamen, wounded.

Theseus; one seaman killed; one marine wounded.

Alliance, capt. Wilmot, killed.

Total; one captain, one midshipman, and four seamen, killed; one lieutenant, one boatswain's mate, six seamen, one marine wounded.

[This gazette contains an account of his majesty's sloop Bulldog having destroyed four small coasters, and captured the Spanish schooner privateer El Juego, of ten muskets, ten pistols, and ten sabres, manned with sixteen stout men, of the burthen of about ten tons.]

Admiralty Office, Aug. 10.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Rainier to Evan Nepean, esq.

Bombay harbour, April 1.

SIR,

I have much pleasure in acquainting you, for their lordships' information, that captain Cooke, of his majesty's ship La Sybille, captured the French national frigate La Forte, of much superior force, on the 28th of February last, off the sand-heads of Bengal river, after a well-fought night action, wherein captain Cooke appears to have displayed the greatest degree of

courage, presence of mind, and professional abilities; and to have been nobly supported by the intrepid conduct of his officers and crew, part of which consisted of a company of his majesty's Scotch brigade, embarked, by order of his excellency the governor-general, on La Sybille's ship's company having been so much reduced by deaths, and debilitated by the severe illness contracted last year at Calcutta, during the repair of that ship, on which account many of them were left ashore at the hospital, and most of the remainder of her old and valuable crew in a weak state of convalescence. I feel the most sensible concern in acquainting you that the universal joy and satisfaction diffused over every countenance on hearing the news of this gallant capure, of so much importance to the trading part of the community, and also to the public service, was considerably damped on being informed that captain Cooke's wounds were of so dangerous a nature as almost to preclude every hope of his recovery. I transmit a copy of lieutenant Hardyman's letter on the occasion, containing a brief account of the action, addressed to general Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. vice president of the government of Fort William, as it was communicated to me by his excellency the earl of Mornington, then at Fort St. George, who has been pleased to testify the most sincere regard for captain Cooke's melancholy situation. It may be proper to inform you, that my not having received lieutenant Hardyman's account of the action is owing to the uncertainty where to address me; but which I shall inclose, if it arrive in time. I am informed by an officer in the marine, of this port, who was on board La Forte last September at the Mauritius, that she mounted thirty 4 pounders on the main-deck, fourteen 9-pounders, and eight 36 pounders, carronades, with a line of brass swivels on a flush-deck, continued from the quarter-deck to the forecastle. It appears she passed Aichin-head nearly about the same time his majesty's ship Sceptre did with the convoy from the Cape of Good Hope, and did not reach the Sandheads till the usual time was expired for expecting any of the enemy's cruisers thereabout. You will please to inform their lordships, that I shall order La Forte to be purchased and commissioned for his majesty's service, agreeable to the custom of the service, and appoint lieutenant Hardyman to the command, till their lordships' pleasure is known. I have the honour, &c.

PETER RAINIER.

La Sybille, Balasore Roads, March 2.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that in consequence of a report that the French frigate La Forte was in the bay, his majesty's frigate La Sybille sailed from Madras on the 19th of February, to cruise for her, and had the good fortune to fall in with her in these roads on the 28th, when, after an action of one hour and forty minutes, during which she was totally dismasted, with very little comparative damage to his majesty's ship, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that she struck. I much lament, that to this intelligence I must add that of the death of captain Davis, of lord Mornington's staff, who came a volunteer on this occasion, and who unfortunately fell early in the action; and with great regret I must also acquaint you, that captain Cooke is (it is feared mortally) wounded. The number of killed and

and wounded on board La Forte is not yet correctly known, but is stated to be very considerable; on board La Sybille, three killed, nineteen wounded. I have to request that you will order as speedy a conveyance as possible for captain Cooke, who, if he survives, will proceed to Calcutta; and that you will please to give the necessary orders that conveyance to Calcutta may be provided for the prisoners and the wounded.

L. HARDYMAN, First Lieutenant.

Downing-street, Aug. 16.

Dispatches from the right hon. lord Henley and the right hon. lord William Bentinck, of which the following are copies and extract, have been this day received by the right hon. lord Grenville.

My Lord,

I have the honuor of inclosing to your lordship two extraordinary gazettes of this place, the one published yesterdav evening, with the important intelligence of the surrender of the citadel of Alessandria on the 21st past; and the other published this afternoon, with the articles of capitulation of that fortress. The batteries against Mantua were finished on the 23d; and on the following day a most formidable and tremendous fire was opened upon that place from 111 pieces of artillery. M. Fiorella late commandant of the citadel of Turin, having endeavoured to inculcate into the minds of a small place near to Verona, where he resided on his parole, his own seditious principles, has been sent to the castle of Ruffstein; and it has been notified to some of the principal Cisalpine prisoners, for the information of the French directory, that if any cruelty be exercised on any of the French emigrants in the service of this country, made prisoners by the French, severe reprisals will be made on them (the Cisalpines) and such other prisoners as are not natives of France. It is with great pleasure that I mention that the report of M. de Chastelet's death, which was confidently reported, is not true.

HENLEY.

Vienna, July 30. General Melas has sent from the head-quarters of Alessandria the agreeable news of the surrender of that citadel. An approach was made from the second parallel against the glacis on the night between the 19th and 20th, and by this means thirty paces were gained from the glacis towards the covered way. As the batteries of the second parallel were now finished, and the artillery placed in them, the fire was recommenced with the utmost energy. The enemy then abandoned the covered way, and retired within the works. As the assault projected against the covered way, was now no longer necessary, field-marshal lieutenant Bellegarde determined on the following day to attack the counter-guard, to maintain himself there, and in the mean time to crown the salient angles of the covered way, and to re-establish the necessary communications. On the 21st this work was completed on the salient angles, and especially upon that of the counter-guard of the ravelin between the bastions Beato Amadeo and St. Carno. A demi sappe was also pushed forward in the centre to within twenty paces of the angle of the bastion Amadeo, and by means of three boyaux on the left wing to within thirty paces of the pallisades. In the mean time our batteries continued firing in the two parallels, and the enemy answered them briskly. Gen. Gardanne, commander of the citadel, seeing the approaching danger,

and probably unwilling to sustain an assault, sent, at three in the afternoon of the 21st, his adjutant-general Louis, with a letter to field-marshal lieutenant Bellegarde, to the following effect: "That the answer which he had given him to his first summons to surrender was such as his duty required of him, and such as the field-marshal lieutenant would have made had he been in his situation. But that now being enabled to listen to the voice of humanity without acting against his conscience or fear of reproach, he was disposed to enter into a negotiation for a capitulation, upon conditions which Frenchmen could accept, who knew how to sacrifice every thing for their honour." As the bearer had no full power, he was immediately sent back with injunctions to procure instructions and full powers within two hours, and to inform the commandant that he should be responsible for any loss occasioned by his delay. At eight in the evening the firing on both sides ceased. The capitulation was concluded. The garrison in consequence was made prisoners of war; they marched out on the 22d at four in the afternoon, laid down their arms on the glacis, and were sent by Pavia into the hereditary states. By an unfortunate accident, general Chastelet was severely wounded by a ball in quitting the trenches.

Vienna, July 31. General Melas has dispatched baron Ertel with six pair of colours, taken from the garrison of Alessandria, and with the following articles of capitulation:

Capitulation of the citadel of Alessandria, between field-marshal count de Bellegarde, in the service of his majesty the emperor and king, and the French general Gardanne, commander of the citadel.

Art. I. The garrison of the citadel of Alessandria shall march out of the gate of Asti with all military honours, drums beating, colours flying, and matches lighted, carrying with them two 4-pounders, with the necessary carts, horses, ammunition, and artillery. The garrison shall take post upon the glacis, from the gate of Asti to the gate of Alessandria, without laying down their arms. They shall return to France, but not to serve against the armies of his majesty the emperor and of his allies until their exchange, which is to take place before any other, and with a preference of Austrian and Russian prisoners of war, except such persons as are distinguished in the second article as not in the number of prisoners of war—Answer. The garrison shall march out with all military honours, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and two guns, through the gate of Asti, but upon the glacis they are to lay down their arms, and surrender as prisoners of war, to be sent to the dominions of his majesty the emperor.

II. The following persons shall not be considered as prisoners of war: the general of brigade Gardanne, commander of the division of Tonarro, general-adjutant Lewis, the other adjutants, the officers belonging to the staff, together with 300 military persons whom general Gardanne is to select from the garrison.—Answer. The commander, the adjutant general Lewis, the other adjutants, and the whole general staff, must share the fate of the garrison.

III. The officers shall keep their arms, horses, military equipage, and in general all their property; the men shall keep their knapsacks, and

and the other officers and persons following the army, their horses and other effects. Care shall be taken that the officers recovering from illness, and the other military persons that have no horses, shall be provided with them from one stage to another. The garrison of the Piedmontese, Cisalpines, and Swiss, making a part of the French army, shall enjoy the advantages of this article equally with the French troops.—Answer. The officers of higher ranks, as general Gardanne, general adjutant Lewis, the chiefs of artillery and of the other corps, shall keep their arms; the officers in general will retain their horses and military accoutrements; the men their knapsacks, and the officers and other persons their horses and effects. Care shall be taken to supply them with horses upon their march. The Piedmontese, Cisalpines, and Swiss, are prisoners of war equally with the French.

IV. There shall be granted ten covered waggons to contain the effects of the staff, and of the different corps, and the military chest; in case some corps should not be provided with ammunition waggons or horses, the Austrian army will provide them with these articles from one stage to another to the borders of Genoa.—Answer. The possession of the personal effects is granted, but as for the rest it is understood, that all military chests or magazines, plans, archives, and military stores whatever, whether they belong to the French or Piedmontese government, must be most faithfully delivered.

V. The sick shall be treated with humanity in the hospitals of Alessandria; the necessary surgeons and attendants shall be left, and, after their recovery, they are to enjoy the benefit of the capitulation equally with those who remain at Alessandria on account of their business. The sick are not to be considered as prisoners of war.—Answer. The sick and wounded are prisoners of war, and shall be treated with our usual humanity. The garrison are to leave behind the necessary surgeons and attendants.

VI. Three hours after the signing of this capitulation, the outer guards of the gate of the Vineyard, and of the gates of St. Michael and of St. Antonio, shall be given up to the Austrian troops; but the entrance into the citadel is only to be granted to the Austrian commissaries, and to those who are sent by the commander of the siege. The Austrian army are not to enter into the citadel till it is evacuated by the French garrison.—Answer. Three hours after the signing of this capitulation, the forces of his majesty shall garrison the inner gate of Asti, as well as the outer guard-pass of the gate.

VII. In case that the French army should not return to the neighbourhood of Genoa, leave will be granted to send an officer to the head-quarters of the commanding general with a copy of this capitulation.—Granted.

VIII. If there should be found in the capitulation any dubious article, it is to be explained in favour of the garrison.—Answer. On this head a fair explanation and agreement shall take place.

IX. The garrison are to be allowed a sufficient escort to the borders of Genoa.—Answer. The garrison, in conformity to the capitulation, shall be furnished with a sufficient escort.

Additional Articles.

Directly after the signing of the capitulation, the hostages of Piedmont secured in the citadel, together

with their effects, are to be delivered. Two hostages, an officer of the general staff and a captain, are to be exchanged until the complete fulfilling of this capitulation. An officer of the artillery corps and a commissary shall be sent into the citadel, to whom are to be given up, without the least reserve, all plans, magazines, and all other military effects belonging to government. The horses of the cavalry, and all others belonging to the French government shall be restored.

The garrison are to march out to-morrow, the 22d of July 1799, at four o'clock in the afternoon, through the gate of Asti; those that remain on account of the surrender of the military effects, may stay in the citadel till the complete execution of their business.

All horses or other effects belonging to the emperor, to the Austrian officers, or to any body that serves in the armies, shall be restored.

In witness of this, two copies have been made, signed, ratified, and exchanged.

In the camp before the citadel of Alessandria, July the 24th, ten o'clock at night, 1799.

Count de BELLEGARDE, Field-marshal.

GARDANNE, } Generals of Bri-
A. LEWIS, } gade.

There were found in the citadel 103 guns of different calibres; the other stores were not particularised at the departure of the express. The number of prisoners of war of the garrison was 2,400, except the sick that were left behind.

According to the reports of general Klenau to general Melas, dated the 20th, from Florence, the people of Tuscany, encouraged by the victories of the imperial armies, and by the love of their country and of their prince, and a hatred of the enemy, have invested Leghorn, Pisa, Lucca, and Pescia.

According to this report, the insurgents of Florence have invested the fortresses of Antignano and Pombino, made 200 French prisoners of war, took eight guns, and a French privateer with three guns and twenty one men. Volterra, and the whole country about Rome, are free; and only Perugia and Civita Vecchia are occupied by the enemy; of whom, however, a great number are fled to Ancona.

Extract of a letter from lord Henley to lord Grenville, dated Vienna, August 3.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to be enabled to close my official correspondence from this place with the important intelligence of the surrender of Mantua to the imperial arms. A courier is just arrived from general Kray with dispatches of the 30th past, stating, that on the 27th the horn-work was taken; on the 28th the town was summoned; on the 29th the capitulation signed; and on the 30th the place was occupied by the imperial troops. The garrison are prisoners of war; the privates have liberty to return to France, on the condition of not serving against the emperor or his allies till they are exchanged against an equal number of Austrians. The exchange, it is stipulated, shall take place immediately; and the officers are to be kept for three months in this country as hostages for the exact fulfilment of this stipulation.

Permit me, my lord, to convey to you my most sincere congratulations on this most fortunate and important event, which will furnish such facilities to the further progress of the allied arms; and to add

my

my most cordial wishes, that the successes of the allies may be continued with the same brilliancy and rapidity which have distinguished all the operations of this remarkable campaign.

Head-quarters, Bosco,

My Lord, *July* 30, 1799.

I have the satisfaction to inclose the capitulation of Mantua. The trenches had been opened only fourteen days. The garrison, I am informed, amounts to near 13,000 men; the sick, including the non-combatants, are about 500. The loss of the Austrians does not exceed more than 200 men.

I have the honour to be,

W. BENTINCK.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

Capitulation made between his excellency baron Kray, general of artillery, and commander in chief of the troops of his imperial majesty at the siege of Mantua, and the general of division Foissac la Tour, commandant of the town and citadel of Mantua.

Art. I. The garrison of Mantua will march out the 30th of July 1799, at twelve o'clock, with the honours of war, six pieces of cannon in front. The garrison shall be prisoners of war; and, in order to prevent the disgrace and misery of confinement, the general commanding in chief, the other generals under his orders, the officers of the staff, and the officers of the garrison, consent to remain prisoners in the nearest part of the hereditary states in Germany, in order to serve as hostages for the non commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall be sent back into France by the shortest road, and shall not serve against the troops of the emperor or his allies till after their exchange.—Answer. Granted in its fullest extent; and, in consideration of the open, brave, and honourable conduct of the garrison of Mantua, the commandant, the officers of the staff, and the other military officers of the garrison, after having remained three months in the hereditary states, shall be at liberty to return to their respective countries, upon their word of honour not to serve against his imperial majesty or his allies until they are reciprocally exchanged. The period of three months shall begin from the day on which the capitulation is signed.

The garrison will lay down their arms upon the glacis of the citadel. The officers will keep their swords, baggage, and the number of horses allowed by their own military regulations. The non combatants shall be sent back to France. The generals shall keep their secretaries, and all the officers their servants. A pair of colours shall be granted the general of division Foissac la Tour, in consideration of the energy of his defence.

Art. II. The Cisalpines, Swiss, Poles, and Piedmontese shall be considered and treated in every respect as troops of the French republic.—Answer. Granted.

Art. III. Three covered waggons shall be allowed the commandant for the carriage of his papers, baggage, and personal property. These waggons shall not be examined, and shall be subject to his orders only.—Answer. Granted.

Art. IV. The chief of the staff, and the other chiefs of departments, shall have the power of taking with them all papers relating to their own concerns, and shall have the sole charge of the waggons destined for this purpose, and for the carriage of their own personal effects. The commissaries shall be responsible

sible that nothing belonging to the place is taken away.—Granted.

Art. V. An appeal is made to the justice and generosity of the Austrian government in favour of those citizens who have been employed in the Cisalpine republic (which was formally acknowledged by the emperor at the treaty of peace concluded at Campo Formio), as well of all those who have manifested republican opinions, the imperial commissaries, and the citizens who acted as artillery-men, having been treated in the same manner according to the terms of the noble capitulation made by Bonaparte with general Wurmser. —Granted.

Art. VI. Engineer and artillery-officers shall be appointed to receive all articles relating to their departments.—Answer. Granted.

Art. VII. Commissaries shall also be named to take charge of the magazines of provisions.—Answer. Granted.

Art. VIII. The sick and wounded, who cannot be removed, shall continue to receive the necessary care; for which purpose the French surgeons and physicians who now attend them shall remain. The general in chief shall name an officer who shall have the particular charge of the sick; and as soon as they may be sufficiently recovered to travel, they shall be furnished with the means of following the army if it is exchanged, or of going into France or Germany according to the same conditions with all the rest, every one complying with what is decided for his rank.—Answer. Granted.

Art. IX. There shall be furnished by the Austrian troops escort sufficient to protect all individuals whatever comprised in the present capitulation against insult or popular commotion, for which the commander of the escort shall be made particularly responsible. Answer. Granted.

Art. X.—All doubts that may arise out of the present capitulation shall be explained in favour of the garrison consistently with the laws of equity.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XI. After the signature of the present capitulation, hostages shall be mutually exchanged. On the part of the French, a brigadier and a captain; on that of the Austrians, a colonel and a captain.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XII. During the management of the capitulation, there shall be a cessation of hostilities on both sides.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XIII. Migliarello shall be occupied by a battalion of Austrians, from which fifty men shall be detached to occupy the outer part of the gate of Cerese. The two armies shall have no communication with each other, commanding officers, and those who have leave from their respective generals excepted. Granted.

Art. XIV. The commissary of the executive power, and the inspector-general of the police of the Cisalpine republic at Mantua, shall have leave to go wherever they please.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XV. A sufficient number of carriages shall be allowed for the carriage of the effects, not only of the officers composing the garrison, but of all such as not being present may have left their baggage.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XVI. Two carriages shall be granted for the suite of the general, and for such others as shall have been ordered by him to follow the

the lot of the garrison.—Answer. Granted.

Art. XVII. The generals and other officers may send any part of their baggage to France with the troops: unless general Kray, who always acts like a man of the highest honour and liberality, consents that the officers should share the same fortune with the men, and be permitted to return to France prisoners on their parole. —Answer. Regulated by Art. I.

Additional Article.

All deserters shall be given up to their respective battalions. — General Kray promises them their life.

(Signed) Foissac la Tour, le général de division.
(Signed) Baron Kray, général d'artillerie.
(Signed) Monbert, chef de brigade, commandant en chef de génie.

Le chef de brigade Boittou, commandant d'artillerie n'a pas signé des motifs qui lui sont personnels.
(Signed) Foissac la Tour.

Head-quarters, Castellecio, July 28, 1799.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 16.

Extract of a letter from capt Trowbridge to rear-admiral lord Nelson, K.B. and transmitted by his lordship to Evan Nepean, esq.

Antigniano, near St. Elmo, July 13.

My Lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders, I landed with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th June; and, after embarking the garrisons of the castles Ovo and Nuovo, composed of French and rebels, I put a garrison in each, and on the 29th took post against Fort St. Elmo, which I summoned to surrender; but, the commandant being determined to stand a siege, we opened a battery of three 36-pounders and four mortars, on the 3d inst. within 700 yards of the fort, and on the 5th, another of two 36-pounders. The Russians, under capt. Baillie, opened another battery of four 36-pounders, and four mortars, against the opposite angle, intending to storm it in different places as soon as we could make two practicable breaches in the work. On the 6th, I added four more mortars; and on the 11th, by incessant labour, we opened another battery of six 36-pounders within 180 yards of the wall of the garrison, and had another of one 18-pounder and two howitzers, at the same distance, nearly completed. After a few hours cannonading from the last battery, the enemy displayed a flag of truce, when our firing ceased, and their guns being mostly dismounted, and their works nearly destroyed, the terms of capitulation were agreed to and signed. J. Trowbridge.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation agreed upon between the garrison of Fort St. Elmo and the troops of his Sicilian majesty and his allies; the general tenor of which is that the French garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, and engage not to serve again until regularly exchanged; to march out with the honours of war; and lay down their arms at the gate on the outside of the fort. The English grenadiers to take possession of the gate of the fort in the course of the day of surrender. The subjects of his Sicilian majesty to be given up.]

17. Their majesties left Windsor at half past four this morning. They stopped at Hartford Bridge to breakfast. Proceeding through Winchester and Romsey, the association and yeoman cavalry were drawn up to receive them. At Stoney

ney Cross their majesties alighted, and staid a few minutes while the horses were changed. The royal family were very loyally received by the different associations and volunteer corps, and were escorted through the New Forest by the Somerset Provincial Cavalry; from Wimborne, by the Dorset Yeomanry, a part of the 1st regiment of dragoons, or Royals: and afterwards by a party of the Scots Greys, who are quartered at Dorchester-barracks. From Dorchester to Weymouth they were received by another party of the 1st dragoons: the Shropshire militia commanded by earl Powis; the 1st Somerset militia, commanded by earl Powlett, encamped near the temporary cavalry barracks; also by capt. Hartford's and Major Weston's volunteer corps. Their majesties, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, and Mary, attended by lady Matilda Winyard, and miss Townshend, arrived at Gloucester Lodge at five in the afternoon.

17. The oldest person at Manchester can scarcely recollect a torrent of rain and wind, so long, incessant, and boisterous, as that of this day. Many mills, with valuable machinery, are swept away; and several families have, in a moment, as it were, been forced from the comforts of life, to seek the bitter bread of chance and adversity. Our old river exhibited, on Sunday night, a terrific scene; many hundred pieces of manufactured goods were descried upon the surface of the waters; one man alone has lost nearly 800. Numberless cattle, sheep, horses, &c. have all been swept away by the remorseless element: the banks of many canals have been forced, and the adjacent land inundated. The aqueduct bridge for the duke's canal over Chorlton-brook, at Stratford, the aqueduct near Ashton, and the banks of the Huddersfield canal, have all failed; the Preston-brook cut is said to be at present in some parts unnavigable. The gardens and fruit-trees, have, we fear, sustained material injuries. In the vicinity of our local streams, the destruction has been shocking; palings, hedges, summer-houses, cucumber frames, &c. &c. have been swept away, and individuals have been hardly able to recognise their once favourite retreats. The melancholy effects were felt generally throughout the west-riding of Yorkshire and in other places. In Saddleworth several mills have been washed away, and others materially damaged; Mr. Horsfall's mill, near Huddersfield, two dwelling houses, and a number of cottages near the rivulets in the neighbourhood, have also been destroyed. The brooks in the valleys near Halifax were so swelled with the rain, that all the mills from Sowerby-bridge to Rushworth are materially injured, and the occupation bridges destroyed. The river Calder was never known to have been so high in the memory of man; and about Wakefield, and all the places near that river, considerable damage has been sustained: the river Aire was also much out of its boundaries, and has swept away great quantities of hay, timber, &c. At Castleford a farmer has lost 100 acres of hay; at Fairburn, Mr. Jackson has lost hay worth upwards of 500l. At Ferrybridge both the great inns were overflowed a considerable height; and the banks of the river below there being broken, the loss to the farmer and mill-owner by this melancholy storm, cannot be estimated. The head of a mill pond on the Ludlow road from Worcester gave way, owing to the force of the current; and the water, rushing out with irresistible fury,

d. owned

drowned five horses in a team loaded with coal, at a short distance, before any assistance could be given them.

Downing-street, Aug. 17.

Dispatches, of which the following or extracts, have been received by lord Grenville.

Extracts of letters from the hon. W. Windham, dated Florence, July 15, and July 18.

Deputies from all the principal towns, and from the armies, have been sent to Vienna, to intreat his royal highness to return to Tuscany, or at least to send a regent to act with full powers in his name; I profit of the occasion of a deputation from Arezzo going this day to Vienna to send this to your lordship. The Aretin army has really performed wonders. In every action it has beat the French, killing numbers of them, making many prisoners, and driving the enemy from their strong posts. The army consists of about 40,000 Tuscans, chiefly mountaineers, who encounter every danger, and march forward with the firm determination to conquer or die. I can venture to assure your lordship, that in a few days the French will be entirely expelled from Tuscany; and this country will be happy in the re-possession of its beloved sovereign, the re-establishment of its laws, and the return of industry and commerce.

The departure of a deputation of the senate of this city for Vienna, this evening (July 18.) does not allow me time to write so fully as I could desire. The victories of the Tuscan armies, which by degrees were grown formidable, have enabled them to take a position within a few miles of Leghorn; in the mean time, the Austrians likewise increased their forces in the Modenese, and threatened a considerable invasion of Tuscany. Gen. Moreau's army having been again completely beaten in the Riviera of Genoa, an express arrived on the 15th inst. to the French general commanding the forces at Leghorn to withdraw all the French troops from Tuscany, and to march immediately towards Sarzana; in consequence of which he entered into a capitulation with the Tuscan General Lavilette; a copy of which I have the honour to inclose for your lordship. I make no doubt that, in the present situation of French distress, a capitulation more honourable and advantageous might have been made; but, however, it is a great consolation to know that all Tuscany is completely evacuated by the French, without bloodshed or any inconvenience. This night a column of Austrians and Aretins united marched towards Lucca to dislodge the French, who are in small numbers in that country, and who it appears are disposed to evacuate it without opposition. In Tuscany there is no farther cause of fear of the French, who are in every part of Italy too weak to be able to return; besides, the people armed in mass, already accustomed to the use of arms, and provided with plenty of artillery and ammunition, are determined to support their religion and sovereign against any force that could be sent against them. I have sent off an express to lord Nelson at Naples with this intelligence. The presence of a squadron off this coast, and that of Genoa, would prevent the French from carrying off immense treasures robbed from the various states of Italy.

[Then follow the conditions, which are of little moment. The sick prisoners to remain in the hospitals

pitals till they can be removed; protection afforded to the evacuating army; and indemnity to the trading companies, for requisitions of saltpetre, &c.]

Admiralty Office, August 20. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Democrat, French schooner privateer, of twelve guns and eighty men, by his majesty's ship Amphitrite, capt. Ekins.

Admiralty Office, August 24. This gazette contains a letter from capt. Boorder, of his majesty's sloop L'Espiegle, stating his having, in company with the Pylades sloop and Courier cutter, cut out and taken possession of, on the 11th inst. from Shiermannikoog, the Crash gun-brig (formerly in our service) mounting twelve guns, 18, 24, and 32 pounders; as also having burnt a schooner of seventy men; and likewise taken possession of a row-boat, of thirty men; and then landed on the island, having previously driven the men from the battery, spiked four pieces of cannon, and brought off two brass field-pieces, 4 pounders. The Crash made an obstinate resistance of about forty to fifty minutes.

26. The late rains have been more general and more severe than perhaps ever before experienced in this country. Our letters from all quarters are replete with the most distressing accounts of their effects. The mail, which should have reached Birmingham at two o'clock in the morning on Wednesday, did not arrive there till seven in the evening. The passengers, &c. were forwarded over the flooded places in boats, the coach being necessarily left behind. In Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, and, in fact, in almost every county in the kingdom, the inundations have been extensive and greatly injurious. Many hundred acres of grass, ready for the scythe, have been laid under water, and materially injured, by the overflowing of the river Derwent, and a considerable quantity of new hay has been carried away. Markeaton brook, which runs thro' Derby, has likewise done much damage. The rise of the Trent yesterday se'nnight was almost instantaneous: hundreds of persons were employed on its banks during the morning making hay; and in the course of the evening, thousands of acres were totally inundated, and many tons of hay carried down the stream. Near Sawley, a great number of sheep were lost; and at Catton, a fine boy, twelve years of age was drowned. The lower part of the town of Ashbourn was inundated, to such extent, that the inhabitants were driven to the upper apartments. The Manchester heavy coach, in passing Hanging-bridge, was nearly lost; the water washed over the bridge, and for a space of near 300 yards, passed in a torrent across the road, while the horses swam, till, by extraordinary and fortunate exertion, they regained the road. 200 persons were collected, expecting every instant to see the coach dashed down a precipice of considerable height, but without being able to afford the least assistance. On other parts of the road the water was so high that the horses were up to their necks, and the body of the coach in the water; the trees were their only guide, the hedges being in general washed away. The road about Cardiff has been impassable. Two bridges near Congleton, one near Stone, and another near Newcastle, have been demolished; but we are happy to add, that the waters very soon in general subsided.

27. Extracts of the Vienna gazette of the 10th, and the Vienna extraordinary

traordinary gazette of the 11th of August.

Accounts of the 31st July have been received from his royal highness the archduke Charles, which state, that on the 29th the enemy attacked the chain of posts entrusted to the care of gen. Kienmager, near Brinder Zell and Wenr, with a body of 4000 men; but without success. On the same day the garrison of old Brisac made an attack upon our out-posts in that neighbourhood, for the purpose of carrying away the grain that had been cut the night before at Ginglingen. Upper and Lower Rimungen, Irringen, Achbaan, and Rothwell; but the enemy was driven back with loss by general Ginlay, who had the whole harvest removed behind this line of out-posts. Our loss in the two affairs is trifling.

The state of the magazines that the French had collected at Mantua was not completely ascertained at the departure of baron Kray (the general's son), but all accounts concur in representing them as very considerable. The garrison of Mantua consisted of 6622 French, 601 Cisalpines, and 467 Swiss, and of about 1000 Galicians, partly deserters, and partly prisoners, whom the French had persuaded to serve in their army. These latter have been sent back to their respective regiments. And the Swiss and Cisalpine commanders have declared their determination not only not to return to France, but to quit the service of the French republic. About 1220 remain sick at Mantua, who are to be sent to France as soon as they are able to perform the journey. 665 cannon, mortars, howitzers, &c. were taken in the fortress of Mantua, as well as 12,959 stand of small arms, besides 1260 pistols and doppelhaken. The loss of his imperial majesty's troops during the course of the siege, amounts to seventy-seven killed and 235 wounded. According to accounts received from gen. Melas, and dated the first of August, the necessary preparations for the siege of Tortona were carrying on with great activity, so much so that the general thinks it not unlikely that the siege of that fortress may be actually began.

[This gazette also contains detailed accounts of the capture of the Crash Dutch gun-vessel noticed in p. 94; in addition to which it also announces the capture of a row-boat, and twelve schoots.]

Admiralty Office, Aug. 31.

Lieut. Clay, of his majesty's ship Kent, arrived this morning with a dispatch from admiral lord Duncan, K. B. to Mr. Nepean, secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy.

Kent at anchor off the Texel, Aug. 28, 1799.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I shall go on from my letter of the 25th inst. and say—It blew so fresh on Sunday that we could not approach the land; but the weather becoming more moderate on Monday, the whole of the fleet, with the transports, were at anchor close in shore by noon on that day. I shall not enter into detail of the landing the troops, or what happened on Tuesday, as their lordships will have that stated by vice-admiral Mitchell; suffice it to say, the troops rowed towards the shore at day-break, and landed, though immediately opposed by numbers, and from that time till half past four P. M. were continually in action. However, the gallantry of the British troops surmounted all difficulties, and drove the enemy wherever they met them.

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The Retisvaw Russian ship got ashore on the South Haik, in coming to the anchorage, where she remained some time in great danger, but by timely assistance and exertion of her captain and officers in getting out some of the guns, and lightening her, she was got off, and last night reported to be again fit for service. At five P. M. the Belliqueux, with her convoy from the Downs anchored. This day it blows strong from the westward with a great surf, so that I fear little can be done; but I am sure the vice-admiral will avail himself of every opportunity to carry on the service, as I never witnessed more attention and perseverance, in spite of most unfavourable weather, to get the troops landed; and nothing shall be wanting on my part towards furnishing him with every aid in my power, in order to bring the business to a happy termination.

I am, &c

DUNCAN.

P. S. Eight P. M. The weather is still bad; but a lugger is just returned with an answer to a letter I wrote vice-admiral Mitchell this morning, by which I find the Helder Point was last night evacuated, and the guns in it spiked up. The lieutenant of the lugger likewise reports, that the general and vice-admiral had not sent off their dispatches; and as I think it of the greatest consequence that government should have the earliest notice, I detach a cutter with this interesting intelligence, although it was my original intention only to have sent one away after the general and vice-admiral had forwarded their dispatches; and as I have not time to alter my other letter to you of this date, I beg to refer their lordships to lieut. Clay, of his majesty's ship Kent, an intelligent and deserving officer, for further particulars. DUNCAN.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Extract of a letter from capt. Cunningham, of his majesty's ship Clyde, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Plymouth Sound, August 28, 1799.

I have the satisfaction to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter addressed to lord Keith.

Clyde, Plymouth Sound, Aug. 28, 1799.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 20th inst. at half past eight A. M. Cordovan light-house bearing E. by S. six or seven leagues, I discovered two sail in the S. W. to which I gave chase, and soon perceived that they were standing towards us, which they continued to do until his majesty's ship under my command was within two miles of them, when they both bore up and made sail, going large on different tacks. I continued to chase the largest, and soon brought her to action, which was maintained with great gallantry on the part of the enemy, until his ship was wholly dismantled, and had received several shot between wind and water; when La Vestale, a French frigate of thirty-six guns, twelve-pounders, and 235 men, commanded by Monsieur P. M. Gaspard, struck to his majesty's ship Clyde. Her consort, the Sagesse, of thirty guns, availing herself of the vicinity of the Garonne, had got so much the start of us that any pursuit of her would have been unavailing. The Clyde's officers and men conducted themselves much to my satisfaction; and

and I received that support from Mr. Kerr, the first lieutenant, which I was prepared to expect by his animated conduct in former critical and more trying situations. He has lost an eye in a former action. The Vestale is from St. Domingo: I find by her *rôle d'équipage*, that she brought from thence many passengers, whom she landed at Passage; from which place she had sailed two days on her way to Rochefort, in company with the Sagesse, who had lately arrived from Guadaloupe. Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM.

List of killed and wounded.

Clyde.—W. Gatt, quarter-master, and John Hurne, private marine, killed; John Tucker, S. Collins, and John Gardiner, seamen, wounded.

La Vestale.—Ten seamen and marines killed; two officers and twenty seamen and marines wounded; one officer and several seamen since dead of their wounds.

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM.

SEPTEMBER.

Downing-street, Sept. 2, 1799.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B.

SIR, *Helder, Aug.* 28, 1799.

From the first day after our departure from England, we experienced such a series of bad weather, as is very uncommon at this season of the year.

The absence of admiral Mitchell for the service in which we were jointly engaged, left it only with me to follow his example of zeal and perseverance, in which I was encouraged by the manner that he kept a numerous convoy collected.

It was our determination not to depart from the resolution of attacking the Helder, unless we should have been prevented by the want of water and provisions.

On the forenoon of the 21st inst. the weather proved so favourable that we stood in upon the Dutch coast, and had made every preparation to land on the 22d, when we were forced to sea by a heavy gale of wind.

It was not until the evening of the 25th that the weather began once more to clear up.

On the 26th we came to anchor near the shore of the Helder, and on the 27th, in the morning, the troops began to disembark at day-light.

Although the enemy did not oppose our landing, yet the first division had scarcely begun to move forward, before they got into action, which continued from five in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy had assembled a very considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callants-Oge, and made repeated attacks on our right with fresh troops.

Our position was on a ridge of sand hills, stretching along the coast from north to south. Our right flank was unavoidably exposed to the whole force of the enemy. We had no where sufficient ground on our right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, on the whole, the position, though singular, was not, in our situation, disadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

By the courage and perseverance of the troops, the enemy was fairly

worn out, and obliged to retire in the evening to a position two leagues in his rear.

The contest was arduous, and the loss has been considerable. We have to regret many valuable officers lost to the service, who have either fallen or been disabled by their wounds. The corps principally engaged were the reserve under the command of colonel Macdonald, consisting of the 23d and 55th regiments.

The regiments of major-general Coote's brigade, which have been much engaged, were the queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th regiments.

Major-gen. D'Oyley's brigade was brought into the action towards the close of the day, and has sustained some loss.

As the enemy still held the Helder with a garrison of near two thousand men, it was determined to attack it before day-break on the morning of the 28th, and the brigade under major-gen. Moore, supported by major gen. Burrard's, were destined for this service; but about eight o'clock yesterday evening the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under weigh, and the garrison was withdrawn, taking their route through the marshes towards Medenblic, having previously spiked the guns on the batteries, and destroyed some of the carriages. About nine at night major-gen Moore, with the second battalion of the royals, and the 92d regiment, under the command of lord Huntley, took possession of this important post, in which he found a numerous artillery of the best kind, both of heavy and field train.

All that part of the Dutch fleet in the Nieuve Diep, together with their naval magazine at Nieuve Werk, fell into our hands this morning; a full detail of which it is not in my power to send. This day we have the satisfaction to see the British flag flying in the Mars Diep, and part of the 5,000 men, under the command of major-gen. Don, disembarking, under the batteries of the Helder.

During the course of the action, I had the misfortune to lose the service of lieut-gen. Sir James Pulteney, from a wound he recieved in his arm, but not before he had done himself the greatest honour; and I was fully sensible of the loss of him Major-general Coote supplied his place with ability.

Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the reserve, and who was very much engaged during the course of the day, though wounded, did not quit the field.

Lieut-col. Maitland, returning to England, to go on another service, and major Kempt, my aide-du-camp and bearer of this letter, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and protection, will be able to give any further information which may be required.

A list of killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, accompanies this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RALPH ABERCROMBIE.

To the right hon. Henry Dundas, &c.

Head-quarters, Klein-Keeten, Aug. 28, 1799.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his majesty's forces under the command of general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the action off the Helder, on the 27th Aug. 1799.

Detachment of the royal engineers.— One lieutenant-colonel killed, two subalterns wounded.

1st brigade of the grenadier battalion

talion of the guards.—One serjeant, two rank and file, killed; one captain, two serjeants, forty-eight rank and file. wounded; one rank and file missing.

——— 3d battalion of the 1st regiment of the guards.—One captain, thirteen rank and file, wounded.

2d brigade of the 1st battalion of the Coldstream regiment.—Seven rank and file wounded; one rank and file missing.

3d brigade of the 2d, or queen's regiment of foot.—Two rank and file killed; one subaltern, one serjeant, twenty-one rank and file wounded; one rank and file missing.

———27th regiment of foot.—One subaltern, one serjeant, six rank and file, killed; one lieutenant-colonel, one serjeant, forty-three rank and file, wounded; seven rank and file missing.

3d brigade of the 29th regiment of foot—Three rank and file killed; one captain, one subaltern, three serjeants, one drummer, thirty rank and file, wounded.

———69th ditto.—One serjeant, thirteen rank and file, wounded.

——— 85th ditto.—Eight rank and file killed; one major, one captain, two subalterns, twenty-nine rank and file, wounded; sixteen rank and file missing.

The reserve 23d battalion of the royals.—Eighteen rank and file killed; three captains, five serjeants, sixty-one rank and file, wounded.

55th ditto.—One serjeant, twelve rank and file, killed; one colonel, two captains, five serjeants, sixty-one rank and file, wounded.

Total.—One lieutenant colonel, one subaltern, three serjeants, fifty-one rank and file, killed; one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, nine captains, six subalterns, eighteen serjeants, one drummer, 334 rank and file, wounded; twenty-six rank and file missing.

Return of officers killed and wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Smollett, of the 1st regiment of the guards, brigade major of 1st brigade; lieutenant-colonel Hay, of the royal engineers; lieutenant Crow, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot, killed.

Lieut-gen. Sir James Pulteney, bart. second in command; the honourable colonel John Hope, of the 25th foot, deputy adjutant-general; lieut.-col. Murray, of the 3d regiment of guards, assistant quarter-master general; captain Arthur M'Donald, of the 5th West-India regiment, assistant quarter master general; captain Manners, of the 82d regiment, aid-du-camp to major-gen. Coote; lieut. Chapman and lieut. Squire, of the royal engineers; captain Gunthorpe, of the 1st brigade of the grenadier battalion of the guards; captain Ruddock, of the 1st brigade of the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment of guards; lieut. Swan, of the 3d brigade of the 2d, or queen's regiment; lieut.-col. Graham, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot; capt. Wyatt and lieut. Grove, of the 3d brigade of the 29th regiment of foot; major Otley; capt. M'Intosh, lieut. Traverse, lieut. Berry of the 3d brigade of the 85th regiment of foot, wounded.

The reserve—Capt. Berry, capt. Ellis, capt. hon. G. M'Donald, of the 23d regiment of foot; colonel M'Donald, captain Brown, captain Power, volunteer J. M'Gregor, of the 55th regiment of foot, wounded.

One non-commissioned officer and four gunners of the royal artillery; one serjeant, and fourteen

rank and file of the 92d regiment, drowned in landing.

N. B. The casualties in the general staff noticed in the detail, but not in the body of the return.

ALEX. HOPE.

Lieut.-col. A. A. General.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 2. Captain Hope, of his majesty's ship Kent, and captain Oughton, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this afternoon, with a dispatch from admiral lord viscount Duncan, of which the following is a copy:

Kent, off Aldborough, Sunday, Sept. 1, 1799.

SIR,

I transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from vice-admiral Mitchell, giving a distinct detail of the great success with which it has pleased Almighty God to crown his majesty's arms. The boldness of the vice-admiral in running in an open shore with so numerous a fleet, and in so very unsettled weather, could only be equalled by the gallantry of Sir Ralph Abercrombie and his brave troops landing in the face of a most formidable opposition. — During the whole of the conflict on Tuesday I could plainly perceive the vast superiority of the British troops over those of the enemy, though opposed with obstinacy; and, in justice to both the land and sea service, I must say that I never in my life witnessed more unanimity and zeal than has pervaded all ranks to bring the expedition to its present happy issue.

Finding the Kent, with several of the Russian 74 gun ships, to draw too much water to be able to get into the harbour, I have returned with them to this anchorage; but previous to my getting under weigh at eight o'clock on Friday morning, I had the pleasure to see vice-admiral Mitchell, with the men of war, transports, and armed vessels, in a fair way of entering the Texel, with a fair wind, and have not the least doubt but the whole of the Dutch fleet were in our possession by noon on that day.

These dispatches will be delivered by captains Hope and Oughton, both able and intelligent officers and who will give their lordships more satisfactory information relative to our successful operations.

I shall now only add my sincere congratulations to their lordships on this great event, which I think in its consequences may be ranked among one of the greatest that has happened during the war.

I am, Sir, &c.

DUNCAN.

P.S. The winds having proved unfavourable, has occasioned my anchoring here; but I shall proceed to Yarmouth as soon as the weather moderates.

Isis, at anchor off the Texel, Aug. the 29th, 1799.

My Lord,

In a former letter I had the honour to write your lordship, I there mentioned the reasons that had determined Sir Ralph Abercrombie and myself not to persevere longer than the 26th in our resolution to attack the Helder and Port of the Texel, unless the wind became more moderate. Fortunately the gale abated that morning; and although a very heavy swell continued to set in from the northward, I thought a moment was not to be lost in making the final attempt. The fleet therefore bore up to take the anchorage, and I was happy to see the transports, and all the bombs, sloops, and gun-vessels in their stations to cover the landing of the troops by three in the

the afternoon of that day, when the signal was made to prepare for landing. The general, however, not thinking it prudent to begin disembarking so late on that day, it was determined to delay it until two in the morning of the 27th. The intervening time was occupied in making the former arrangements more complete, and by explaining to all the captains individually my ideas fully to them, that the service might profit by their united exertions. The troops were accordingly all in the boats by three o'clock; and the signal being made to row towards the shore, the line of gun-brigs, sloops of war, and bombs, opened a warm and well-directed fire to scour the beach, and a landing was effected with little loss. After the first party had gained the shore, I went with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that I might superintend the landing of the rest; and with the aid of the different captains, who appeared animated with but one mind, the whole were disembarked with as great regularity as possible. The ardour and glorious intrepidity which the troops displayed soon drove the enemy from the nearest Sand Hills; and the presence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie himself, whose appearance gave confidence to all, secured to us, after a long and very warm contest, the possession of the whole neck of land between Kick Down and the road leading to Alkmaar, and near to the village of Callants-Oge.

Late that night the Helder Point was evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by our troops quietly in the morning, as were the men of war named in the inclosed list, and many large transports and Indiamen by us the next day. I dispatched captain Oughton, my own captain, to the Helder Point last evening, to bring off the pilots; and he is returned with enough to take in all the ships necessary to reducing the remaining force of the Dutch fleet, which I am determined to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, until they surrender or capitulate for his serene highness the prince of Orange's service.

I must now, my lord, acknowledge in the warmest manner, the high degree of obligation I am under to your lordship, for the liberal manner in which you continued to entrust to my directions the service I have had the honour to execute under your immediate eye; a behaviour which added to my wish to do all in my power to forward the views of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the bravery and conduct of the general and the whole army, or the unanimity with which our whole operations were carried on; the army and navy, on this occasion, having (to use a seaman's phrase) pulled heartily together.

Where the exertions of all you did me the honour to put under my orders have been so great, it is almost impossible to particularise any: but capt. Oughton has had so much to do, from the first embarking of the troops to the present moment, and has shown himself so strenuous in his exertions for the good of the expedition, as well as given me much assistance from his advice on every occasion, that I cannot but mention him in the highest manner to your lordship, and at the same time express my wish that your lordship will suffer him to accompany whoever may bear your dispatches to England, as I think the local knowledge he

has gained may be highly useful to be communicated to their lordships of the admiralty.

The manner in which the captains, officers, and seamen landed from the fleet, behaved while getting the cannon and ammunition along to the army, requires my particular thanks; and here let me include in an especial manner the Russian detachment of boats, from whose aid and most orderly behaviour the service was much benefitted indeed.

I am also much indebted to capt. Hope, for the clear manner in which he communicated to me your lordship's ideas at all times, when sent to me by your lordship for that purpose, as every thing was better understood from such explanation than they could otherwise have been by letter.

It is impossible for me to furnish your lordship at present with any list of the killed and wounded, or missing seamen or of those that were unfortunately drowned on the beach in landing the troops, having as yet no return made me; but I am very sorry to say, that I was myself witness to several boats oversetting on the surf, in which I fear several lives were lost. I have the honour to be, &c.

A. MITCHELL.

To the right hon. admiral lord viscount Duncan, commander in chief, &c.

List of men of war, &c. taken possession of in the Nieuve Diep.

Broederschap (guard-ship) of 54 guns.
Veswagting, of 64 guns.
Heldin, of 32 guns.
Venus, of 24 guns.
Dalk, of 24 guns.
Minerva, of 24 guns.
Hector, of 44 guns.

And about 13 Indiamen, and transports. A. MITCHELL.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 2.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this morning received by Mr. Nepean from rear-admiral lord Nelson, commanding his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, Aug. 1.

I have the honour to transmit you copies of my letters to the commander in chief, with its several inclosures, and most sincerely congratulate their lordships on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from the French robbers, for by no other name can they be called for their conduct in this kingdom. This happy event will not, I am sure, be the less acceptable from being principally brought about by part of the crews of his majesty's ships under my orders, under the command of captain Trowbridge. His merits speak for themselves; his own modesty makes it my duty to state, that to him alone is the chief merit due. The commendation bestowed on the brave and excellent captain Hallowell will not escape their lordship's notice, any more than the exceeding good conduct of capt. Oswald, colonel Strickland, captain Creswell, to whom I ordered the temporary rank of major, and all the officers and men of the marine corps; also the party of artillery, and the officers and men landed from the Portuguese squadron.

I must not omit to state, that captain Hood, with a garrison of seamen in Castel Nuovo, has for these five weeks very much contributed to the peace of the capital; and Naples, I am told, was never more quiet than under his directions.

I send

I send capt. Oswald, of the Perseus bomb, with this letter, and I have put lieut. Henry Compton (who has served with me since January, 1796, as a lieutenant) into the Perseus; and I beg leave to recommend these two officers as highly meriting promotion. I have the honour to be, &c.

NELSON.

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, Aug. 1799.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit you a copy of capt. Trowbridge's letter to me, and the capitulation of Capua and Gaeta, &c. Too much praise cannot be given to captain Trowbridge, for his wonderful exertion in bringing about these happy events, and in so short a space of time. Captain Hallowell has also the greatest merit. Captain Oswald, whom I sent to England with a copy of a letter, is an officer most highly deserving promotion. I have put lieut. Henry Compton, who has served as a lieutenant with me from January 1796, into the Perseus bomb, in his room, and whom I recommend to your lordship.

I sincerely congratulate your lordship on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from a band of robbers; and am with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

NELSON.

To the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. commander in chief, &c.

Culloden, Naples Bay, July 29.

My Lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders I marched, on the 20th inst. with the English and Portuguese troops from Naples, and arrived at Caserta the following morning. After resting the people, we marched, and encamped near Capua. The Swiss under colonel Tchudy, the cavalry under general Acton, and the different corps of infantry under general Boucard and colonel Gams, took up their appointed situations; the former to the left of our camp, and the latter to the right of the river.

On the 22d, a bridge of pontoons was thrown over the river, to establish a communication; batteries of guns and mortars were immediately begun within 500 yards of the enemy's works, and on the 25th the gun-battery of 24-pounders, another with two howitzers, and two mortar batteries, were opened, and kept up a constant and heavy fire, which was returned by the enemy from eleven pieces of cannon; on the 26th, trenches were opened, and new batteries begun within a few yards of the glacis.

The enemy, on finding our approach so rapid, sent out the inclosed terms, which I rejected *in toto*, and offered in return the inclosed capitulation, which the French general agreed to, and signed the following morning at six o'clock. The French garrison marched out this morning at 3 A. M. and grounded their arms, and proceeded to Naples under the escort of 400 English marines and two squadrons of general Acton's cavalry.

In performing this service I feel much indebted to captains Hallowell and Oswald, to whose abilities and exertions I attribute the reduction of the place in so short a time, as they staid night and day in the field to forward the erecting of the batteries. I also beg leave to recommend lieut.-colonel Strickland and major Creswell, the officers and marines, for their constant and unremitted attention, as

well as the officers and men of her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal. The Russian forces under capt. Builie, rendered every assistance. Generals Acton and Boucard, and colonel Gams, merit much for their zeal in cheerfully performing all the different services that arose. Colonel Tchudy's zeal merits great attention, for his constant readiness to send working parties to the batteries, as well as pushing his men forward on all occasions.

To M. Monfrere, a volunteer gentleman from the Sea-horse, whom I had the honour to recommend to your lordship's notice at St. Elmo, I feel indebted for his great ability and assistance as an engineer, which forwarded our operations much.

Lieutenants Loucay and Davis, who served as aides-du-camp to me, have also great merit, as well as Mr. Greig, an officer in the Russian service (serving as a volunteer in his majesty's ship under my command), whom I beg your lordship to recommend to the court of Petersburg as a promising officer.

Count de Lucci, chief of the état-major, was unremitting in his attention. I have the honour to inclose to your lordship a return of the ordnance stores and provisions found in Capua, as well as a return of the garrison (not including jacobins) which were serving with the French. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. TROWBRIDGE.

The right hon. lord
Nelson, K. B. &c.

Articles of the capitulation concluded between the troops of his Sicilian majesty and his allies, and the garrison of Capua.

Art. I. The French garrison, Cisalpine, and Polonese, of Capua, shall surrender prisoners of war to his Neapolitan majesty and his allies, and shall not serve against any of the powers actually at war with the republic, until regularly exchanged.

Art. II. The English grenadiers shall take possession of the two gates, and of the town, after the articles shall have been exchanged.

Art. III. The French garrison shall march out of the town tomorrow, bearing their arms, and with drums beating. The troops shall lay down their arms and colours outside the gate; and a detachment of English, Russian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan troops shall take possession of the place tomorrow night.

Art. IV. The officers shall retain their arms.

Art. V. The garrison shall be embarked on board the English squadron until the necessary shipping can be provided for transporting it to France. It shall be escorted, under the guarantee of the English, to Naples.

Art. VI. When the English grenadiers shall have taken possession of the place, all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty shall be delivered up to the allies.

Art. VII. A guard of French soldiers shall be stationed round the French colours, to prevent their being destroyed. This guard shall remain so stationed until the whole of the garrison shall have marched out, and until it shall have been relieved by an English officer and guard, to whom orders shall be given to haul down the French colours, and to hoist those of his Sicilian majesty.

Art. VIII. All private property shall be secured to its proprietors, and all public property given up with the place.

Art.

Art. IX. The sick, who may not be in a condition to be removed, shall remain at Capua, under the care of French surgeons, and be maintained at the expense of the republic, and shall be sent to France as soon as possible after their cure.

Done at Capua, the 6th Thermidor, 7th year of the French republic, 28th July, 1799.

(Signed) GIRARDON, general of brigade, commanding at Capua.

THOMAS TROWBRIDGE, captain of his Britannic majesty's ship Culloden, and commander in chief of the forces employed at the siege of Capua.

DE BOUCDAR, marshal commanding his Sicilian majesty's troops.

BUELIS, captain-lieutenant and commander of his Imperial majesty's troops at the siege of Capua.

———, commander of the Ottoman troops at the siege.

Articles for the surrender of the town of Gaeta.

Art. I. Considering that the garrison of Gaeta has not been regularly besieged, but only blockaded, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies will allow the troops of the said garrison to march out of the place with the honours of war, taking with them their firelocks, bayonets, swords, and cartouch boxes, without deeming them prisoners of war on their being sent to France.

Art. II. In virtue of the preceding article, the place shall be delivered up free of pillage, and without any part of the effects being removed or injured, to the officer who shall be appointed to take possession thereof.

Art. III. The French garrison shall be allowed to remove all their effects, being personal or private property; but all public property shall be given up with the place.

Art. IV. No subject of his Sicilian majesty shall be sent to France with the French garrison, but the whole, without exception, given up to the officer appointed to take possession of the place.

Art. V. The sick belonging to the garrison shall be taken care of by their own surgeons, at the expense of the French republic, and shall be sent to France as soon after their cure as possible.

Art. VI. A detachment of his Sicilian majesty's troops or of his allies shall take possession of the place two hours after this capitulation shall have been delivered; and the embarkation of the garrison shall have effect twenty four hours after the gates are given up, according as may be agreed upon and settled between the respective commanding officers.

Done at Naples, the 12th Thermidor, 7th year (July 31, 1799).

(Signed) General ACTON.

NELSON.

GIRARDON, general of brigade.

Return of cannon and the garrison of Capua.

Ordnance from twenty-four to four-pounders—100 serviceable, 10 unserviceable.

French troops — 199 officers, 2618 non-commissioned officers and privates.

12,000 musquets.

414,000 musquet cartridges filled.

67,848 pounds weight of powder.

Return of cannon and the garrison at Gaeta.

Ordnance—fifty-eight brass guns from

from 24 to 18-pounders; twelve iron six ditto; two brass four ditto; four mortars, twelve-inch; nine ditto, ten inch; with an immense quantity of powder and other garrison stores.

French troops—Eighty-three officers, 1415 privates; besides rebels. T. TROWBRIDGE.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 3, 1799. Lieutenant Collier, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this day with dispatches from vice-admiral Mitchell to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies:

Isis, at anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vlieter, August 30, 1799, *Two P. M.*

I have the very great satisfaction to acquaint you for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the whole of the Dutch fleet near the Vlieter surrendered to the squadron under my command without firing a gun; agreeable to a summons I sent this morning. The Dutch squadron was to be held for the orders of his serene highness the prince of Orange, and the orders I may receive from the lords commissioners of the admiralty for my further proceedings. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. (Signed)

A. MITCHELL.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Isis, at anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vlieter, Aug. 31, 1799.

SIR,

It blowing strong from the south-west, and also the flood-tide, I could not send away my short letter of last night; I therefore have, in addition, to request you will lay before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the morning of yesterday I got the squadron under weigh at five o'clock, and immediately formed the line of battle, and to prepare for battle.

In running in, two of the line of battle ships, Ratisvaw and America, and the Latona frigate, took the ground. We passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued our course along the Texel in the channel that leads to the Vlieter, the Dutch squadron lying at anchor in a line at the Red Buoy in the east-south east course.

The Latona frigate got off and joined me; but as the two line-of-battle ships did not, I closed the line. About half past ten I sent captain Rennie of the Victor with a summons to the Dutch admiral, as it was lord Duncan's wish that I should do so; and in her way she picked up a flag of truce with two Dutch captains from the Dutch admiral to me. Captain Rennie very properly brought them on board; and, from a conversation of a few minutes, I was induced to anchor in a line, a short distance from the Dutch squadron, at their earnest request. They returned with my positive orders not to alter the position of the ships, nor do any thing whatsoever to them, and in one hour to submit, or take the consequences.

In less than the time they returned with a verbal answer that they submitted according to the summons, and should consider themselves (the officers) on parole, until I heard from the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the prince of Orange for my further proceedings.

I have now the honour to inclose you herewith the line of battle in which the squadron advanced, a copy of my summons to the Dutch admiral, and also a list of the Dutch fleet.

Admiral Story's flag is down, and I have sent an officer on board each of his ships, to have an eye over and charge of them, as they themselves requested that it should be so.

I have

I have also furnished them with the prince of Orange's standard, many of them not having had it before, and they are now all under these colours.

To maintain quiet among their crews, I issued a short manifesto, of which I also inclose a copy herewith.

The animated exertions and conduct of the whole squadron are far above any praise I can bestow on them; but I shall ever feel most sensibly impressed on my heart their spirited conduct during the whole of this business. We have all felt the same zeal for the honour of our sovereign and our country; and although the conclusion has not turned out as we expected, yet the merit I may say, in some measure, is still not the less due to my squadron; and, if I had brought them to action, I trust it would have added another laurel to the navy of England in this present war. The Dutch were astonished and thunderstruck at the approach of our squadron, never believing it possible that we could so soon have laid down the buoys, and led down to them in line of battle in a channel where they themselves go through with but one or two ships at a time.

I have sent lieutenant Collier with these dispatches, who will give their lordships every information, as he has been employed in the whole of the communication with the Dutch squadron, and was also on shore with me as my aide-du-camp on the day of landing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A MITCHELL.

P. S. Since writing the above, I received the Dutch admiral's answer in writing, which I inclose herewith.

Line of battle at noon, Aug. 30, 1799

Glatton, captain Charles Cobb, fifty-four guns, 343 men.

Romney, captain John Lawford, fifty guns, 343 men.

Isis, vice-admiral Mitchell, capt. James Oughton, fifty guns, 343 men.

Veteran, captain A. C. Dickson, sixty four guns, 491 men.

Ardent, captain T. Bertie, sixty-four guns, 491 men.

Belliqueux, captain R. Bulteel, sixty-four guns, 491 men.

Monmouth, captain George Hart, sixty-four guns, 491 men.

Overyssel, captain J. Bazely, sixty-four guns, 491 men.

Mistisloff, captain A. Moller, sixty six guns, 672 men.

Melpomene, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine frigates.

Given on board the Isis, in the Vlieter channel, Aug. 30, 1799.

A. MITCHELL.

To ——, captain of his majesty's ship the——, by command of the vice-admiral.

Isis, under sail, in line of battle,
Aug. 30.

SIR,

I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his serene highness the prince of Orange. If you do, you will be immediately considered as friends of the king of Great-Britain, my most gracious sovereign, otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it may occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) ANDREW MITCHELL,
Vice-admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To rear-admiral Story, or the commander in chief of the Dutch squadron.

A list of the Dutch squadron taken possession of in the Texel, by vice-admiral

admiral Mitchell, Aug. 30, 1799.

Washington; rear-admiral Story, capt. Capelle, seventy-four guns.

Gueldcrland; capt. Waldeck, sixty-eight guns.

Admiral de Ruyter; capt. Huijs, sixty-eight guns.

Utrecht; capt. Kolf, sixty-eight guns.

Cerberus; capt. de Jong, sixty-eight guns.

Leyden; capt. Van Braam, sixty-eight guns.

Beschermer; capt. Eilbracht, fifty-four guns.

Batavier; capt. Van Senden, fifty-four guns, under the Vlieter.

Amphitrite; capt. Schutter, forty-four guns, under the Vlieter.

Mars; capt. de Bock, forty-four guns.

Ambuscade; capt. Riverij, thirty-two guns.

Galatea; capt. Droop, sixteen guns.

A. MITCHELL.

Isis, Aug. 30, 1799.

The undersigned, vice-admiral in the service of his majesty the king of Great-Britain, charged with the execution of the naval part of the expedition to restore the stadtholder and the old and lawful constitution of the Seven United Provinces guarantied by his majesty, having agreed that, in consequence of the summons to rear-admiral Story, the ships, after hoisting the ancient colours, will be considered as in the service of the allies of the British crown, and under the orders of his serene highness the hereditary stadtholder, captain and admiral-general of the Seven United Provinces, has thought it proper to give an account of this agreement to the brave crews of the different ships, and to summon them by the same to behave in a peaceable and orderly manner, so that no complaints may be represented by the officer, the undersigned will send on board of each of the ships to keep proper order until the intentions of his majesty, and his serene highness the prince of Orange, as admiral-general, shall be known, for the further destination of these ships, on account of which dispatches will be immediately sent off. And to make them aware, that in case their conduct should not be so as may be expected from the known loyalty and attachment of the Dutch navy to the illustrious house of Orange on this occasion, any excess or irregularity will be punished with the severity which the disorders which may have been committed merit.

(Signed) ANDREW MITCHELL.

On board the Washington, anchored under the Vlieter, Aug. 30.

Admiral,

Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood should be laid to my account, could prevent my showing you to the last moment what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our present situation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers, and the few brave men who are on board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

I am with respect,

S. STORY.

To admiral Mitchell, commanding his Britannic majesty's squadron in the Texel.

Isis,

Isis, at anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vlieter, Aug. 31.

SIR,

Since my letter of the 29th by capt. Oughton, I received a letter from capt. Winthrop, of the Circe, containing a more particular account of the men of war, &c. taken possession of in the New Diep than I had then in my power to send, of which you will receive a copy herewith for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty. I have the honour, &c.

A. MITCHELL.

Evan Nepean, esq.

SIR, *Helder, Aug. 28.*

I have the honour to inform you, that I this morning took possession of the New Diep, with the ships and vessels undermentioned, and also of the naval arsenal containing 95 pieces of ordnance. A copy of the naval stores I will transmit you as soon as it can be made out. I have the honour, &c.

R. WINTHROP.

Urwachten -	66 Guns
Broederschop -	54
Hector - -	44
Diuffee - -	44
Expedition - -	44
Constitutie - -	44
Belle Antoinette -	44
Unie - -	44
Helder - -	32
Follock - -	24
Minerva - -	24
Venus - -	24
Alarm - -	24

Dreighlerlahn, Howda, Vreedelust, Indiamen; and a sheer hulk.

Andrew Mitchell, esq.

Downing-street, Sept. 9, A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received this day from the right hon. lord William Bentinck, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Novi, Aug. 19.

My Lord,

The column under the command of general Kray arrived at Alexandria from Mantua on the 12th, and, on the day following, was to have proceeded to the place of its destination, on the left of the whole, according to the plan of operations which I sent your lordship some time ago. On the 12th the enemy was in motion in different points, and it appeared as if he meditated some attack. General Kray was therefore ordered to remain at Alexandria till further orders. General Bellegarde, with 6000 men, was at Serzo; and the field-marshal, with 600 Russians, was at Rossolo Fomigoio, his advanced posts in front of Serravalle. The remainder of the troops was at Rivalta. On the 13th the enemy continued to advance in great numbers. The marshal had given orders that no partial action should be engaged in with the French; in consequence of which, general Bellegarde was directed, at the approach of the enemy, to march to Ritorta upon the Orba. The advanced posts before Serravalle were also driven in, and the French took possession of Novi. On the 14th general Kray advanced to Tressonara. It was hoped that general Kray might have been able to have cut off a small French column which had followed general Bellegarde as far as Castelferro; but it had early in the morning of the 14th returned to its right, and had marched to Novi, where the whole French force was concentrated. The great and extensive plain of Piedmont is terminated at Novi by a very long ridge of hills, which rise so suddenly, and are so steep, that the ascent is extremely difficult, though the height is not

very

very great: they extend towards Basaluzzo on one side, and towards Seravalle on the other; and upon these heights the enemy was encamped on the 15th, their right towards Seravalle, their centre at Novi, and their left towards Basaluzzo, overlooking the whole plain. The army was commanded by general Joubert, and consisted of six divisions, amounting to about 30,000 men: their object was, to raise the siege of Tortona; and they were to have attacked the allied army on the 16th: the field-marshal, however determined to anticipate them in their intentions; and orders were given to general Kray to take under his command the corps of general Bellegarde, and to fall upon the left of the enemy, and the Russians were to attack the front of their position. As it was reported that the enemy had detached a considerable corps in the mountains towards Tortona, general Melas remained at Rivalta with the remains of the army, in order to cover the siege of Tortona, or to march to the support of the marshal if necessary. The attack was made by gen. Kray, at five o'clock in the morning of the 15th: it continued with great violence for several hours; but the difficulty of the ground, and the numbers of the French, obliged him to retire. The Russians also engaged the front of the enemy, but they were repulsed with very great loss. About two o'clock general Kray made a second attempt upon the enemy's left, while the Russians, at the same time, again endeavoured to penetrate the centre of the enemy's line. Notwithstanding the utmost bravery of the allied troops, the French maintained their position. Most fortunately at this moment general Melas arrived with sixteen battalions of Austrian infantry, attacked the enemy's right, which he beat back without difficulty. Having turned the flank of the enemy, he pursued his advantage, and got possession of Novi. The Russians immediately marched through Novi, supported the attack of general Melas with great vigour, and the whole French line was thrown into confusion, and retreated in the greatest disorder. The whole line pursued. General Grouchi commanding a division, endeavoured to rally his men, but in vain—he was taken prisoner. Three other generals, Colli, Bordinau, and Perignan, 4000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and 57 tumbrils, are the result of this victory. I fear the loss of the allies must have amounted to near 5000 men. I forgot to mention that general Joubert was killed, and that Moreau, who was present as a volunteer, has again taken the command of the army.

W. BENTINCK.

Downing-street, Sept. 9.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, by the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Head-quarters, Scagen-brug, Sept. 4.

From August 27th to Sept. 1st, the troops continued to occupy the sand hills on which they fought. On that day the army marched, and took post with its right, to Petten, on the German Ocean, and its left to Oude Sluys on the Zuyder-Zee, with the canal of the Zuype in front. A better country is now open to us. We have found some horses and waggons, and a plentiful supply of fresh provisions. The troops continue healthy, and behave extremely well. The 11th regiment of dragoons are arrived, and have begun

to

to disembark. The transports have been ordered to return to the Downs. I have the honour to inclose herewith a return of the artillery, ammunition, and engineers' stores captured at the Helder.

Helder, Aug. 31.

Return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, taken August 28, at the different batteries and magazines at and near this place, viz.

Brass ordnance, mounted.——twenty-four 24-pounders, five 9-pounders, four 6-pounders, one 3-pounder; thirteen 8-inch, and four 5½-inch howitzers; five 10-inch mortars.——Iron ordnance, mounted, eighteen 24-pounders.—Ditto, dismounted, forty-one 24-pounders, fifty-six 9-pounders——Round shot, 713 24-pounders, 2760 twelve-pounders, 164 nine-pounders, 3492 six-pounders.——Case shot, 345 twenty-four-pounders, sixty-four 9-pounders; seventy-seven 8-inch, and sixty-one 5½-inch howitzers.—Fixed shells, 148 ten-inch, 224 eight-inch, 394 five-and-half-inch.——Empty shells, 447 ten-inch, 920 eight-inch.——Round carcassses, fifteen 8-inch.——Cartridges (flannel filled with powder), 685 twenty-four pounders, thirty-seven 9-pounders, 168 six-pounders, 530 five-and half-inch-howitzers:——(Paper filled with powder,) eleven 24-pounders, 620 nine-pounders:——Musquet-ball, 77,888——Fuzee-ball, 1800.——521 whole barrels of corned powder.

J. Whitworth.

Helder, Aug. 31.

Return of engineers' stores taken possession of in the different batteries in the vicinity of the Helder.

Twenty wheel-barrows, six hand-barrows, twenty-two baskets, thirty spades, ten wooden mallets, 2200 pallisades, seventy pieces of scantling, thirty pieces of timber, eighty-four boards, 3000 bricks, seven barrels of tar, a very large proportion of fascines, bundles of sticks and picquets.

R. H. Bruyers.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 10.

A letter from capt. Sir Sidney Smith, of his majesty's ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary to the admiralty, with its inclosures, of which the following are copies, were yesterday received at this office.

Copy of a letter from capt. Sir W. Sidney Smith, of his majesty's ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated off Mount Lebanon, June 16th.

Sir Morton Eden has forwarded a duplicate of your letter of the 4th of May, informing me of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest. I take for granted this fleet is bound for these seas to support Buonaparte's operation, not knowing that his expedition to Syria has completely failed, as the inclosed duplicates will inform their lordships.

Tigre, Acre, May 9.

My Lord,

I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the 2d instant, that we were busily employed completing two ravelines for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since; but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss: the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent sorties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress

progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally received orders to join me in Egypt, I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here; it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the 51st day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assaults, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold; our flanking fire from a float, was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the ennemy had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass 18-pounder, in the light house castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being within grape-distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musquetry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise. The Tigre's two 68-pound carronades, mounted in two germes lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with), threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it considerably. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light showed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night, and which were now seen composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half-way on shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival. I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described: many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by

by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzles of their musquets touching, and the spear heads of the standards locked. Gezzar Pacha, hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musquet-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. This amicable contest, as who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. I had now to combat the pashaw's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the *terre-plein* of the rampart. There were not above 200 of the original 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate; and I over-ruled his objections by introducing the Chiffick regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, disciplined after the European method, under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed, by his imperial majesty's express commands, at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot; and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the pasha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally, and take the assailants in flank: he readily complied; and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, and there fortify himself, by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town gate efficaciously with grape from the 68-pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach; so that the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by our few remaining hand-grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The groupe of generals and aids du camp, which the shells from the 68 pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle: his gesticulations indicated a renewal of attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the camp showed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station to the shoal water to the

southward, and made the Tigre's signal to weigh and join the Theseus to the northward. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. The pasha's idea was, not to defend the brink this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pasha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced amongst them lay headless corpses; the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet: the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and whom we have since learnt to be general Lasne, was caried off, wounded by a musquet shot: general Rombaud was killed. Such confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by their numerous emissaries. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the whole garrison, wherever it appeared, was now in the dusk mistaken for French, the newly-arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the pasha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotte, just arrived with Hassan Bey; and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move. Buonaparte will no doubt renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for 50 men a-breast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended; not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach that Buonaparte means to march to farther conquests. 'Tis on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor; and, with such a reinforcement, for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople, and even Vienna, must feel the shock. Be assured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does not decrease the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may, and probably shall be, overpowered, I can venture to say, that the French army will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear-bought victory. W. S. Smith.

Rear-admiral lord Nelson.

Tigre, off Jaffa, May 30.

My Lord,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems

seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa in cool blood, three days after their capture; and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparte's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre May 20, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th inst. are as follow: Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time, a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight, and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had all the effect that I could desire. They immediately sent me two embassadors, professing not only friendship, but obedience; assuring me, that in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gun-powder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward, towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparte came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry by which they were completely surrounded. The Turkish Chifflic regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night. Soliman Aga, the lieutenant-colonel being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel;—and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works; in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing *in statu quo*, except the loss of men, which

was very considerable on both sides. After this failure the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that, even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time; however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and war. A flag of truce was sent into the town by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the pasha, proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies; the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious, within a few hours after being seized with the first symtoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the general who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the general with a message which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st inst. I had above said, that the battering train of artillery (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to twenty-three pieces. The howitzers, and medium 12 pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise; together with the worst among the 2000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to his majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had,

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as they said, thus exposed them to peril, rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead mis-information as his excuse, his aide-du-camp, Mr. Lallemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that, when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effects of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing-gun-boats annoyed the van-columns of the retreating army in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musquetry behind the sand-hills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Nablusians. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house (under which the pasha met me), serves as an asylum for all religions, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afforded another proof of divine justice, which caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pasha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. 2000 cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land-side, and

who have carried on all intercourse by boats under a constant fire of musquetry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your lordship by lieutenant Cane, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor, captain Miller. I have taken lieut. England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of lieut. Sommers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire at five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her.

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

A list of killed, wounded, drowned, and prisoners, belonging to his majesty's ships employed in the defence of Acre, between March 17 and May 20.

Fifty-three killed, 113 wounded, thirteen drowned, eighty-two prisoners. W. SIDNEY SMITH.

A return of killed, wounded, and drowned, belonging to his majesty's ships Tigre and Theseus, between the 3d and 9th of May, employed in the defence of Acre.

One killed, seven wounded, four drowned. W. SIDNEY SMITH.

A return of killed, wounded, and drowned, belonging to his majesty's ships Tigre and Theseus, between the 9th and 20th of May, employed in the defence of Acre.

One captain, one schoolmaster, three midshipmen, twenty-two seamen, a boy, three private marines, killed; two lieutenants, one master, one surgeon, one chaplain, one midshipman, thirty seamen, two boys, two serjeants of marines, seven private marines, wounded; six seamen, three private marines, drowned. W. SIDNEY SMITH.

His majesty's ship Tigre, May 30.

Downing-street, Sept. 13.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was received this morning by the ship Sarah Christiana.

Extract of a letter from the earl of Mornington to the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Fort St. George, May 16, 1799.

Yesterday I received the inclosed dispatch from lieutenant-general Harris, containing the details of the capture of Seringapatam; they require no comment; and I am persuaded that no solicitation is necessary to induce you to recommend the incomparable army which has gained this glorious triumph, to the particular notice of his majesty, and to the applause and gratitude of their country. I also inclose a copy of the general orders that I issued on this glorious occasion.

Seringapatam, May 7, 1799.

My Lord.

On the 4th inst. I had the honour to address to your lordship a hasty note, containing in few words the sum of our success, which I have now to report more in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which begun to batter in breach on the 30th April, had on the evening of the 3d inst, so much destroyed the walls against which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for assaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was reported practicable.

The troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches

early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, as the time best calculated to insure success, as the troops would then be least prepared to oppose us.

Ten flank companies of Europeans taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camps, and our out-posts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments, and three corps of grenadier sepoys taken from the troops of the three presidencies, with two hundred of his highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery, and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiments De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys. Col. Sherbrooke, and lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps; and major-general Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service.

At one o'clock the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the *Cavery* under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the *fausse braye* and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage and the resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major general Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by colonel Sherbrooke, the other by lieutenant colonel Dunlop: the latter was disabled in the breach but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace.

It was soon after reported that Tippoo Sultan had fallen. Syed Saheb, Meer Saduc, Syed Gofar, and many other of his chiefs were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted to stop the confusion at first unavoidable in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants and their property, in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp. It appeared to major-general Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultan, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which after much difficulty, was found late in the evening in one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognised by the family, and interred, with the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort is such, both from its natural position and the stupendous works by which it is surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose; and I trust your lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their king and country.

I am sorry to add, that on col-

lecting the returns of our loss, it is found to have been much heavier than I had at first imagined.

On the 5th inst. Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our out-posts, demanding protection. Kerim Shaeb, the brother of Tippoo, had before sought refuge with Meer Allum Behauder. A Cowl-Namah was yesterday dispatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Purneah and Meer Kummer Odeen Khan have also been summoned to Seringapatam: no answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment Ali Reza, formerly one of the Vakeels from Tippoo Sultan, to lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Kummer Odeen Khan to ask my orders for 4000 horse, now under his command. Ali Reza was commissioned to declare that Meer Kummer Odeen would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English.

Monsieur Chapon and most of the French are prisoners: they have commissions from the French government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE HARRIS.

Abstract of a return of killed, wounded, and missing, at the assault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May 1799.

Europeans.—Two captains, six lieutenants, three serjeants, one drummer, and fifty-eight rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, eight lieutenants, three ensigns, two conductors, twelve serjeants, five drummers, and 220 rank and file wounded; one serjeant and three rank and file missing.

Natives.—Thirteen rank and file killed; one Jemidar, two drummers, and thirty-one rank and file wounded; two rank and file missing.

Names of officers killed and wounded on the assault.

Killed.—Lieutenant Mather of the 75th, and captain Owen of the 77th, flank companies; lieut. Lalor, of the 78d; lieutenants Farquhar, Prendergrast, Hill, and Schaw, of the 74th; captain Cormick, of the pioneers.

Wounded.—Lieutenants Turner Broughton, and Skelton, of the 75th; lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, and lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th; lieutenant Webb, of the Bombay regiment; captain Lardy, and lieutenant Matthew, of the Meuron regiment, flank companies; lieutenant Shawe, of the 78th serving with the 12th; captain Macleod, lieut. Thomas, ensigns Antil and Guthrie, of the 78d; captain Caldwell, of the engineers; and captain Prescot, of the artillery.

COPY of GENERAL ORDERS.

Dated Camp at Seringapatam, 5th May 1799.

The commander in chief congratulates the gallant army which he has the honour to command, on the conquest of yesterday. The effects arising from the attainment of such an acquisition as far exceed the present limits of detail, as the unremitting zeal, labour, and unparalleled valour of the troops surpass his power of praise. For services so invaluable in their consequences, he must consider the army as well entitled to the applause and gratitude of their country at large.

While

While lieutenant-general Harris sincerely laments the loss sustained in the valuable officers and men who fell in the attack, he cannot omit to return his thanks in the warmest terms to major-general Baird for the decided and able manner in which he conducted the assault, and for the humane measures which he subsequently adopted for preserving order and regularity in the place. He requests that major-general Baird will communicate to the officers and men who on that occasion acted under his command, the high sense he must entertain of their achievements and merits.

The commander in chief requests that colonel Gent, and the corps of engineers under his orders, will accept his thanks for their unremitting exertions in conducting the duties of that very important department; and his best acknowledgments are due to major Beatson, for the essential assistance given to this branch of the service, by the constant exertion of his ability and zeal.

The merit of the artillery corps is so strongly expressed by the effects of their fire, that the commander in chief can only desire colonel Smith to assure the officers and men of the excellent corps under his command, that he feels most fully their claim to approbation.

In thus publicly expressing his sense of their good conduct, the commander in chief finds himself called upon to notice, in a most particular manner, the exertions of captain Dewse and his corps of pioneers; which, during the present service, have been equally marked by unremitting labour, and the ability with which that labour was applied.

On referring to the progress of the siege, so many occasions have concurred for applause to the troops, that it is difficult to particularize individual merit; but the gallant manner in which lieutenant-colonel Shaw, the hon. colonel Wellesley, lieutenant-colonel Moneypenay, the hon. lieutenant colonel St. John, major Macdonald, major Skelby, and lieutenant-colonel Wallace conducted the attacks on the several out-works and posts of the enemy demands to be recorded. And the very spirited attack led by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of his majesty's 74th regiment, which tended so greatly to secure the position of our troops had attained in the enemy's works on the 26th ult. claims the strongest approbation of the commander in chief.

The important part taken by the Bombay army since the commencement of the siege, in all the operations which led to its honourable conclusion, has been such as will sustain its long established reputation. The gallant manner in which the post at the village of Agrar was seized by the force under colonel Hart; the ability displayed in directing the fire of the batteries established there, the vigour with which every attack of the enemy on the out-posts of that army was repulsed, and the spirit shown in the assault of the breach by the corps led by lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, are points of particular notice, for which the commander in chief requests lieutenant-general Stuart will offer his best thanks to the officers and troops employed.

Lieutenant-general Harris trusts that lieutenant-general Stuart will excuse his thus publicly expressing his sense of the cordial co-operation and assistance received from him during the present service, in the

the course of which he has ever found it difficult to separate the sentiments of his public duty from the warmest feelings of his private friendship.

Extract from general orders, dated Seringapatam, 8th May 1799.

Lieutenant-general Harris has particular pleasure in publishing to the army the following extract of a report transmitted to him yesterday by major-general Baird; as it places in a distinguished point of view the merit of an officer, on the very important occasion referred to, whose general gallantry and good conduct, since he has served with this army, have not failed to recommend him strongly to the commander in chief.

If, where all behaved nobly, it is proper to mention individual merit, I know no man so justly entitled to praise as colonel Sherbrooke, to whose exertions I feel myself much indebted for the success of the attack.—True Copies.

(Signed) P. A. AGNEW,
Military Secretary.

Copy of general orders issued by the Earl of Mornington, Fort St. George, 13th May 1799.

The right hon. the governor-general in council, having this day received from the commander in chief of the allied army in the field, the official details of the glorious and decisive victory obtained at Seringapatam on the 4th of May, offers his cordial thanks and sincere congratulations to the commander in chief, and to all the officers and men composing the gallant army which achieved the conquest of the capital of Mysore on that memorable day.

His lordship views with admiration the consummate judgment with which the assault was planned, the unequalled rapidity, animation, and skill with which it was executed, and the humanity which distinguished its final success.

Under the favour of Providence and the justice of our cause, the established character of the army had inspired an early confidence, that the war in which we were engaged would be brought to a speedy, prosperous, and honourable issue.

But the events of the 4th of May, while they have surpassed even the sanguine expectations of the governor-general in council, have raised the reputation of the British arms in India to a degree of splendor and glory unrivalled in the military history of this quarter of the globe, and seldom approached in any part of the world.

The lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to establish, in restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India, on a durable foundation of genuine security.

The governor-general in council reflects with pride, satisfaction, and gratitude, that in this arduous crisis the spirit and exertion of our Indian army have kept pace with those of our countrymen at home; and that in India as in Europe, Great Britain has found in the malevolent designs of her enemies, an increasing source of her own prosperity, fame, and power.

By order of the right hon. the governor-general in council.

J. WEBBE, sec. to gov.

Sept. 14. The court of common council voted an address to his majesty, on the capture of the Dutch fleet, and thanks to the admiral and seamen, to Sir R. Abercrombie and soldiers, &c.

15. A large and brilliant meteor was observed about half past eight this evening. The sky was tole-

rably

rably clear, and it passed in a direction from the N. W. to the S. E. at a considerable elevation in the atmosphere. 1th ad the appearance of a beautifully blazing ball, rapidly passing along with a gently tremulous motion, but without noise; and just before it became extinct, a few red sparks detached themselves from it, as is the case when a rocket is falling. Though, probably, like other meteors, it was produced by inflammable air, kindled by an electric spark, the light was much more vivid than inflammable air usually exhibits when burning, resembling rather the white light in fire-works, which is produced by filings of zinc. Its real altitude, and exact course, could only be ascertained by those accustomed to astronomical observations, if any such were fortunate enough to be in a good situation for a view of it; but as it was certainly pretty high, it must have been visible over a large surface of the earth. The day had been very rainy; in the afternoon there had been a little thunder; and, about ten minutes before the meteor appeared, there were some corruscations of lightning towards the east.

Downing-street. Sept. 16.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this morning received from lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Head-quarters, Schagen-brug, Sept. 11.

SIR,

Having fully considered the position which the British troops had occupied on the 1st instant; and having in view the certainty of speedy and powerful reinforcements, I determined to remain until then on the defensive. From the information which we had received, we were apprised of the enemy's intention to attack us, and we were daily improving the advantages of our situation. Yesterday morning, at day-break, the enemy commenced an attack on our centre and right, from St. Martin's to Petten, in three columns, and apparently with their whole force. The column on the right composed of Dutch troops, and under the command of general Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin's. The centre column of the enemy under the orders of general de Monceau, likewise composed of Dutch troops, marched on to Krabendam and Zyper-Sluys. The left column of the enemy, composed of French, directed itself on the position occupied by major-general Burrard, commanding the second brigade of guards. The enemy advanced, particularly on the left and centre, with great intrepidity, and penetrated with the heads of their columns to within 100 yards of the post occupied by the British troops. They were, however, every where repulsed, owing to the strength of our position, and the determined courage of the troops. About ten o'clock the enemy retired towards Alkmaar, leaving behind them many dead, and some wounded men, with one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges. Colonel M'Donald, with the reserve, pursued them for some time, and quickened their retreat. It is impossible for me to do full justice to the good conduct of the troops. Colonel Spencer, who commanded in the village of St. Martin's, defended his post with great spirit and judgment. Major-general Moore, who commanded on his right, and who was wounded, though, I am happy to say, slightly,

was

was no less judicious in the management of the troops under his command. The two battalions of the 20th regiment, posted opposite to Krabeudam and Zyper Sluys, did credit to the high reputation which that regiment has always borne. Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, of that corps, who had the particular charge of that post, received a severe wound in his leg, which will deprive us for a time of his services. The two brigades of guards repulsed with great vigour the column of French which had advanced to attack them, and where the slaughter of the enemy was great. I continue to receive every mark of zeal and intelligence from the officers composing the staff of this army. It is difficult to state with any precision the loss of the enemy, but it cannot be computed at less than 800 or 1000 men; and, on our side, it does not exceed, in killed, wounded, and missing, 200 men.

R. ABERCROMBIE.

Head quarters, Schagen-brug, Sept. 11.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing.

Thirty-seven rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, one major, four captains, five subalterns; two serjeants, 131 rank and file, wounded; one serjeant, eighteen rank and file, missing.

Return of officers wounded.

Major-general Moore, captain Halket, of the 76th regiment, aide-du-camp to commander-in-chief; lieutenant Simpson, of the royal artillery; captain Nevill, of the grenadier battalion of guards; captain Nevill of the first battalion of the 3d regiment of guards; lieutenant Gordon, of the 3d battalion of the royals; captain the hon. John Ramsay, of the 92d regiment of foot; lieut.-col. Smyth, major Ross, lieutenants Colborne, Dervoeux, Hamilton, lieutenant and adjutant South, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot; captain-lieutenant Adams, of the 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

ALEX. HOPE.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 17.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Mitchel to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Isis, in the Mars Diep, Sept. 4.

SIR,

By lieutenant Gibbons, of his majesty's ship Isis, I have the honour to present to my lords commissioners of the admiralty, admiral Story's flag, and the colours of the Batavian republic, being the first fruits of my endeavours in the discharge of the duties for which their lordships have been pleased to confide in me. Lieutenant Gibbons having been unremittingly employed in the arranging the signals for the convoy, transports, cutters, &c. to the present time, he is most justly entitled to my warmest regard and esteem; I therefore beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' notice. I have been a great deal employed in the disposal of the Dutch officers on their parole; a business in which I had to pay regard to the wishes of many, whom I found entitled to some consideration: I have not, therefore, yet been able to finish that business, which obliges me to defer giving their lordships an account thereof until my next letter.

I am, &c. A. MITCHEL.

[This gazette also contains the following list of ships and vessels captured and re-captured by his majesty's ship Flora, R. G. Middleton, esq. captain, between Jan. 1. and July 25.

The Prussian sloop Drie Vrienden, of five men, and sixty tons burthen; the English brig Nymph, of

of nine men, and 142 tons; the American ship Six Sisters, of nine men, and 215 tons; the French ship privateer L'Intrépide, of twenty guns, 157 men, and 220 tons; the French brig privateer L'Aventure, of fourteen guns, 105 men, and 180 tons; the English brig Château Margo, of two guns, six men, and 130 tons; the Spanish lugger privateer Nostra del Carmen, alias Diligente, of two guns, twenty-one men, and fifteen tons; the French ship L'Aurore, of eight guns, thirty-three men, and 160 tons; the French schooner privateer La Légère of fourteen guns, forty-four men, and eighty tons; the English snow Penelope, of four guns, nine men, and 124 tons; the English ship Fancy, of fourteen guns, and 250 tons; the English polacre Lord Nelson, of twelve guns, and 180 tons; the French brig Le Hazard, of two guns, fifty men, and 150 tons; the French brig privateer Rhuiter, of sixteen guns, 104 men, and 150 tons.

Also the following list of vessels taken, &c. by the tender and boats of his majesty's ship Abergavenny.

San Joseph merchant ship, Louisa merchant schooner, Candelacia Spanish merchant schooner, Rosetta Spanish merchant sloop, Polly merchant sloop, Mid Bergen merchant ship, San Josef Spanish merchant schooner, La Fortunée French schooner rigged boat, a Spanish merchant sloop, name unknown; a French armed schooner, name unknown, fifty men; Hebe merchant schooner, Olive merchant schooner, Del Nordische Lew merchant ship.

And mentions likewise the capture of L'Amazon French ship letter of marque, of ten 6 pounders, and sixty men, by his majesty's sloop Echo, captain Allen.]

Downing-street, Sept. 19.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this morning received from field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York, at the office of the right hon. Henry Dundas.

The Helder, North Holland, Sept. 14.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you with my arrival at this place yesterday evening, having sailed from Deal on board the Amethyst frigate, on Monday morning the 9th inst. Upon coming on shore, I had great satisfaction in witnessing the disembarkation of eight battalions of Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of 7000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general D'Hermann, which had arrived from Revel in the course of the preceding day and yesterday morning. I afterwards saw these troops upon their march towards the position occupied by the British near Schagen; and I have great pleasure in assuring you, that, from their appearance in every respect, the most happy consequences may be expected from their co-operation with his majesty's arms in this country: lieut.-general D'Hermann seems to enter most heartily into our views; and I form very sanguine hopes of receiving essential assistance from his zeal and experience. I understand that sir Ralph Abercrombie has made you acquainted with his having repulsed the enemy in an attack made upon him on Tuesday last. I proceed to join him at his quarters at Schagen immediately. I have had the pleasure to meet the hereditary prince of Orange here. His serene highness is occupied in arranging into corps a large body of deserters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the crews of the Dutch ships

ships of war which have proceeded to England. Every assistance shall be given to his serene highness, to render these corps an efficient addition to our forces.

FREDERICK.

[This gazette also contains a list of seven privateers, and thirty-three merchant-vessels, on board of one of which were 111,000 dollars, captured by the squadron under the command of adm. Parker, on the Jamaica station; and a privateer and six merchantmen, captured by admiral Harvey's squadron.]

Downing-street, Sept. 24.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York, by the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Head Quarters, Schagen-brug, Sept. 20.

SIR,

In my dispatch of the 16th inst. I acquainted you with my intention of making an attack upon the whole of the enemy's position, the moment that the re-inforcements joined. Upon the 19th, every necessary arrangement being made, the army moved forward in four principal columns, in the following order. The left column, under the command of lieut.-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade, major-general Moore's brigade, major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, first battalion of British grenadiers of the line, the 23d and 55th regiments, under colonel Macdonald, destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuider Zee, marched at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th. The columns upon the right, the first commanded by lieutenant-general D'Hermann, consisting of the 7th light dragoons, twelve battalions of Russians, and major-general Manners' brigade: the second, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, consisting of two squadrons of the 11th light-dragoons, two brigades of foot-guards, and major-general his highness prince William's brigade: the third column, commanded by lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of two squadrons of the 11th light-dragoons, major-gen. Don's brigade, major-general Coote's brigade, marched from the positions they occupied at day-break the morning of the 19th. The object of the first column was to drive the enemy from the heights of Camperduyn, the villages under these heights, and finally to take possession of Berghen: the second was to force the enemy's position at Warmanhuysen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant-general D'Hermann: and the third, to take possession of Oude-Carspel at the head of the Lange Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaar. It is necessary to observe, that the country in which we had to act presented in every direction the most formidable obstacles. The enemy upon their left occupied to great advantage the high Sand-hills, which extend from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Berghen, and were entrenched in three intermediate villages. The country over which the column under lieutenant-general Dundas and sir James Pulteney had to move for the attack of the fortified posts of Warmanhuysen, Schoreldam, and the Lange Dyke, is a plain intersected every three or 400 yards by broad, deep, wet ditches and canals. The bridges across the only two or three roads which led to these places were destroyed, and abbatis were laid at different distances. Lieut.-gen. D'Hermann's column

column commenced its attack, which was conducted with the greatest spirit and gallantry, at half past three o'clock in the morning, and by eight had succeeded in so great a degree as to be in possession of Berghen. In the wooded country which surrounds this village, the principal force of the enemy was placed; and the Russian troops, advancing with an intrepidity which overlooked the formidable resistance with which they were to meet, had not retained that order which was necessary to preserve the advantages they had gained, and they were, in consequence, after a most vigorous resistance, obliged to retire from Berghen, (where, I am much concerned to state, lieutenants-general D'Hermann and Tchertchekoff were made prisoners, the latter dangerously wounded,) and fell back upon Schorel, which village they were also forced to abandon, but which was immediately retaken by major-general Manner's brigade, notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy. Here this brigade was immediately re-inforced by two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with lieutenant-general Dundas in the attack of Warmanhuysen, by major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his highness prince William. The action was renewed by these troops for a considerable time with success; but the entire want of ammunition on the part of the Russians, and the exhausted state of the whole corps engaged in that particular situation, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, upon Petten and the Zyper-Sluys. As soon as it was sufficiently light, the attack upon the village of Warmanhuysen, where the enemy was strongly posted with cannon, was made by lieutenant general Dundas. Three battalions of Russians, who formed a separate corps, destined to co-operate from Krabendam in this attack, commanded by major-general Sedmoratzky, very gallantly stormed the village on its left flank, while at the same time it was entered on the right by the 1st regiment of guards. The grenadier battalion of the guards had been previously detached to march upon Schoreldam, on the left of lieutenant D'Hermann's column, as was the 2d regiment of guards, and the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, to keep up the communication with that under lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney. The remainder of lieutenant-general Dundas's column, which, after taking possession of Warmanhuysen, had been joined by the first battalion of the 5th regiment, marched against Schoreldam, which place they maintained, under a very heavy and galling fire, until the troops engaged on their right had retired at the conclusion of the action. The column under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney proceeded to its object of attack at the time appointed, and, after overcoming the greatest difficulties and the most determined opposition, carried by storm the principal post of Oude Carspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke; upon which occasion, the 40th regiment, under the command of colonel Spencer, embraced a favourable opportunity which presented itself of highly distinguishing themselves. This point was defended by the chief force of the Batavian army, under the command of general Daendels. The circumstances, however, which occurred on the right, rendered it impossible to profit by this brilliant exploit, which will ever reflect the highest credit on the general officers and troops

troops engaged in it; and made it necessary to withdraw lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney's column from the position which he had taken within a short distance of Alkmaar. The same circumstances led to the necessity of recalling the corps under lieut.-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorne, of which city he had taken possession, together with its garrison. The whole of the army has therefore re-occupied its former position. The well-grounded hopes I had entertained of complete success in this operation, and which were fully justified by the result of the three, and by the first successes of the fourth attack upon the right, add to the great disappointment I most naturally feel on this occasion; but the circumstances which have occurred I should have considered of little general importance, had I not to lament the loss of many brave officers and soldiers, both of his majesty's and the Russian troops, who have fallen. The gallantry displayed by the troops engaged, the spirit with which they overcame every obstacle which nature and art opposed to them, and the cheerfulness with which they maintained the fatigues of an action, which lasted without intermission from half past three o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, are beyond my powers to describe or to extol. Their exertions fully entitle them to the admiration and gratitude of their king and country. Having thus faithfully detailed the events of this first attack, and paid the tribute of regret due to the distinguished merit of those who fell, I have much consolation in being enabled to state, that the efforts which have been made, although not crowned with success, so far from militating against the general object of the campaign, promise to be highly useful to our future operations. The capture of sixty officers and upwards of 3000 men, and the destruction of sixteen pieces of cannon, with large supplies of ammunition, which the intersected nature of the country did not admit of being withdrawn, are convincing proofs that the loss of the enemy in the field has been far superior to our own; and in addition to this it is material to state, that nearly 15,000 of the allied troops had unavoidably no share in this action. In viewing the several circumstances which occurred during this arduous day, I cannot avoid expressing the obligations I owe to lieutenants-general Dundas and sir James Pulteney, for their able assistance; and also to mention my great satisfaction at the conduct of his royal highness prince William, D'Oyley, Manners, Burrard, and Don, to whose spirited exertions the credit gained by the brigades they commanded is greatly to be imputed. Capt. sir Home Popham, and the several officers of my staff, exerted themselves to the utmost, and rendered me most essential service. I feel also much indebted to the spirited conduct of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of sir Home Popham, and capt. Godfrey of the navy, in the conduct of three gun boats, each carrying one 12 pound carronade, which acted with considerable effect on the Alkmaar canal; nor must I omit expressing my acknowledgments to the Russian major-generals Essen, Sedmoratsky, and Schuterff. I transmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded, and missing. I am, Sir, yours, FREDERICK.

P.S. Not having yet received returns of the loss sustained by the Russian troops, I can only observe, that

that I understand their loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounts to near 1500 men.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 19th.

One lieutenant-colonel, two captains, two subalterns, one staff, two serjeants, 109 rank and file, killed; seven lieut.-colonels, six majors, fifteen captains, fifteen subalterns, twenty serjeants, two drummers, 345 rank and file, wounded; twenty-two serjeants, five drummers, 463 rank and file, missing.

Return of officers killed, wounded, missing, and taken prisoners.

Grenadier battalion of guards: lieutenant-colonel Morris and capt. Gunthorpe, killed; col. Wynyard and captain Neville, wounded.—3d battalion of the 1st guards: lieutenant-colonel Cook wounded; lieutenant-colonel Dawkins and captain Forbes wounded and taken prisoners; captain Henry Wheatley, wounded; ensign D'Oyley, wounded and taken prisoner.—1st battalion of the Coldstream guards: lieutenant-colonel Cunningham wounded.—1st battalion of the 17th foot: major Grey, major Cockburne, captains Grace and Knight, wounded; lieut. Wickham, missing, supposed taken; lieutenant Wilson and ensign Thompson, wounded.—2d battalion of the 17th foot: major Wood and lieutenant Saunders, wounded.—1st battalion of the 40th foot: ensign Elcomb, killed; major Wingfield, captains Dancer, Thompson, Gear, Myers, and lieutenant Williams, wounded; captain O'Donnell, missing.—2d battalion of the 40th foot: captain Trollope, wounded, since dead; captains Dancer and Thornton, and lieutenant M'Pherson wounded.—1st battalion of the 5th foot: lieut.-colonel Stephenson, wounded: lieutenant Harris, since dead.—1st battalion of the 35th foot: lieutenant-colonel Oswald and major Hay, wounded; major Petit, wounded and taken prisoner; captain Massey, ensigns Wilkinson, Deane, and Jones, wounded.—1st battalion of the 9th foot: quarter-master Holles, killed; lieutenant Smith, wounded and taken prisoner; lieutenants Grant and Rothwell, wounded.—2d battalion of the 9th foot: captain Balfour killed; lieutenant-colonel Crew, wounded; ensign French, wounded and taken prisoner; ensign Butter, missing.—56th regiment of foot: captains King and Gilman, and lieutenant Prater, wounded.——N. B. Lieut. Roward, of the royal navy, wounded; four seamen, killed; seven seamen, wounded.

350 rank and file, of the 1st battalion of the 35th regiment, cannot exactly be accounted for, from the nature of the action, and from the regiment being sent immediately to the Helder, in charge of prisoners; but, it is much feared, nearly 100 are killed, and the remainder wounded and missing.

Return of the royal artillery, received since the general return was closed.

Five gunners, four gunner drivers, three additional gunners, killed.—1st lieutenant Elgie, wounded and taken prisoner.—Volunteer John Douglas, wounded.—Eight gunners, six gunner drivers, four additional gunners wounded; seven gunners, nine gunner drivers, missing. ALEX. HOPE.

24. This afternoon the king went in the usual state to the house of lords; where, being robed, and the house of commons being summoned to attend, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne.

28. At a common-hall this day, for the election of a lord mayor, the return was in favour of alderman

Combe and Skinner; but a poll was demanded for sir W. Staines.

Admiralty Office. Sep. 28.

Copy of a letter from Andrew Mitchell, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Isis, near the Vlieter, Sep. 20.

SIR,

I beg leave to transmit the extract of a letter from capt. Portlock, giving an account of the capture of a ship and brig of superior force. The gallantry and good conduct displayed on the occasion by captains Portlock and Bolton, their officers and ships' companies, merit my highest praise and thanks.

I have the honour to state to you, that, in obedience to your order of the 9th instant, I immediately got under weigh, accompanied by the Wolverene, and proceeded on the service you did me the particular honour to entrust to my care. On the evening of that day, the tide of flood being done, we anchored abreast of the Texel; and, on the afternoon of the following day, we anchored on the edge of the Flack, or Flat, abreast of Wieringen. At this anchorage I found it necessary to lighten the ship, which was very speedily done, bringing her from twelve feet eight inches to twelve feet, and on the day following we turned over the Flack, carrying shoal-water from one side to the other. On the morning of the 12th inst. we weighed again, and proceeded on for the Fly island, on approaching which we saw a ship and brig at anchor in the narrow passage leading from the Fly island towards Harlingen: it was soon perceived they were vessels of force, and bearing the Batavian republic colours; we approached, the British and ancient Dutch colours flying together, until within half-gun-shot of the brig, she being the nearest to us, without either of them changing their colours: the Dutch colours were then hauled down, and I made the signal to engage the enemy as coming up with them, meaning the Wolverene to engage the brig, and to pass on to the ship myself.—Capt. Bolton anchored his ship in the most masterly and gallant manner, and just in the position I could have wished, (which was on his weather-quarter, at a quarter of a cable distance, and so as to have enabled me, had it been necessary, to give the enemy a broadside in passing, without annoying the Wolverene), and, after heaving on his spring until his broadside bore on the brig, fired one shot, just to try his disposition; upon which the enemy fired three guns to leeward, and hauled down his colours.—I made the signal for the Wolverene to take charge of the prize, and desired the officer sent on board to send her pilot to conduct the Arrow to the ship (my Dutch pilot having declined the charge), and requested of captain Bolton to follow me to the Jetting passage, where the ship lay, and then pushed on towards her. We had to turn to windward, towards the enemy, against a strong lee-tide, which retarded our progress much; she lay with springs on her cables, and her broadside opposed directly to our approach, and, for twenty minutes before we could bring a gun to bear with effect on her, annoyed us very much, and cut us up a good deal in the hull, sails, and rigging; but after bringing the ship up by the stern and head in a very narrow passage, at about a quarter of a cable from him, the contest became smart, but was short; for she struck in about fifteen minutes after we commenced our fire upon her, and just before the Wolverene, which was pressing in

in the most gallant manner to my aid, came up. I sent my first lieutenant to take possession of her, and found her to be the Batavian republic guard-ship, De Drake, commanded by captain-lieutenant Van Esch, mounting twenty-four guns, sixteen of them long Dutch 18-pounders, two long English 32 pounders, six 50 pound howitzers, and 180 men. From the howitzers I rather suppose langridge was fired, as several pieces of iron were picked up in the ship after the action was over. Our loss in killed and wounded (considering the length of time we had to advance on her under every disadvantage, such as being exposed to her raking fire for about 20 minutes, working ship in a very narrow navigation, shortening sail and anchoring) is very small, having only to lament at present the death of one brave man: there are nine wounded; some of them badly, and myself slightly in the left knee. The loss of the enemy I have not as yet been able to ascertain; two dead, and three badly wounded, were found on board her; and, from the appearance of great quantities of blood, &c. covered with tarpaulins, which capt. Bolton discovered, I am led to think it has been very considerable; indeed, some of them confess that a number were put into a boat, and sent to Harlingen, immediately upon the ship striking, and, from the number they at present muster not agreeing with the establishment, I am induced to believe that was the case. On my going on board the Draak, I found that she had been built for a sheer hulk, and converted into a guard-ship, extremely old; her masts and rigging very much cut, and the vessel altogether unfit for his majesty's service, determined me to destroy her; I therefore directed capt. Bolton to perform that duty, which he did effectually by burning her. This service performed, we weighed and proceeded towards the Fly island, at which place we anchored on the 15th inst. I immediately sent capt. Bolton to take possession of the Batavian republican ship the Dolphin, riding at anchor, close to the town of the Fly. She had, on our anchoring, hoisted the Orange colours, and the same step was taken on the island. A person came off from the municipality, desiring to surrender the island to the government of the prince of Orange; and I have the honour to request you will be pleased to direct some persons to be sent as soon as convenient to take upon themselves the arrangement of civil affairs in the island.—The island of Schelling has not yet adopted the same step; I shall, therefore, if it meets your approbation, take the necessary steps to induce them to do it.

[Captain Portlock here mentions his having put the prisoners, 230 in number, on board the Dolphin;—, and expresses his opinion, that most of them would volunteer to serve the prince of Orange; and highly commends the able and gallant conduct of captain Bolton, and of lieutenants Gilmour and M'Dougal of the Arrow and Wolverene; and the steady and spirited behaviour of the crews.]

Captain Digby, in a letter, dated Tagus, July 30, states his having, in the Alcmene, of 32 guns, stood into the harbour of Vivero on the 18th, and, by means of his boats, commanded by lieutenants Warren and Oliver, cut out two Spanish vessels, loaded with masts, hemp, &c. bound to the arsenal at Ferrol; the one named La Felicidad, a ship between 7 and 800 tons, pierced for 22 guns; the other, a brig, of near 400 tons.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, Sept. 30.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Mitchell, to Evan Nepean, esq.

SIR,

The weather having moderated on the 21st. inst. I shifted my flag to the Babet: though blowing a gale of wind the day before, captain Mainwaring, by his great exertions, had lightened her sufficiently for the pilot to take charge, and the captains of the bomb-vessels made equal exertions for the same purpose, having lightened their respective ships to 12 feet 8 inches: I left the Isis, Melpomene, and Juno, with yards and top-masts struck, having taken all the seamen and marines that could be spared from them, with Sir C. Hamilton, captains Dundas and Oughton, and a proper number of officers in large schuyts to assist me in the expedition; about ten we weighed in the Babet, accompanied by the four bombs, L'Espiegle and Speedwell brigs, and Lady Ann lugger, and Prince William armed ship. We fortunately had a fair wind, which raised the tide considerably over the flats, though in many parts we had only twelve feet six inches. On our approaching Mendenblic at noon, I made the signal for the Dart and gun-brigs to weigh; and join me; and at three P. M. I anchored with the squadron off Enchuysen, and a boat came off with four men wearing Orange cockades; in consequence of which I went on shore, attended by the captains: we were received by all the inhabitants with every testimony of joy at their deliverance from their former tyrannical government, and in the highest degree expressive of their loyalty and attachment to the house of Orange. I proceeded to the stadthouse, and having summoned all the old and faithful burgomasters, who had not taken the oath to the Batavian republic, I instantly reinstated them, until his highness the hereditary prince of Orange's instructions were received; to whom, and to his royal highness the Duke of York, I immediately sent an express, and at the same moment summoned before me, and dissolved the municipality, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants around the stadthouse, part of them, at the same time, cutting down trees of liberty, which they instantly burned; all of which was done in the most quiet, loyal, and regular manner. I have detached captain Boorder, in the Espiegle, with the Speedwell to scour the coast from Steveren to Limmen; but previous to his going on that service, I sent him to Steveren, to bring me intelligence of the disposition of the inhabitants; he returned yesterday morning, with the pleasing information of their having hoisted the Orange colours, and most of the neighbouring towns had done the same, and the inhabitants joyfully complying with the same terms as Enchuysen and Medenblic; I have likewise detached the Dart, with two gun brigs, to cut off the communication with Amsterdam, and the towns in East Friezeland, that have not returned to their allegiance. Our appearance in the Zuyder-Zee, with such an unexpected force, has had a most wonderful and happy effect, and given the greatest confidence to those well-disposed to the house of Orange. I shall not lose a moment's time in moving forward when the wind and tide will permit, to complete, as far as lies in my power, what is finally entrusted to my charge.

A. MITCHELL.

Downing-street, Sept. 28.

The following dispatch has been received from lieutenant colonel Ramsay by lord Grenville.

My

My Lord, *Zurich, Sept.* 8.

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the enemy made an attack this morning, with about 3000 men, on the post of Waldishoff, in front of Zurich, occupied by about 600 men of the Russian battalion of Essen. The enemy, by advancing rapidly, and availing themselves of the darkness of the night, contrived to fall rather unawares on a small advanced picquet, and some prisoners fell into his hands at the commencement of the affair: it terminated, however, in a manner which, if it were possible, would add to the distinguished reputation of the Russian troops, and the enemy were driven back to their camp, in great disorder, by the battalion of Essen, who, without hesitation, notwithstanding the disproportioned superiority of the enemy's force, immediately advanced upon them, and charged them with their bayonets. The Russians lost about 30 men killed and wounded; that of the French has not been ascertained; but there is reason to suppose, from the number of dead left upon the field, and other circumstances, that it was more considerable. JOHN RAMSAY.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of Le St. Jaques lugger, mounting six 4-pounders, and sixteen men, by the Triton, captain John Gore.]

OCTOBER.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 8.

Extract of a letter from vice admiral Mitchell, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Babet, off Enchuysen, Oct. 1.

This morning a lieutenant of the Espiegle brought me the accompanying letter, which I have sent for their lordships' information. Much zeal and gallantry has been displayed by captains Bolton and Boorder, with their officers and men.

Wolverene, Limmen Roads, Sept. 29.

SIR,

On Friday morning, at six o'clock, I came to an anchor with the Haughty and Piercer, close to L'Espiegle, distant about six miles from Limmen: from captain Boorder I received every information I could desire. Finding the enemy had 1000 regulars in the town, and desperately determined to defend it, I immediately gave directions for completing the flotilla which captain Boorder, with his usual judgment, had begun. He had pressed two schuyts; on board of each were put two of L'Espiegle's 6-pounders, which, with the two flat-bottom boats, and his's launch, formed a respectable armament. Being willing to spare the effusion of human blood, especially of innocent victims, on Saturday, at day-light, I sent captain Boorder with the following letter:

Sir, Resistance on your part is in vain; I give you one hour to send away the women and children; at the expiration of that time, if the town is not surrendered to the British arms for the prince of Orange, your soldiery shall be buried in its ruins. I am, &c.

W. BOLTON.

To the commandant of Limmen.

Soon after captain Boorder's departure, I weighed, and stood in shore. About nine, A. M. I observed him returning; and soon after a flag of truce came out of the harbour. Before captain Boorder arrived, I noticed the gun-boats, which had been moored across the harbour, moving towards the canals; I instantly dispatched lieutenant Simpson with a flag of truce, to inform them, that I considered

their removal, or any other military arrangement, as a breach of the armistice, and if persisted in, I should instantly bombard the town: before he returned, the flag of truce came on board with the following letter:

To Capt. Bolton, commandant.

I have received your summons: the municipality request twenty-four hours, to send to the proper authority, to accede to your demands.

P. Van Groutten, commandant.

N. B. Please to send an answer by the bearer.

I immediately replied as under:

Sir, I have received your letter; and have the honour to inform you, that, if the prince's colours are not hoisted in half an hour after the receipt of this, I shall bombard the town. W. Bolton.

To Mynheer P. Van Groutten.

I dispatched the Dutch officer, and informed him I was coming down into my disposition before the town. I found, by captain Boorder, that the north part of the pier was considerably reinforced by some 18-pounders, taken from the gun-boats, which made a little alteration in our disposition necessary, and I was much concerned to find my brave able Dutch pilot declare, that, from the southerly winds, the water was so low, the Wolverene could not get in. Finding it a regular oozy flat for two miles I pushed through the mud till within musket-shot of the shore. The gun-brigs passed a-head within pistol-shot of the pier; but both, as well as myself, were, and not in the most favourable position, completely a-ground; but seamen ought never to be at a loss.—The enemy, notwithstanding the flag of truce, commenced a heavy fire, which in an instant was returned from every part of the squadron; the action continued nearly an hour, when the enemy flew from their quarters, the soldiers deserted the town, and the Piercer's boat's crew planted the British standard on the pier. I do not wonder at the strong opposition as the troops were mostly French. I cannot too much praise the valour and the conduct of the officers and men under my command. Lieutenants Mendes and Field led their gun-brigs in with great courage; the same with the officers who commanded the schuyts and flat boats. I feel great obligations to captain Boorder for his assistance; but his praise is beyond my commendation. Lieutenant Reddy of the Speedwell, and lieutenant Simpson of the Isis, distinguished themselves particularly; the former I sent with a flat boat to get off the Piercer, the latter, the Haughty. To captain Boorder I confided the arrangements on shore. The gale freshened fast, and it was necessary to preserve the Wolverence: with some difficulty her bow hove round; the wind fortunately came round to the southward; and, by starting all the water with a heavy press of sail for two miles, I dragged her through the mud, steering by sails only, into eleven feet water, where she now lies. All last night it blew excessively hard, the ship struck repeatedly; but using every means to lighten her, she rode it out tolerably well. This morning, at ten, I observed a body of the enemy advancing against the town along the northern causeway; I immediately sent to captain Boorder to apprise him of the danger: in a little time the town was attacked on all sides, but very soon I had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy retreat. From the mast-head, I perceive the town is nearly surrounded by water, so that a few brave men, with a flotilla on the

the canal, can most effectually defend it. I have no doubt but a well-timed succour would cause the whole province to throw off the French yoke. I am, &c.

W. BOLTON.

8. Sir William Staines having early declined the poll for lord mayor; and aldermen Coombe and Skinner being returned to the court of aldermen; the latter, on a scrutiny, was declared duly elected, but declined taking on him the high office.

Downing-street, Oct. 9.

The following dispatch was received, late this evening, from field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York, by the right honourable Henry Dundas.

Head-quarters, Zyper-Sluys, Oct. 4.

SIR,

The inclemency of the weather, which prevailed at the time of writing my last dispatch, and which, as I therein explained, alone prevented me from putting the army in motion, having in some measure subsided, and, the necessary previous arrangements having been made, the attack was commenced on the whole of the enemy's line on the morning of the 2d; and I have now the happiness to inform you, that, after a severe and obstinate action, which lasted from six in the morning until the same hour at night, the distinguished valour of his majesty's and the Russian troops prevailed throughout; and the enemy, being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the positions which he occupied on the Lange Dyke, the Koe Dyke at Berghen, and upon the extensive range of sand-hills between the latter place and Egmont-op-Zee. The points where this well-fought battle was principally contested, were from the sea-shore in front of Egmont, extending along the sandy desert, or hills, to the heights above Berghen; and it was sustained by the columns under the command of those highly distinguished officers, general sir Ralph Abercrombie and lieut.-general Dundas, whose exertions, as well as the gallantry of the brave troops they led, cannot have been surpassed by any former instance of British valour. On the night of this memorable day, the army lay upon their arms, and yesterday moved forward, and occupied the positions of the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar, Berghen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee. The enemy's force, according to the best information I have been able to obtain, consisted of between 25 and 30,000 men, of whom only a very small proportion were Dutch. General Daendels, who commanded the latter, is wounded. The French troops, who have been continually re-inforcing themselves, and whose loss has been very great, were commanded by generals Brune, Vandamme, and Bouter. From the continuance of the action, and the obstinacy with which it was contested, the victory has not been gained without serious loss. At present I am not in possession of particular returns; but I have the satisfaction to say, that no officer of rank has fallen. The British army has to regret major-general Moore's being wounded in two places; and the Russian army, major-general Emme's being also wounded; but, I am happy to say, that their wounds are not of a nature to lead me to apprehend, that I shall long be deprived of the assistance of their abilities and gallantry. It is impossible for me, at this moment, to do justice to the merits of the other generals and officers of the allied army who distinguished themselves,

as I must defer, until to-morrow, paying my tribute of praise to them, and to the troops generally, as well as giving the details of the battle of the 2d inst. My attention is seriously engaged in making the arrangements which are necessary for occupying a forward position in front of Beverwick and Wyck-op-Zee, to which line the enemy has retreated. I entertain no doubt that the extent of country which will now be under the protection of the allied army, and rescued from French tyranny, will afford an opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring themselves. The town of Alkmaar, which is the seat of the states of North Holland, has opened its gates to our troops; and a considerable part of the Dutch troops have come over to the prince of Orange's standard. In order that you may be in possession of such information as want of time will not at present allow me to detail, I charge my aide-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, with this dispatch. He is entirely in my confidence; and I request leave to recommend him to his majesty as an officer of superior merit and intelligence.

I am, &c. FREDERICK.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 12.

Copy of a letter transmitted by admiral Kingsmill to Evan Nepean, esq.

SIR, *Cerberus at Sea, Sept. 28.*

His majesty's ship under my command has this day captured L'Exchange French letter of marque, pierced for fourteen, but carrying only ten guns and forty men; six days from Bourdeaux, bound to St. Domingo, with a cargo of bale goods, wines, &c.

I am, &c. J. MACNAMARA.

[This gazette also contains a letter from sir Hyde Parker, dated Port Royal, Jamaica, July 21, announcing that, between that date and the 26th day of the preceding month, the cruisers under his command captured a French sloop of three guns and eighteen men, by the Stork; Le Dégourdi, French cutter, of eight guns, and thirty-five men, by the Pelican; a Spanish xebec, of sixteen guns by the Acasta; a Dutch schooner, of two guns and nineteen men, by the Diligence; and a French schooner, of four guns, by the Sparrow.—And twenty merchant-vessels of different nations.]

Monday, Oct. 14.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this afternoon received from field marshal his royal highness the duke of York, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, Oct. 6.

SIR,

I dispatched my aide-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, on the 4th inst. with an account of the success obtained over the enemy on the 2d; and circumstances, at that moment, not enabling me to give the particulars of that day's action, I shall now enter into a detail of the occurrences which then took place. The disposition I have already transmitted to you of the intended attack will shew, that it was determined that a vigorous effort should be made on the left of the enemy, where the French troops were posted and concentred about Berghen, a large village surrounded by extensive woods, through which passes the great road leading to Haarlem, and between which and the sea lies an extensive region of high sand-hills, impassable for artillery or carriages, difficult, and very embarrassing, from their depth and broken surface, for cavalry, and exceedingly

ingly forbidding, from all these and other circumstances, to any movements being attempted in them by a large body of infantry. Behind these sand-hills, and to the enemy's right, through the whole extent of North Holland, lies a wet and low country, every where intersected with dykes, canals, and ditches, which it rested with the enemy to occupy and strengthen in whatever manner, and in whatever points, he pleased, and thereby to prevent our making any successful attempt against his right. His centre was supported by the town of Alkmaar; and water communications gave him, in every direction, the advantage of drawing from, and profiting by, the resources of the country. The delays, which the unusual severity of the weather at this season, and the whole of our situation rendered inevitable, enabled him to improve his position by new works, which bore a formidable appearance, and threatened much resistance. Under all circumstances it was evident, that it was only by a great advantage gained on the enemy's left that we could drive him back, and force him to evacuate North Holland, thereby materially bettering our situation, by opening the sphere of our resources and future exertions. The combined attacks were therefore made in four principal columns. The first, on the right, under general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of major-general D'Oyley's brigade, major-general Moore's ditto, major-general earl of Cavan's ditto, colonel M'Donald's reserve, nine squadrons of light dragoons, commanded by colonel lord Paget, and one troop of horse artillery marched by the sea-beach against Egmont-op-Zee, with a view to turn the enemy's left flank. Of the second, consisting of Russian troops commanded by major-general D'Essen, the greater proportion marched by the Sleiper Dyke, through the villages of Groete and Schorel upon Berghen, by the road which all the way skirts the foot of the sand-hills of Camperduyn, about 300 feet high, presenting a steep face to the country much wooded; but from their summit more gradually sloping towards the sea. Part of this column, under major-general Sedmoratzky, debouched from the Zuyper Sluys, and were destined to cover the left flank of the remainder of the Russian troops moving under the sand-hills, to co-operate with the brigade under major gen. Burrard, in the attack of Schoreldam, and to combine their attack upon Berghen with the troops upon their right. The third column, under the command of lieut-gen. Dundas, consisted of major-gen. earl of Chatham's brigade, major-gen. Coote's ditto, major-gen. Burrard's ditto, and one squadron of the 11th light dragoons. Major-gen. Coote's brigade was ordered to follow the advanced guard of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column from Petten, to turn to the left to the village of Campe, and proceeding under the hills, to take the Sleiper Dyke in reserve, and clear the road to Groete, and the heights above it, for that part of the Russian column which marched by the Sleiper Dyke, whose right major-general Coote was to cover, during its progress towards Berghen, by detaching the required number of troops into the sand hills. Major-gen. lord Chatham's brigade was to follow that part of the Russian column which marched from that part of the Zuyper Sluys, to turn to the right, and, falling into the road in the rear of maj.-gen. D'Essen's

men's corps, to join such part of maj. gen. Coote's as moved along the road, to proceed in support of the Russian column, covering its right upon the sand hills, and from them ultimately to combine with that column in its attack upon Berghen; for which purpose these two brigades were to extend as much as possible to the right, and endeavour to connect themselves with the right column. Maj.-gen. Burrard's brigade was ordered to move from Totenhoorn and Krabendam upon the left of the Alkmaar canal, to combine with the corps under major-gen. Sedmoratzky its attack from Schoreldam, which was further supported by seven gun-boats, moving along the above canal. Major-general Burrard was to communicate on his left with the 4th column, under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of major-general prince William's brigade, major-gen. Manner's ditto, major-general Donn's ditto, two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and two battalions of Russians. This column covered the whole of the left of our position to the Zuyder Zee, and was destined to threaten the enemy's right, and to take advantage of every favourable circumstance that should offer. Proportions of artillery of reserve were attached to each column, and to the Russian column about 200 cossacks and hussars. The force of the enemy was computed at 25,000 men, much the greater proportion of which were French. The state of the tide determined the march of the right column, which proceeded from Petten at half past six o'clock in the morning. Its advanced guard, composed of the reserve under colonel Macdonald, viz. 1st battalion of grenadiers of the line, 1st battalion of light infantry ditto, 23d, and 55th regiments of infantry, drove the enemy from Campe, and from the sand-hills above the village, and continued its march upon the ridge of those hills, inclining a little to the left. Maj.-gen. Coote's brigade, which next followed, turned to its left at Campe, and, advancing as far as the extremity of the Sleiper Dyke, and the village of Groete, cleared the road for the Russian column under major-general D'Essen. Part of this brigade, in connexion with colonel Macdonald's corps, drove the enemy from the sand-hills to the right and front of the Russian column, and continued moving forwards on the sand-hills, a little in advance of the Russian troops. Major general Sedmoratzky's corps had marched from the Zyper Sluys as soon as the enemy had abandoned Groete, and advanced across the plain between the Alkmaar canal and the road by which major-general D'Essen moved, whose left he joined, whilst his own left was protected by the fire of the gun-boats, and the advance of major-general Burrard's corps. The enemy who had gradually retired from Schorel, were now formed in considerable force from Schorel to Schoreldam, and kept up a very warm fire from the cannon which they had posted at different points of their line. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade moved in the rear of maj. general Sedmoratzky's corps, close behind which it was formed in the plain. The column under major-general D'Essen proceeded along the road upon Schorel, whilst major-general Coote's brigade was rapidly driving the enemy from the ridge of sand-hills above that village, and to its right. Col. M'Donald's corps had moved considerably to the right, with a view to connect itself with the right column, and continued warmly engaged with

the enemy, who were in very considerable force in the sand hills. After some delay, the enemy were driven, about eleven o'clock, by the Russian troops, and by the gun-boats, and major-gen. Burrard's brigade upon their left, from Schorel, and Schoreldam, between which maj.-generals D'Essen's and Sedmoratzsky's corps took post, and continued the remainder of the day, engaged in a cannonade with the enemy posted in the village of Berghen, and between it and the Koe Dyke. Schoreldam was occupied by maj.-general Burrard, whence he continued his attack (in conjunction with the gun-boats) upon the enemy, who was strongly posted on the Koe Dyke. In this situation it became necessary to make a great effort to clear the summit of the sand-hills of the enemy who occupied them in great numbers, and for a great visible extent quite beyond Berghen. The left of major-general Coote's brigade was then above Schorel, and the regiments which composed it were separated by very considerable intervals, and extended a long way into the sand-hills. The 85th regiment being on the right, and considerably advanced, was warmly engaged with the enemy, who showed a disposition to come upon the right of the brigade. I therefore directed lieutenant-general Dundas to march major-general lord Chatham's brigade from the plain into the sand-hills to the right of major-general Coote's, leaving one battalion, the 91st, to move close under the hills, parallel with the left of major-general Coote's brigade. This movement was admirably executed; and major-general lord Chatham's brigade having arrived at some distance behind the 85th regiment, and outflanking it by about two battalions, the line was formed, and the whole was ordered to advance at a brisk pace, to gain the heights about three quarters of a mile distant, across a scrubby wood, and then by a gradual ascent to the summit of the sand-hills: the 85th regiment at the same time charged and drove the enemy before them, who, being thus taken in flank and rear, retired precipitately towards his right, and took post on the summit of the heights which hang over Berghen, whilst the remainder of major-general Coote's brigade, having also moved forward, joined the left of major-general lord Chatham's. The 85th regiment took post in a favourable situation below those heights, so as to block up and command the avenue and great road which leads through Bergen. From the heights the enemy were seen in the village of Berghen and the woods and plains about it, wavering, and apparently in great uncertainty; but, lieut.-general Dundas's corps not being able alone, to undertake the attack of the village and woods, or to bring cannon into the sand-hills, the enemy re-occupied the village in force, and kept up a brisk fire of cannon and musquetry on the heights occupied by the British, and by which the latter were sheltered. A considerable body of the enemy advanced along the avenue, and made a spirited attack to regain the heights on the post of the 85th, but were driven back with loss, and that regiment gallantly maintained their situation, during the rest of the day, against several attempts of the enemy. A large body of the enemy having been seen moving to their left, three battalions of major-general Coote's brigade were marched beyond the right of lord Chatham's to support him, and extend the line. The 27th regiment, posted at the termination of

of another avenue from Berghen, were attacked by a considerable body issuing from the woods: the regiment, having, however, by a spirited charge, driven the enemy into the wood, no further attempt was made by them, from that time (about half past three P.M.), to dislodge lieutenant-general Dundas's corps. The extension of his line had now brought its right very near to the reserve under colonel Macdonald, who had been advancing rapidly, notwithstanding the considerable resistance he had experienced, and was now warmly engaged with a body of the enemy, lining a sand-hill ridge which crosses the downs in a perpendicular direction, and which body had probably moved from Berghen and Egmont-op te-Hoof with the view of turning lieutenant-general Dundas's right flank. Lieutenant-general Dundas, therefore, sent down the 29th regiment on the left of colonel Macdonald, close to the road leading from Berghen to Egmont; and although the enemy's position appeared steep and formidable, a general and rapid attack was made. The advance of the 29th regiment was the signal for the whole on the right of it to move forward briskly, which was done with such spirit, that they were soon at the bottom of the enemy's position; and, ascending the hill without stopping, they pursued their advantage with such vigour, as to drive the enemy totally from the sand-hills. This was the last event which took place on the side of Berghen; and, as the close of the day was fast approaching, colonel Macdonald with two battalions was sent to the support of general sir Ralph Abercrombie. The heights of the sand hills surrounding Berghen for about three miles, remained crowned and possessed by about eleven British battalions. General sir Ralph Abercrombie had marched according to the disposition along the beach, with major-general D'Oyley's, major-general Moore's, and major-general lord Cavan's brigades, the cavalry and horse-artillery, (the reserve under colonel Macdonald not having been able, owing to the great extent of the sand-hills, to rejoin him, after turning to the left at Campe.) The main body of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column had proceeded, without meeting with much resistance, in the early part of the day, but was nevertheless much inconvenienced, and his troops harassed by the necessity of detaching continually into the sand-hills to his left, to cover that flank against the troops whom the enemy had placed in the sand-hills. The admirable disposition, however, which he made of his troops, and their determined spirit and gallantry, enabled him to arrive within a mile of Egmont. Here he was seriously opposed by a very considerable corps of French infantry, which occupied Egmont-op-Zee, and the high sand-hills in its front, and who had formed a very strong corps of cavalry and artillery to their left. The engagement was maintained during several hours with the greatest obstinacy; and in no instance were the abilities of a commander, or the heroic perseverance of troops in so difficult and trying a situation, more highly conspicuous. Animated by the example of general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the general and officers under him, the troops sustained every effort made upon them by an enemy then superior in numbers, and much favoured by the strength of his position. Late in the evening, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they

they made upon the British horse-artillery on the beach, and having been charged by the cavalry under colonel lord Paget, was driven, with considerable loss, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee; his efforts then relaxed considerably on the right; and general sir Ralph Abercrombie, having soon after been joined by the reinforcements under colonel Macdonald, took post upon the sand hills and the beach within a very short distance of Egmont-op-Zee, where the troops lay upon their arms during the night. Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney had assembled the greater part of his corps in front of Drixhoorn, whence he threatened an attack on Oude-Carspel, in and near which was placed the principal force of the enemy's right, and could, at the same time, have supported any part of the line which might be attempted. Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, seconded by the active exertions of the general officers and troops under his command, executed with his usual ability that part of the disposition with which he was entrusted, and effectually prevented the enemy from sending any detachments to his left. On the 3d at day-break, the enemy evacuated their strongly fortified posts at Oude-Carspel and the Lange Dyke, retiring upon St Pancras and Alkmaar; the above posts were very soon after occupied by lieut.-gen. sir James Pulteney. The enemy still continued in the woods and town of Berghen, and appeared with cannon, and in some force, on that side of it next to the Koe Dyke. They had, however, withdrawn the greater part of their force during the night, and before mid-day the village was taken possession of by the 85th regiment. About one, general sir Ralph Abercrombie entered Egmont-op-Zee; and, in the evening, the Russians, under major-general D'Essen, advanced from the ground where (as I have already stated) they had halted the preceding day, to Egmont-op-te-Hoof. Major-general Burrard, who, when the enemy had retired from Berghen, had advanced to Koe Dyke, was ordered in the evening to occupy, with a detachment from his brigade, the town of Alkmaar, which had been abandoned by the enemy, and had been entered nearly at the same time, by patroles from his and lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney's corps. The exhausted state of the troops from the almost unparalleled difficulties and fatigues which they had to encounter, prevented me from taking that advantage of the enemy's retreat to Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, which, in any other country, and under any other circumstances, would have been the consequences of the operations of the army upon the 2d. Of the loss sustained by the enemy, the reports are so various, that I cannot venture to say any thing decisive; but, from all circumstances, I have reason to think it must have exceeded 4000 men. Seven pieces of cannon, and a great proportion of tumbrils were taken. The prisoners having been immediately sent to the Helder, I cannot at present give any statement of their numbers; but I do not believe it exceeds a few hundred men. Under divine providence, this signal victory obtained over the enemy is to be attributed to the animating and persevering exertions which have at all times been the characteristics of the British soldier, and which on no occasion were ever more eminently displayed; nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general to have such just cause of acknowledg-

ment,

ment, for the distinguished support he that day experienced from the officers under his command. I cannot in sufficient terms express the obligations I owe to general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their respective columns, whose success is, in no small degree, to be attributed to their personal exertions and example. The former had two horses shot under him. I must also state my warm acknowledgments to lieutenant-general Hulse, major-generals lord Chatham, Coote, D'Oyley, Burrard, and Moore, for their spirited efforts upon this occasion, and the abilities which they showed in the conduct of their respective brigades. The latter by his ability and personal exertion, very materially contributed to the success of this column; and, although severely wounded through the thigh, continued in action for near two hours, until a second wound in the face obliged him to quit the field. Much praise is due to major-general Hutchinson, for the manner in which he led the 5th, or lord Cavan's brigade; and I hope it will not be considered as an improper intrusion, if I take this occasion to express my sincere regret that an unfortunate blow from a horse, in going into action, by fracturing his leg, should have deprived me of his lordship's services. Colonel Macdonald distinguished himself by his usual spirit and ability, in the command of the reserve; as did lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry upon the beach, and whose exertions are deserving of every praise. Nor must I omit expressing my thanks to lieutenant-colonels Whitworth and Smyth, who commanded the artillery of reserve, and to major Judson of the horse-artillery. The detachment of seamen, under the command of captains Goddard and Jurcoing, were upon this, as upon a former occasion, of the most essential service in the direction of the gun-boats. The conduct of major-general Knox, who was attached to the column of Russian troops, was such as to afford me the greatest satisfaction. I inclose the returns of the loss of the British and Russian troops; and must repeat my sincere regret, that the advantages we have obtained (however brilliant) have been so dearly bought. In closing this dispatch I cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing my approbation of the staff of my army, and in particular of the exertions and abilities shown by lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, deputy quarter-master-general.

FREDERICK.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the battle of Bergbee, fought October 2.

One major, five captains, five subalterns, eleven serjeants, 215 rank and file, forty-four horses, killed; two colonels, two lieutenant colonels, three majors, twenty-two captains, thirty-nine subalterns, one staff, forty-six serjeants, seven drummers 980 rank and file, seventy-eight horses, wounded; one captain, four subalterns, seven serjeants, three drummers, 178 rank and file, three horses, missing.

Return of officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Staff, major-general Moore, of the 4th brigade, lieut.-colonel Sontag, major Calcraft of the 25th light dragoons, aid-de-camp to col: lord Paget, captain W. Gray of the queen's regiment, brigade-major of the third brigade, lieutenant Charles Jackson, of the 40th regiment, acting on the staff with the Russian army, wounded.—15th light

light dragoons, lieutenant-colonel Erskine, wounded—Royal artillery, captain Nichol, wounded, since dead.—Grenadier battalion of the line, captain Leith of the 31st regiment of foot, captain Peat of the 5th regiment, lieutenant Stafford of the 31st regiment, lieutenant Philpot of the 36th regiment, volunteer Barrington, wounded; captain O'Neil wounded and missing.—Light infantry battalion of the line, captain Robertson of the 35th regiment of foot, captain Hitchman of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot, wounded.—3d battalion of the 1st guards, major Coleman, ensign Spedding, ensign Campbell, wounded.—27th foot, captain Archibald M'Murdo, adjutant and lieutenant George Tothil, quarter-master and ensign John Ryan, ensign W. T. Brazier, wounded.—29th ditto, captain White, lieutenant Tandy, lieutenant Bowan, lieutenant Bamfield, wounded.—35th ditto, lieutenant Nester, killed; lieutenant-colonel Ross, captains Bowen and M'Intosh, lieutenant Keilly, wounded,—2d battalion royals, captains Barnes and Hunter, lieutenants Ainsley, Frazier, Edmonstown, and Patton, ensign Birmingham, wounded; lieutenant Hope, wounded and taken prisoner.—25th foot, captain lieutenant J. Weir Johnson, lieutenant Hugh M'Donald, killed: major S. V. Hinde, captains Geo. Callendar, F. P. Scott, and F. C. Carew, lieutenants Alexander W. Light, James Peat, John A. Grant, and John Austin, wounded.—49th foot, captain Archer, ensign Ginn, killed; major Hutchinson, captains Sharpe and Robins, lieutenant Urquhart, ensign Hill, wounded; lieutenant Johnson missing.—79th ditto, captain James Campbell, of the grenadiers, killed; colonel Alan Cameron, lieutenants M'Donald, M'Neil, and Rose, wounded.—92d ditto, captain William M'Intosh, lieutenant Alexander Frazer, lieutenant Gordon M'Hardy, killed; colonel marquis of Huntley, captains John Cameron, Alexander Gordon, and Peter Grant, lieutenants G. Frazer, C. Chad, and Donald M'Donald, ensign Charles Cameron, John M'Pherson, and James Bent, wounded; captain John M'Lean, wounded and taken prisoner.—2d battalion of the 17th ditto, lieutenants Wynne and Morrison, wounded.—2d battalion of the 40th foot, quarter-master Phillips, wounded.—1st battalion of the 20th ditto, captain Paulet, wounded.—2d battalion of ditto, ensign Mills, wounded.—63d foot, captain M'Niver, lieutenant Lee Gitte, ensign Hall, wounded.—1st battalion of the 4th foot, ensign T. B. Carruthers, wounded.—31st foot, ensign Peter King, wounded.—23d foot, lieutenants M'Lean and W. Keith, wounded.—55th foot, major Lumsden, killed; lieutenant W. H. Dixon, wounded.—Royal navy, lieutenant Roward and three seamen wounded.

ALEX. HOPE.

Head quarters, Egmont-op-te-Hoof, Oct. 5.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian forces on the 2d of October.

170 killed or taken prisoners, and 423 wounded.—Fifty horses wounded.

Head quarters, Alkmaar, Oct. 7.

SIR,

The enemy after the action of the 2d, having taken up the position between Beverwick and Wyck-op-Zee, I determined to endeavour to force him thence, before he had an opportunity of strengthening, by works, the short and very defensible line which he occupied, and to oblige

oblige him still further to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements which I had information were upon their march. Preparatory, therefore, to a general forward movement, I ordered the advanced posts which the army took up on the 3d instant in front of this place, of Egmont-op-te-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee, to be pushed forward; which operation took place yesterday morning. At first little opposition was shewn, and we succeeded in taking possession of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a position on the sand-hill near Wyck-op Zee: the column of Russian troops under the command of major-general D'Essen, in endeavouring to gain a height in front of their intended advanced post at Baccum (which was material to the security of that point), was vigorously opposed, and afterwards attacked, by a strong body of the enemy, which obliged gen. sir Ralph Abercrombie to move up in support with the reserve of his corps. The enemy, on their part, advanced their whole force, the action became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the sea, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, until night, when the enemy retired, leaving us masters of the field of battle. The conflict, however, has, I am concerned to state, been as severe, and has been attended with as serious a loss (in proportion to the numbers engaged) as any of those which have been fought by the brave troops composing this army, since their arrival in Holland. The gallantry they displayed, and the perseverance with which they supported the fatigues of this day, rival their former exertions. The corps engaged were major general D'Oyley's brigade of guards, major general Burrard's ditto, major-general earl of Chatham's brigade, major-general Coote's brigade, major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, commanded by major-general Hutchinson; the reserve under the command of colonel M'Donald, part of the 7th and 11th light dragoons, and seven battalions of Russians. To general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other general officers in command of the brigades before-mentioned, as also to colonel M'Donald, my warmest acknowledgments are due, for their spirited and judicious exertions during this affair; nor ought I to omit the praise due to colonel Clephane, commanding four companies of the 3d, and one of the Coldstream, regiments of guards, who, by a spirited charge, drove two battalions of the enemy from the post of Acher Sloot, making 200 prisoners. I have sincerely to regret, that, in the course of the action, major-gen. Hutchinson received a musquet-shot wound in the thigh, which, however, is not serious. I have not yet received any reports of the killed and wounded; but I am apprehensive that the number of British is not less than 500, and that the loss of the Russian troops, as far as I can understand, amounts to 1,200 men. I shall, as early as circumstances possibly admit, transmit particular returns. The loss of the enemy, upon this occasion, has been very great; and in addition to their killed and wounded, 500 prisoners fell into our hands.

FREDERICK.

Head-quarters, Schagen-brug, Oct. 9.

SIR,

I have already acquainted you with the result of the action of the 6th inst. which terminated successfully to the allied arms, and, at the same

same time, pointed out the necessity of the movement which produced this affair. From the prisoners taken upon the 6th inst. I learned the certainty of the enemy having been reinforced, since the action of the 2d, by two demi-brigades, amounting to about 6000 infantry, and of their having strengthened the position of Beverwick, and fortified strongly in the rear of it points which it would still be necessary to carry before Haerlem could be attacked. It ought also to be stated, that the enemy had retired with a large force upon Purmirind, in an almost inaccessible position, covered by an inundated country, and the débouchés from which were strongly fortified in the hands of the enemy; and further, that, as our army advanced, this corps was placed in our rear. But such obstacles would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and the total want of the necessary supplies, arising from the above causes, presented difficulties which required the most serious consideration. Having maturely weighed the circumstances in which the army was thus placed, and having felt it my duty, on a point of such importance, to consult with general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the lieutenant generals of this army, I could not but consider (and their opinion was unanimous on the subject), that it would be for the benefit of the general cause to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, in order to wait his majesty's further instructions. I must request you will again represent to his majesty the distinguished conduct of his army; which, whilst acting under the pressure of uncommon difficulties, never, for a moment, ceased to be actuated by the noblest feelings for the success of the public cause, and the honour of the British arms. As there are many points resulting from our present situation, upon which you may require particular information, and such details as cannot be brought within the compass of a letter, I have thought it necessary to charge my secretary, colonel Brownrigg, with this dispatch, who will be able to explain fully all matters relating to this army. I transmit a return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his majesty's and the Russian troops in the action of the 6th inst. I most heartily lament that it has been so serious, and that so many brave and valuable men have fallen.

FREDERICK.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of the 6th of October.

Two lieutenant-colonels, two subalterns, three serjeants, one drummer, eighty-three rank and file, seven horses, killed; one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, seven captains, twenty-three subalterns, one staff, twenty-three serjeants, 666 rank and file, thirteen horses, wounded; two lieutenant-colonels, one major, five captains, eleven subalterns, thirteen serjeants, two drummers, 569 rank and file, missing.

Names of officers killed.

Lieutenant-colonel Philip Bambridge, and ensign M'Curris, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot; lieutenant-colonel Dickson, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto; lieutenant Foster, of the 4th ditto.

Names of officers wounded.

Grenadier battalion line, lieut. Dunn, of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of foot; lieutenant Hamilton, of the 1st battalion of

the 5th ditto.—Light infantry battalion, lieutenant Alexander, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto; lieutenant Nicholson, of the 2d battalion of the 35th ditto; ensign Parsons and volunteer J. M'Iums, of the 1st battalion of the 9th ditto.—Colonel Maitland, and ensign Burke, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.—Surgeon Babington, of the 1st battalion 3d ditto.—Major Campbell, captain Newman, lieut. Stevens, and ensigns Fevel and Humphries, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.—Captains Masters, Wallace, and Torrence, and ensign Drurie, of the 2d battalion of the 26th ditto.—Captain-lieutenant John Wardlow, lieutenants Bernet, Fuscett, Sankey, and Mateth, of the 63d regiment of ditto.—Lieutenant-colonel Hodgson, ensigns Johnston, Carruther, and John Nicholls, of the 1st battalion of the 4th ditto.—Captains Gilman and Palman, lieutenants Deare and Wilson, ensigns Highmore and Archibald, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.—Majors Wynch and Horndon, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.—Ensigns Williams, Johnston, and King, of the 31st regiment of ditto.

Names of officers missing.

Lieutenant-colonel Lake of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cholmondeley, major Pringle; captains Archdale, Brodie, Gilmore, and Chaplin; lieutenants Gasley, Wilson, Deare, and Wilbraham; ensigns Brown, Ellis, Anderson, M'Pherson, and Tryor, of the 2d battalion of the 4th foot.—Captain Williamson, ensign Alged, of the 3d battalion of ditto.

ALEX. HOPE.

N. B. 7th light dragoons, two rank and file, seven horses killed; seven rank and file, six horses, wounded; two rank and file, one horse, missing.—13th light ditto, two rank and file, one horse, wounded.—The returns did not come in till the 10th.—11th light dragoons, seven men, seven horses, prisoners of war, not in the above return.

Head-quarters, Zypel-Slyn, Oct. 16.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian troops, on the 6th of October.

362 killed, or taken prisoners, and 735 wounded.

D'ESEN, major-general.

19. Intelligence was this day received at the Admiralty, from admiral Mitchell, communicating the total loss of La Lutine, of thirty-two guns, captain Skynner, on the outward bank of the Fly-Island passage, on the night of the 9th instant, in a heavy gale at N.N.W. La Lutine had, on the same morning, sailed from Yarmouth roads with several passengers, and an immense quantity of treasure, for the Texel; but a strong ebb-tide rendered every effort of captain Skynner, to avoid the threatened danger, unavailable, and it was alike impossible, during the night, to receive any assistance either from the Arrow, captain Portlock, which was in company, or the shore, from whence several schuyts were in readiness to go to her. When the dawn broke, La Lutine was in vain looked for; she had gone to pieces, and all on board unfortunately perished, except two men, who were picked up, and one of whom has since died from the fatigue he had encountered. The survivor is Mr. Schablack, a military public. In the annals of our naval history, there has scarcely ever happened a loss attended with so much

much calamity, both of a public as well as private nature. The return from the bullion-office makes the whole amount to 606,900 dollars, about 140,000l. sterling, in specie, on board the Latine, which had been shipped by individual merchants in this country, for the relief of different commercial houses in Hamburgh. There were also several merchants on board.

Downing-street, Oct. 19.

Dispatches, of which the following are copy and extracts, have been received from Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay, and Lieutenant-colonel H. Clinton, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay to lord Grenville, Head-quarters, Schaffhausen, Sept. 30.

My Lord,

It is with extreme concern I inform your lordship, that an attack has been made on the allied army, the result of which has been favourable to the enemy. The combined operations of the allies of which your lordship is already informed, were intended to have taken place on the 26th and 27th; and six battalions of the army commanded by general Korsakof, were detached to Uznach on the 25th, for the purpose of increasing the force destined to act in that quarter. The enemy, who was, no doubt, apprised of this circumstance, attacked the Russian army on the 25th, at very early hour in the morning: a brisk attack of musketry was heard on our left in the neighbourhood of Wadenschwyl, accompanied by a cannonade on our right, which appeared to proceed from the neighbourhood of Baden. The attack on our left was intended merely for the purpose of drawing the attention from that point; and the enemy passed the Limmat in great force, in the neighbourhood of Weinengen, between Zurich and Baden. By this manœuvre, they broke the line in that quarter, cut off from the army the eight battalions under the command of generals Markof and Durasof, who were posted between Weinengen and the Rhine; and, after leaving a corps for the purpose of observing and attacking them, they ascended the Limmat towards Zurich. A regiment of dragoons being, in consequence of the detachments that had been sent away, and the troops that had been drawn to the left, the only remaining in the part where the passage was effected, the enemy advanced, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Zurich before they experienced any resistance of consequence: the plain in front of Zurich, between the Limmat and the heights, which, running parallel to the Limmat, form a continuation of the Albis to the N.W. being occupied, at the same time, by a line of their infantry and cavalry, who, with a very numerous train of artillery, attacked with great vigour the troops in front of Zurich, and prevented their detaching to their right, the point on which the great efforts of the enemy were directed. At a late hour in the forenoon some reinforcements arrived on this side of the Limmat; but the enemy were already masters of some of the principal heights which command the town; and, notwithstanding the bravery displayed by the Russians in their repeated attacks, the superiority in point of force and position on the side of the French rendered it impossible for them to regain that which had been lost. At sun-set the French had made themselves masters of part of the Zurich-Berg, and nearly surrounded the town.

town. The attack on the position of general Hotze had terminated in favour of the Austrians; but general Hotze was unfortunately killed at the commencement of the action; and general Petrasch, who succeeded to the command of the army, having resolved, in consequence of the loss he had sustained, to avoid the attack which he expected the next morning, retreated in the night from Uznach. The situation of the Russian army was thus rendered still more critical, and it became absolutely necessary to abandon Zurich and the position in that neighbourhood without delay. On the 26th, in the morning, the retreat took place; and the whole arrived, in the course of that night, in the neighbourhood of Eglisau and Schaffhausen, without experiencing any loss of consequence during their march. We have to regret the loss of between two and 3000 men killed, wounded, and missing; and ten pieces of cannon have, with a part of the baggage, fallen into the hands of the enemy. A nearly equal number of French cannon were taken by the Russians; but the want of horses, which prevented them from taking away their own, was the cause of their being also obliged to leave them. The army under the command of general Korsakof is at present posted with its right to Eglisau, and its left to the lake of Constance. By a letter just arrived from field-marshal Suwarrow it appears that he has taken the Mount St. Gothard, and is at present advancing towards Altdorf and Schwitz.

I am, &c.

J. RAMSAY.

Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay to lord Grenville.

Head-quarters, Schaffhausen, Sept. 30th.

My lord, Since I had the honour of writing to your lordship on the 26th, in the morning, the retreat took place; and the whole arrived, in the course of that night, in the neighbourhood of Eglisau and Schaffhausen, without experiencing any loss of consequence during their march. We have to regret the loss of between two and 3000 men killed, wounded, and missing; and ten pieces of cannon have, with a part of the baggage, fallen into the hands of the enemy. A nearly equal number of French cannon were taken by the Russians; but the want of horses, which prevented them from taking away their own, was the cause of their being also obliged to leave them. The army under the command of general Korsakof is at present posted with its right to Eglisau, and its left to the lake of Constance. By a letter just arrived from field-marshal Suwarrow it appears that he has taken the Mount St. Gothard, and is at present advancing towards Altdorf and Schwitz.

I am, &c.

J. RAMSAY.

Lieutenant-colonel H. Clinton to lord Grenville. Bellinzona, Sept. 30.

Having been directed by lord Mulgrave to attend field-marshal Suwarrow on his march to Switzerland, I have the honour to inform your lordship that I arrived at Coire on the 15th inst. and found lordship has already no

doubt, received accounts, through France, of the calamities which have befallen us in this country, in which our losses have most probably been exaggerated to a great degree. Aware of this, I would, if possible, have sent your lordship an earlier account; but it was impossible for me to give a correct statement of the real state of things, which was much worse to appearance, when the army first arrived here, than at present. General Petrasch has retreated from the different positions between Uznach and Reinach, where, it was supposed, he has already passed the Rhine; and this part of Switzerland may be considered as completely evacuated for the present: it is the more unfortunate as the successes of field-marshal Suwarrow would have rendered the success of the projected operation almost certain, if we had fortunately been able to retain our position. At present, the field-marshal's situation will be rendered very critical, if timely notice has not been received by him of the retreat of the armies. I am sorry to inform your lordship, that, from the reports I have received, there is reason to apprehend, that the Swiss regiments of Bechman and Roverè have suffered considerably. I have, as yet had no exact accounts; and I will defer therefore making any report to your lordship till another opportunity occurs, as I am in hopes their loss has been chiefly occasioned by dispersion, in which case it will probably every day diminish.

erland, and to transmit to your lordship accounts of the proceeding of this army, I have the honour to inform you, that it reached Tavenee, about ten miles short of this place, yesterday evening; having performed, in five days, a distance of 116 English miles. It was the field-marshal's intention to have recovered by the length of his marches, the three days lost by the false alarm for the safety of Tortona: but the assemblage of mules, which was ordered to be made at this place, not being completed, and the impossibility of carriages proceeding any further in the mountains, oblige him to halt for one day.

Extract of a letter from Munich, Sept. 29.

2400 men, as a part of the Elector's contingent, are to march on the 1st of next month, from the neighbourhood of Donauwerth, to join the army of the archduke Charles. The plan for forming into military corps the inhabitants of the Palatinate is to have its effect throughout the circle of Bavaria. It is framed for 20,000 men; and is to be commanded in Bavaria by major-general Dorby, an officer enjoying a high military character.

Head-quarters, Savigliano, Sept. 19.

On the 16th the Austrian army arrived at Bra. On the same day the French advanced from the side of Cohi and Pignerol, to Possano and Savigliano. In the latter place, they succeeded in taking, by surprise, an Austrian detachment, consisting of 400 men, with two pieces of cannon. It was reported, that the French intended, the day following, to form a jonction of all the corps in the different valleys, for the purpose of advancing into the plain with the greater security, in order to pillage and plunder the country. To prevent this movement, the main army marched from Baden in two columns, on the 17th; one, under the command of general Kray, attacked Possano. The enemy, who were in force there, defended themselves with great bravery for near two hours; but the superior courage of the Austrian troops obliged them to abandon the post, with the loss of about 250 prisoners. The Austrian general Seckendorf, an officer of great reputation, was very severely wounded. The column of general Melas took possession of Savigliano without great resistance. Two pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners were taken. The whole army will encamp near this town to-day.

BERWICK.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of Le Deux Amis French brig lettre de marque, of six guns and sixty men, by capt. H. Digby, of the Aldebaran; and a French corvette, L'Arethuse, carrying eighteen 9-pounder guns and 158 men, by the hon. captain Stopford of the Excellent. Also a long proclamation, which occupies five columns, recapitulating and directing the strict enforcement of the laws respecting quarantine; a proclamation permitting the free entry into the ports of this kingdom till Sept. 30, 1800, by ships or persons in amity with his majesty, of corn, meal, flour, &c.; and with this, permitting the same trade and intercourse with the colony of Surinam, as at present exists with any other of his majesty's colonies in the West-Indies.

23. This day another common hall was held, for the election of a lord mayor. Alderman Coombe and Sir William Pleydell were returned by the livery to the court

of aldermen; whose choice falling upon the former, he was accordingly invested with the gold chain, &c.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 22.

The following letters are addressed to admiral Mitchell:

Gun-brig Hasty, off Marken, Oct. 7.

SIR,

I beg to inform you, that I yesterday sailed from Usk, with the Hasty, Defender, and Cracker brigs, and Iris schuyt; and having reached this place by four A. M. I proceeded with the boats to attempt cutting out the Dutch gun-boats lying in or near the Pampus, and, am happy to say, succeeded in getting possession of four, without the loss of a man. They each mount four long guns, and have between twenty and thirty men; one of them built on purpose for a gun-vessel, quite new, carrying two long 18-pounders in her bow, and two 18-pounder carronades on her broadside; the rest are schuyts. I beg to recommend to your notice Messrs. Hall and Winter, midshipmen, for their spirited behaviour on this occasion; as also all the seamen engaged, for their alacrity in boarding, and good conduct after having gained possession. I have sent the Defender with charge of the gun-boats, and have the honour to be,

PATRICK CAMPBELL,
Commander of the sloop Dart.

Limmen Town, West Friezeland, Oct. 11.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that, at five o'clock this morning, the enemy made a general attack on this town in four different parts. Their advanced party attempted to storm the north battery. We soon got them between two fires; our turf with piles, surrounded them, and they immediately laid down their arms. Their force was one officer, one serjeant, one corporal, and twenty-eight men; two of the latter killed. We had no sooner secured our prisoners than they attacked us with the remainder of their force, 670 in number: our little army did wonders; for, with sailors and marines, our force was only 187. We fought them for four hours and a half, when the enemy gave way in all directions: I immediately ordered the marines to pursue them. Their breaking down a bridge prevented their colours, and two field pieces, from falling into our hands; but, before this was effected, the heavy fire from the marines had killed eighteen of the enemy, and wounded about twenty; and in their general attack they had five men killed, and nine wounded. It is impossible for me to speak too highly of the men and officers under my command. Lieutenant Wyburn, of the marines, as also lieutenants Howel, Higginson, and Gardner, behaved with honour to themselves, and credit to their country. Lieutenant Norman, of the navy, as also Messrs. Lane, Iron, Wheatly, and Travers, distinguished themselves in a most gallant manner, as did likewise the whole of the sailors and marines. It affords me great satisfaction to inform you, we had not a man hurt.

J. BOORDER.

[A letter from captain Winthorp to admiral Mitchell announces the capture of a sloop of war, and an armed schooner, by the Circe, of the Buyder Zee.—And this gazette also contains a letter from Mr. Le Bet of the May-flower private sloop of war, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Gueuny, the 14th

last instant, giving an account of his having captured, on a cruize, a Spanish gun-boat, mounting two long brass 18 pounders, and forty-three men; a Spanish packet, and four merchant vessels.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 23.

Lord Bridport to Mr. Nepean, dated Torbay, Oct. 21.

SIR,

It is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, that lieutenant Jaunery, of his majesty's ship Ethalion, is just arrived here from Plymouth, by whom I have received a letter from captain Young, stating his having captured on the 16th inst. the Thetis Spanish frigate, with much treasure and a valuable cargo of cocoa on board; also informing me, that another Spanish frigate, her consort, has, no doubt, been taken by the Naiad. Inclosed is a copy of captain Young's letter.

BRIDPORT.

Ethalion, Plymouth-Sound, Oct. 21.

My Lord,

I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that on the 16th inst. at three P. M. in the lat. forty-four deg. fifty three min. long. nine deg. fifty-three min. W. we discovered three large sail on the weather-bow, evidently men of war, steering S. E. with all sails set. I immediately tacked, and stood under easy sail, with an intention to speak to the sternmost, or to follow them till day-light, with a view to ascertain their force. On a nearer approach to the above ship, she made the private signal: concluding from that the other two ships were enemies, I made all possible sail in chace. At day-light, I found her to be his majesty's ship Naiad, and another frigate in company, which I took to be the Alemene, and two large frigates a-head. At seven, the Naiad made my signal to pass the sternmost, and stand on for the headmost. At nine A. M. being within random-shot of the sternmost, I fired a few guns in passing, which made her alter her course. At half-past eleven, the headmost ship bore up athwart us, at the distance of half-musquet shot: by the abilities and meritorious conduct of the officers, the steady spirit, and prompt obedience to my orders, of the seamen and marines, with a well directed fire of two broadsides from the Ethalion, and a running fight of an hour, exchanging bow and stern chaces, the latter part within half-pistol shot, I had the pleasure of seeing her haul down Spanish colours to his majesty's ship under my command. She proves to be the Thetis Spanish frigate, of thirty-six guns, 12 and 6-pounders, and 250 men, commanded by Don Juan de Mendoza, from Vera Cruz, bound to any port in Spain she could fetch, with 1,411,526 dollars and a quantity of cocoa on board. I have the additional satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that not a single man is hurt on board the Ethalion. The other Spanish frigate is called the Brigada, commanded by Don Antonio Pillou, the same force and lading as the Thetis. The last time I saw the Naiad, which was just before the action took place, was nearly within gun-shot of her: and I have no doubt of her being captured. I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's notice lieutenant Pym, the senior officer, for the able assistance I received from him on the quarter-deck, and his indefatigable exertions, in shifting the wounded masts and yards on board the Thetis, which do him the utmost credit. I cannot pass over

to thank the pilots Messrs. Jeffery and Quillam, for their great attention to the guns on the main deck, nor that of Mr. Dicker, the master, and lieutenant Peake, of the marines, for their aid on the quarter-deck; the warrant and petty officers, seamen, and marines, also merit your lordship's notice. J. Young.

Ethalion, none killed or wounded; Thetis, one killed, and nine wounded.

October 24.

Copy of another letter from lord Bridport, to Mr. Nepean, Oct. 22.

SIR,

Captain Digby, of his majesty's ship Alcmene, is just arrived here: he came from Plymouth by land, charged with dispatches from captain Pierrepoint, of his majesty's ship Naiad, stating, with other occurrences, the important capture of the Santa Brigada Spanish frigate, consort of the Thetis, (as stated in captain Young's letter of yesterday's date) copies of which you will herewith receive for their lordships' information, whom I sincerely congratulate upon this fortunate event, which does so much credit to captain Pierrepoint, and all the officers, seamen, and marines, of the different ships under his command, for the meritorious and persevering conduct manifested upon this occasion.

I am, &c. Bridport.

Naiad, off Cape Finisterre, Oct. 19.

My Lord,

I have great pleasure in being able to acquaint you, that his majesty's ships Naiad, Triton, and Alcmene (which your lordship has done me the honour to put under my orders), captured yesterday morning the Spanish frigate Santa Brigada, of thirty-two guns and having on board 300 men, upon the

rounded by Don Antonio Pilon. This frigate, mounted in company with another, called the Thetis, left Vera Cruz on the 21st August last; and I had the good fortune to fall in with them both, on the evening of the 16th inst. in lat. forty-four deg. one min. N. long. twelve deg. thirty-five min. W. at eight P. M. the Naiad then a single ship, and with which I immediately gave chace: before midnight, I discovered them to be vessels belonging to the enemy, and was joined by the Ethalion: when the day broke, I was joined by the Alcmene, when the Triton was discovered far astern: still, owing to the superior sailing of the latter ship, after a chace which lasted thirty-two hours, I set myself down as indebted for a most valuable capture. The two frigates at seven A. M. perceiving themselves not in a state to withstand our united force, took different routes; upon which I made the Ethalion's signals to pass the sternmost ship of the enemy, as she at that time took the leading point of sailing, and stand for and engage the headmost vessel; which was obeyed with that alacrity by captain Young, that I make no doubt but she has experienced a similar fate to her companion; but as the Santa Brigada made a determinate push on a southern course, a separation of course took place. The latter frigate of the enemy having rounded Cape Finisterre on the morning of the 18th inst. by her fast sailing, about five o'clock her commander shaved us very close to the rocks of Monte Lura, that the Triton, who was first in pursuit (captain Gore being regardless of every thing but closing with the enemy), struck upon the said rocks, upon this tide I fear her damage is considerable,

considerable: however she was soon off again, and commenced an animated fire on the enemy's; and did Capt. Digby, with an officer-like presence of mind keeping in that direction, to cut off the entrance of Port de Vidre. At eight A. M. the three frigates closed with the enemy amidst the rocks of Commaretto, at the entrance of Marca, when the colours were hauled down, and we found ourselves all in foul ground together. A fortunate breeze sprang up from the shore, and we were enabled to put the ships' heads to the sea, and began to shift prisoners, when a Spanish squadron, consisting of four large ships, one with a broad pendant, came out of Vigo, with an intention, I suppose, of rescuing the prize. This being the opinion of captains Gore and Digby also, every exertion was made to secure the prisoners, and get the ships under my command ready to receive them; but, on their perceiving my determination, they bore up, and ran into Vigo. Light and variable winds have kept me still in sight of the Spanish coast, which is to-day one continued blaze; and, as I was aware of another squadron of Spanish ships being in Corunna, have thought it my duty to keep all together, for the protection of the prize, which is of immense value, having on board 1,400,000 dollars, independent of a cargo of equal estimation. My companions in choice, captains Gore and Digby, make the most favourable report of the zeal and perseverance of their respective officers and crews; and, in justice to the officers and ship's company I have the honour to command, I can only say, that their anxiety to get alongside the enemy's frigates, whilst alone, was equal to what it was afterwards when my force became superior; and, on that, as on all former occasions, I profited by the able assistance of J. H. Marshall, my first lieutenant, to whom I have given charge of the prize. I inclose a list of the killed and wounded on this occasion, either by shot or casualties.

I am, &c.

W. PEARMAN.

Triton, one seaman wounded; Alcmene, one seaman, killed, one petty-officer, and eight seamen, wounded; Santa Brigada, two seamen killed, eight seamen wounded.

October 26.

Rear-admiral Duckworth, to Mr. Nepean, dated Leviathan, off Lisbon, October 13.

SIR,

You will be pleased to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty the copy of a letter from captain Brenton, of the Speedy, relating the destruction of three Spanish vessels he chanced on the 3d inst. It is but justice to this officer to observe, that his exertions and gallantry, at all opportunities, do him the highest honour.

I am, &c.

J. J. DUCKWORTH.

SIR, *Speedy, at Sea, Oct.* 4.

I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday, whilst running through the gut of Gibraltar, in sight of the British convoy, I observed a number of small vessels coming out of Algeziras, and concluded they were Spanish gun-boats and venturing to cut off some of the merchant-ships; I therefore steered for them, in order to keep them as far as possible from the body of the fleet; but, upon our near approach, perceiving they were Spanish coasters (eight in number) under the protection of a cutter and

and schooner, made all sail in chace, and soon separated the two steamboat from the body: they ran under the guns of a castle, which opened a fire upon us, and prevented our bringing them off. We continued the pursuit of the others, passing under the shot from Tariffa Castle, and at 4 P. M. came up with four more in a bay to the east of Cape Trafalgar; one immediately anchored near a fort, and the other three under a castle, which had one gun mounted: as it blew very heavy from the eastward, and being on a lee shore, we could not go so near them as I could wish, but anchored within four cables length, and, bringing our guns to bear upon the castle (which appeared to be in a very ruinous state, and did not return our fire) and the vessels, in a short time compelled the Spaniards to abandon them all, first cutting their cables, by which means they drove on shore. I then sent lieutenant Parker to endeavour to bring them off, and shortly after Mr. Marshall, the master, to assist; or, if that was not practicable, to set them on fire; neither of which could be effected, from the heavy surf breaking entirely over them, and rendering the approach dangerous to the boats. They, however, boarded them, brought away some of their fire-arms, and threw the remainder overboard, leaving them full of water, and complete wrecks. One vessel was laden with brandy and paper, one with English manufactures (cutlery, hardware, &c.) and the third in ballast. I beg leave to express the high satisfaction I received, from the conduct of lieutenant Parker, in boarding the vessels under the walls of the castle, while exposed to mosquetry from the beach; also of Mr. Rickets, the pilot, who was a volunteer upon that service. The attention of Mr. Marshall, the master, to the anchoring his majesty's sloop, and the able assistance I have received from him upon former occasions, render him worthy the fullest confidence. J. BRENTON.

Downing-street, Oct. 26. Lieutenant-colonel Clinton, aide-du-camp to the duke of York, arrived this morning, at the office of Mr. Dundas with the following dispatches.

Head-quarters, Schagen-brug.

SIR, *Oct. 2.*

In my late communications, I have represented to you the circumstances under which I found it expedient to withdraw the army from its forward position in front of Alkmaar, within that which it at present occupies, and which I trust, will have appeared to his majesty sufficiently to warrant the measure. The season of the year, which had already assumed here the aspect of winter, gave me, from day to day, additional reason to apprehend, that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with decisive advantages, whilst the impossibility of covering the troops in the narrow district of the country in our possession during the winter, and the precarious state of supplies to be expected in that season, added to the conviction I felt, that the most advisable measure to be pursued, was to remove with the army to England; an operation which, although it might have exposed the army to some loss in its execution, I judged, in my mind, preferable to any other which could be adopted. Under this impression, and considering that serious loss might ensue from delay, I have been induced to conclude an armistice, in conjunction with the admiral

mier Mitchel, with general Brune, commanding the French and Batavian armies, of which the conditions are inclosed, and which, although they provide for delivering up a large number of prisoners of war, now in our hands, yet, I trust, will not be thought by his majesty an inadequate compensation for many valuable lives, which must have been lost, after the object which has hitherto directed them, no longer promised success; and when the only means which presented themselves of ensuring a secure retreat, were those of resorting to the destructive measure of inundation from the sea, which, as it would have involved the inhabitants of the northern part of this province in ruin for a series of years, must have been highly repugnant to the feelings, as well as contrary to the character and practice of the British nation. I rest confident, that the motives which I have here detailed will excuse me to his majesty, for having acted without waiting for previous instructions from home, and that I shall have the satisfaction of knowing, that my conduct in this respect, has met with his majesty's gracious approbation. FREDERICK.

TRANSLATION.

Articles agreed upon between major-general Knox, duly authorised by his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, and citizen Rostollan, general of brigade and adjutant-general, duly authorised by citizen Brune, general and commander in chief of the French and Batavian army.

Art. I. From the date of this convention, all hostilities shall cease between the two armies.

Art. II. The line of demarcation between the said armies shall be the line of their respective outposts as they now exist.

Art. III. The continuation of all works, offensive and defensive, shall be suspended on both sides, and no new ones shall be undertaken.

Art. IV. The mounted batteries taken possession of at the Helder, or at other positions within the line now occupied by the combined English and Russian army, shall be restored in the state in which they were taken, or (in case of improvement) in their present state, and all the Dutch artillery taken therein shall be preserved.

Art. V. The combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, and shall evacuate the territory, coasts, islands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by November 30, 1799, without committing any devastation by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherways injuring the sources of navigation.

Art. VI. Any ships of war, or other vessels, which may arrive with reinforcements for the combined British and Russian army, shall not land the same, and shall be sent away as soon as possible.

Art. VII. General Brune shall be at liberty to send an officer within the lines of the Zeyp, and to the Der, to report to him the state of the batteries, and the progress of the embarkation. His royal highness the duke of York shall be equally at liberty to send an officer within the French and Batavian lines, to satisfy himself that no new works are carried on on their side. An officer of rank and distinction shall be sent from each army respectively, to guarantee the execution of this convention.

Art. VIII. Eight thousand prisoners

soners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, shall be restored, without conditions, to their respective countries. The proportion and choice of such prisoners for each, to be determined between the two republics. Major-general Knox shall remain with the French army, to guarantee the execution of this article.

Art. IX. The cartel agreed upon between the two armies, for the exchange of prisoners taken during the present campaign, shall continue in full force till it shall be carried into complete execution; and it is further agreed, that the Dutch admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged.

Concluded at Alkmaar, October 18, 1799, by the undersigned general officers, furnished with full powers to this effect.

(Signed) J. KNOX, major-general.

(Signed) ROSTOLLAN.

Head-quarters, Sebagen-brug,

SIR, *Oct.* 20.

I transmit to you herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his majesty's forces under my command, between the 6th and 10th instant. FREDERICK.

Head-quarters, Sebagen-brug, Oct. 10.

Total of the killed, wounded, missing, and left in Alkmaar, of his majesty's forces between the 6th and 10th of October.

Fifteen horses killed; one lieutenant-colonel, one captain, four horses, wounded; one subaltern, one staff, three serjeants, thirty-five rank and file, one horse, missing.

Return of officers wounded and missing.

18th light dragoons, honourable lieutenant-colonel Stewart, captain Hay, wounded; quarter-master Mr. Kell, missing.—2d battalion royals, lieutenant Lister, missing.

A. HOPE, deputy-adjutant-general.

[This gazette also contains an account of the capture of the French privateer Le Bourdelais, pierced for twenty-six guns, by his majesty's ship Revolutionaire, captain Thomas Twysden.—Also, the French privateer Le Grandeur, of sixteen guns, brass 6 pounders, manned with 121 men, by the Phœbe, captain Barlow.—Also, the Deux Amis French brig letter of marque, of six guns and 60 men, by the Alcmene, captain Digby.]

Downing-street, Oct. 29.

Lieutenant-colonel Clinton to lord Grenville.

My Lord, *Coire, Oct.* 9.

When I sent your lordship my last dispatch on the 2d inst. from Glaris, the report from general Rosenberg, whose division composed the rear-guard, had not reached head-quarters. I have now the honour to inform your lordship, that the enemy, having received a considerable reinforcement from Zug, renewed on the 1st inst. their attack near the village of Mutten, where, in consequence of the fatigue the troops had undergone the preceding day, they had been obliged to halt. A strong column of the enemy advanced by the road in the centre of the valley, while two others, skirting the foot of the mountains on each side, endeavoured to get into the rear of the Russians. The division of general Rosenberg consisted of eight weak battalions, and two regiments of Cossacks. Discovering the intention of the enemy, he left five battalions as a reserve, and with three (the breadth of the valley not admitting of a greater front)

front), supported by the Cossacks, he attacked the centre of the enemy: their heavy guns for a moment gave them an advantage; but nothing could withstand the steadiness of the Russian attack. In the hurry of their retreat, an ammunition-waggon was overset, which choaked the only road by which the cannon could move; these pieces were immediately taken possession of by the Russians. The flank columns, seeing their centre pierced, fled. General Rosenberg profited of the confusion of the enemy, and pursued them beyond Schwitz. In killed and wounded, they lost above 500 men and thirteen officers, and 1020 were taken prisoners. The Russians had, in this affair, about 300 men killed and wounded. It was the 4th in the evening before the sick and wounded could be transported to Glaris; the road not admitting of the passage of artillery, the guns were destroyed. On the 5th, the army marched by the valley of Semst to Elm: the difficulty of the roads made it impossible to remove the wounded. The enemy followed the rear-guard, and gained some trifling advantages over it during the first three or four miles of the march; upon a well-timed attack, however, of the Russians, they desisted from any further attempt. On the 6th, the army passed the Danix mountain, which the snow, that had fallen during the last week, had rendered dangerous, and several mules and baggage-horses were lost on the march. The army is now assembled at this place, and, after two days repose it is the marshal's intention to form a junction with the army of general Korsakof.

B. CLINTON.

[Then follows a translation of the Vienna Court Gozette, of Sept. 27. giving an account of the battles of Savigliano, &c.]

30. A dreadful accident happened at Coalport, near the iron-bridge, Shropshire, this evening. As a considerable number of the work-people, men and women, belonging to Messrs. Rose and Co's china-works, at that place, were returning from the manufactory to their homes on the other side of the Severn, in a large boat kept for that purpose, some of the party very imprudently rocking the boat in a very violent manner, in order to intimidate the women, the melancholy consequence was, that too great a number crowded towards the head of the boat, which took the water, and the greater part of the persons on board were precipitated into the stream; when twenty men and eight women lost their lives.

NOVEMBER.

Downing-street, Nov. 2.

Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay to lord Grenville.

Head quarters, Stockach, Oct. 15.

My Lord,

The Russian army under the command of general Korsakof took up a position after its retreat from Zurich, with its right to Eglisaw, and its left to Constance. The bridges of Diessenhosen and Stein were occupied by it in front, and a garrison of 2000 men were placed in a tête de pont at Buesingen, a village between Diessenhosen and Schaffhausen, where a pontoon bridge had been placed by the Austrians. On the 8th, the enemy appeared in force in the neighbourhood of Buesingen. It was evident that he came for the purpose

purpose of reconnoitring the position, and, though he retired in the evening, there was reason to believe he had not retreated far. An immediate attack on the tête-de-pont was expected. On the morning of the 9th, general Korsakof resolved to pass the Rhine, for the purpose of driving the enemy from their position. He took with him ten battalions and twenty-two squadrons.—The army advanced, for about a league, without discovering any traces of the enemy. They at last, however, found him in considerable force, and strongly posted, with his left to the village of Schlatten, and his right to a wood, which he had also occupied. It is impossible for words to do justice to the intrepidity with which the Russians immediately attacked them. The whole line fell upon them with their bayonets, and the French flew for protection to the woods, where, under cover of their chasseurs, they endeavoured to take a second position. They were driven from this likewise by the Russians; and a third position which they took in the neighbourhood of the village of Tublicon, was likely to have proved still more unfortunate to them. Two of their battalions had already thrown down their arms, and were on the point of surrendering, when a regiment of French cavalry, followed by a large column of infantry, commanded by Massena in person, came in view, and saved them. The object of the operation was to drive the enemy from the woods in the neighbourhood of the tête de-pont; and this object being effected, it became no longer prudent, with so small a corps, to risk an action with a force now become so superior, or to advance further unsupported against the enemy, who, from the neighbourhood of their army, had an opportunity of receiving still greater reinforcements. After driving the enemy, therefore, nearly to the river Thur, the army retreated by the road on which they had advanced, and entered their camp about six o'clock in the evening. While these operations were going on in the neighbourhood of Buesingen, the enemy attacked the bridge of Diessenhosen, and the town of Constance; which confirmed us in the belief, that the attack would have taken place on the tête-de-pont, if the offensive operations of the Russians had not prevented it. At Diessenhosen they were repulsed by general Warnoff, who, with a very small number of men, very gallantly defended himself during the whole of the day; and, after occasioning a very great loss of men to the French, took several prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. At Constance, where the corps of the prince of Condé were stationed, the enemy were more successful. The position which the prince was obliged to to take up, for the defence of the town, was vastly too extensive for his small number of men; and being unable to guard all the different points sufficiently, the enemy, after directing all his efforts unsuccessfully against their front, contrived, at last, to advance a corps unperceived through the vineyards, force the left of the position, and enter the town before the rest of the Prince's corps, who had commenced their retreat, were enabled to reach it. On their arrival at the gates they found them in the possession of the enemy, and no other retreat left them, but that which

was

was to be obtained by forcing their way through a town, of which the streets were already occupied. In effecting it they sustained a considerable loss; but the gallantry, which was displayed by all the corps, and particularly by the grenadiers of Bourbon, in the execution of this desperate measure, was, as I am informed, entirely beyond the reach of praise. The loss of Constance was accompanied by the loss of the bridge at that place; and this latter circumstance endangered considerably the left of the Russian position. Gen. Korsakof, on receiving the intelligence, thought it advisable to concentrate his force, and retire his men from the tête-du-pont during the night; a measure which has now become a matter of regret, the bridge of Constance having been retaken on the 10th. I am sorry to inform your lordship that our loss in these different attacks amounts to nearly 1,500 men killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the enemy must have been very considerable; but I have not had an opportunity of ascertaining it. A considerable number of prisoners fell into our hands at the attack of Buesingen, but, with the exception of about fifty, contrived to make their escape during the retreat. Four pieces of cannon fell into our hands, three of which, already mentioned, at the attack of Diessenhoesen, the fourth in the neighbourhood of Schlatten.

J. RAMSAY.

Hull, Nov. 12. This morning, between five and six, the heavens exhibited an awfully grand appearance. The setting moon became partially obscured by dark cloudy spots or streaks; in opposition to her was seen a lunar rainbow of the most beutiful varied colours; after which the middle region of the air was illuminated by meteors, crossing each other in different directions, and leaving behind them long sparkling trains which were visible for two or three minutes after these luminous bodies had disappeared—one of these meteors, more brilliant than the rest, illuminated the whole firmament, and by its apparent approximation to the earth created some alarm. The thermometer, we understand, was that morning at fifty degrees. The air which the preceding night was cold and frosty, became remarkably close and warm, and produced on the walls and furniture in houses an unusual dampness and humidity.

About a quarter before six A.M. a large fiery meteor passed over Hereford, from N. to S. It was described, by several who saw it, as a large pillar of fire, passing with great velocity through the atmosphere. We undrstand it was also seen very distinctly at Ross and the forest of Dean, where the inhabitants were greatly alarmed. For several hours preceding its appearance there were flashes of extremely vivid lightning, at intervals of about half an hour betwixt each; it was at the same time close and sultry, but no thunder was heard.

Several such meteors were also seen at Greatham, near Hartlepool, and other parts of that neighbourhood. They were first observed between five and six o'clock in the morning, in an eastern direction, and continued falling in succession, and together, until day-break. The atmosphere was very clear, and the moon, which was at full, shone with uncommon brilliancy.

The

The meteors, at first, appeared like what are vulgarly called shooting or falling stars, which soon became stationary; they then, as it were, burst, but without any perceptible report, and passed to the northward, leaving behind them beautiful trains of floating fire, in various shapes, some pointed, some irradiated, some in sparks, and others in a large column. The fire-balls continued falling near two hours, and were succeeded, till near eight o'clock, by slight flashes of lightning. The general appearance was sublimely awful, particularly to the Hartlepool fishermen, then at sea. To some spectators, the sky appeared to open, and to display a number of luminous serpents moving in a perpendicular direction; these were soon after broken into separate balls, and fell towards the earth in a shower of fire.

The same meteors were also seen at Enfield, and on Barnet and Northam common.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 18.

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Nelson, K. B. commanding officer of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Mr. Nepean, dated Palermo, Oct. 11.

SIR,

I have desired commodore Trowbridge to send you, for the information of their lordships, extracts of all his letters to me, with the terms entered into with the French, for the evacuation of the city of Rome and Civita Vecchia; on which event I sincerely congratulate their lordships.

I am, &c. NELSON.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

SIR,

I am to request you will inform their lordships, that I took possession of Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and Telsa, on the 29th and 30th ult. with 200 marines and seamen of the Culloden and Minotaur, and have already embarked and sent off near 8000 of the enemy; I now wait for transports to get off the remainder, which I suppose about 2000 more. General Bouchard takes possession of Rome at the same time by the same treaty; all public property is to be restored. Their lordships may rely on every exertion on my part to put the capitulation in full force, and trust I shall succeed.

TROWBRIDGE.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

SIR,

In obedience to orders from lord Nelson, I have the honour to send you a copy of the articles of capitulation I have made with the French general Garnier, to clear the Roman state. As I knew the French had all the valuables of the Roman state packed up ready for embarking, and the coast at Civita Vecchia forming a deep bay, with hard W. S. W. gales and heavy sea, which prevented the blockade from being so close as was necessary to prevent the enemy from carrying off those truly valuable articles, I therefore thought it best to grant me the liberal terms I have, to get them out of this country, where they have committed every excess possible. I trust what I have done may meet their lordships' approbation. I beg you to represent to their lordships, that I received every assistance from captain Louis, who went to Rome and arranged the evacuation, and taking possession of that place, with general Bouchard, with great ability

ability and exertion, and much to [illegible]

I am, &c. TROWBRIDGE.

[The Gazette likewise contains the articles of convention entered into between general Daendels and commodore Trowbridge, and the account of the Estrildice, captain J. Talbot; having captured in company with the Snake, L'Hirondelle French schooner privateer, of fourteen guns, and fifty men, which, at the moment the Surprise hove in sight, was engaging the Diana brig of Sunderland, bound for Portsmouth, laden with coals, on board of which she had killed one man.]

Downing-street, Nov. 13. The following letter has been received by lieutenant-colonel the hon. Alexander Hope, deputy adjutant-general to the army lately serving in Holland, from lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, bart. and by order of the commander in chief transmitted to the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Swan cutter at sea, Nov. 20.

SIR,

I have from time to time reported to you for the information of his royal highness the commander in chief, the progress which had been made in the embarkation and departure of the British and Russian troops which were left under my command, in the province of North Holland; and I am now happy to acquaint you, that the last of them embarked yesterday morning, when, the wind being fair, the whole of the ships of war and transports, remaining in the Texel left the port.

[illegible] belonging to the army were brought off, excepting a small proportion of damaged provisions, [illegible] and about 300 draught horses of little value, for which there was no room; all those the latter alone was intended, but they bore so small a price, that I thought it better to dispose the whole to the magistrates of the different villages, and near which the army had been cantoned, to be delivered to any of the inhabitants who might have suffered from the inevitable consequences of war. Several large Dutch Indiamen, and other ships, which it was impossible for us to remove in their present state, but which might have been fitted out as ships of war by the enemy, were completely disabled, and rendered useless for any other purpose, through the exertions of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of captain Bolton. The desire of complying most strictly with the articles of the agreement entered into between his royal highness and general Brune, prevented their being blown up, which could not have been done without endangering the navigation of the Nieuve Diep. Vice-admiral Dirkson, as well as myself, made it our study to comply in this, as in every other instance, with the articles of the agreement, and must do the French general the justice to say, that he seemed actuated by the same spirit. Previous to quitting the Helder, I had, in obedience to his royal highness's instructions, discharged every just demand of the inhabitants of the country which has been occupied by the army; and I was happy to find that very few claims were brought forward beyond those which it was in my power to satisfy. The embarkation of the troops, difficult from the multiplicity of the arrangements required, and sometimes arduous from the state of the [illegible]

most zeal and activity by vice-admiral Dickson, and the officers and seamen under his command. I feel particularly indebted to captain Lawford, of his majesty's ship Romney, who was left on shore, and had the immediate direction of the embarkation, for his exertions, and his attention to every branch of his majesty's service; and to captain Woodriffe, principal agent for the transport service, for his great zeal in the execution of the duties of that situation.

JAMES PULTENEY.

P.S. Three armed vessels have been left to cruise off the Texel, to give warning to any British ships of our having evacuated the port. It was agreed by the French general, that if any should arrive previous to the expiration of the month, they should, as a matter of course, be allowed to depart.

Supplement to the account of the armistice concluded between his royal highness the duke of York, and general Brune, published in the gazette of the 26th ult.

Head quarters, Schagen-brug, Oct. 15.

General,

The late hour at which your letter reached me last night, prevented my sending sooner to Alkmaar major-general Knox, the officer alluded to in my letter of yesterday's date. He is entirely in my confidence, and is fully authorised to treat and conclude with you on the subject respecting which he has received my instructions.

(Signed) FREDERICK.

To general Brune, commander in chief.

Head-quarters, Schagen-brug, Oct. 15.

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to the order of his royal highness the duke of York, major-general Knox will have the honour of communicating with general Brune, and of stating to him,—That, in consequence of the difficulties arising from the very unfavourable and unusual state of the weather at this season, we have judged it expedient to re-occupy the position of the Zuyp. That in this situation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our communication with England; and masters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder-Zee, and the ocean: it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and of circumstances may enable us to renew offensive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees, and without risk, from this country, retaining possession of such detached points as might be judged most favourable for annoying the enemy, or for securing real advantages to ourselves. In the event of our recurring to this last-mentioned measure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preservation of the brave troops entrusted to our care; and for this purpose (however distressing, however ruinous to the inhabitants and to the country the alternative may be) we shall be compelled to avail ourselves of those dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. —Having perfectly at our disposal the sea-dykes, both towards the ocean and the Zuyder-Zee, as well as the interior dykes, we should in that case be reduced to the terrible necessity of inundating the whole country of North Holland, and of adding to this calamity every destructive evil which must necessarily result from an attempt to force

force or interrupt our retreat. We should under such circumstances, also be constrained to make use of the ample means we possess, of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder-Zee henceforth impracticable, by obstructing the Mars Diep, and destroying the Nieuve Diep—works upon which so many years' labour, and such immense sums, have been expended. Our system of carrying on war having on all occasions been governed by the most liberal principles, necessity, and the strongest sense of duty, could alone induce us to adopt a system repugnant to the sentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the English nation. From these considerations, and from our persuasion, that general Brune, and the Dutch people, must be actuated by similar motives, and equally desirous to prevent an useless effusion of blood, by the amicable arrangement of a point which is perhaps the object of both parties, and from our anxiety, in case of a different result, to stand justified to the whole universe, from whatever destruction may in consequence devolve upon this country; we propose and offer to general Brune, and to the Batavian republic, that the English and Russian troops shall evacuate, before the end of November next, all the coasts, the islands, and the interior navigation of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great sources of its navigation, or laying the country under any inundations. For this purpose, we propose that a suspension of hostilities shall take place until the period above specified. That, during this interval, we shall remain in full possession of all the points, and of the whole extent of country we occupy at this moment; and that the line of the respective advanced posts shall also be that of separation between the two armies; and that this line shall not, under any pretence, be passed by the troops of either, even in the event of our choosing to retire from any part of our present position, or of our quitting it altogether. That, during the above-mentioned interval, no interference shall be allowed, nor any objections be started, with respect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their respective possessions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hostility excepted) shall continue mutually in force.—That we will grant to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us, every protection consistent with discipline, in the circumstances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally observed by British troops entitles them to expect, on such an occasion. If these proposals accord with the wishes, and are conformable to the intentions of general Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

(Signed) H. TAYLOR, Sec.

FRENCH AND BATAVIAN ARMIES.

EQUALITY. LIBERTY.

Head quarters at Alkmaar, Oct. 15, 1799, the 8th year of the French Republic.

Brune, general in chief, to the duke of York, commander in chief of the combined English and Russian army.

General,

Major-general Knox, who was instructed to confer with me on your part, upon the subject of a note which he has delivered, signed by your secretary, will communi-

cate my answer, contained in an explanatory note. Citizen BRUNE.

Articles proposed in the Explanatory Note.

I. The Batavian fleet, which was surrendered to admiral Mitchell by admiral Story, shall be restored to the Batavian republic, with its stores and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient powers to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.—II. 15,000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released, and sent home.—III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army.—IV. The army, under the command of the duke of York, shall, within forty-eight hours, evacuate the position of the Zuyp.—V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands, of the Batavian republic, before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation in the country.—VI. All ships of war, or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.—VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By order of general Brune,

commander in chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

VEURY, Secretary.

Head-quarters, Schagen brug. Oct. 17.

General,

I send back major-general Knox with my answers to the explanatory note, which he has delivered to me in your name. He is fully authorised to conclude, on my part, upon every point which relates to the subject of his mission.

FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK.

To general Brune, commander in chief.

Answer to Articles proposed in the Explanatory Note from Gen. Brune.

Art. I. His royal highness will on no account, treat upon this article, the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible.—Art. II. This demand appears to rest upon a supposed loss the combined army must sustain, should its embarkation be resolved upon. It is by no means admitted that such would be the result; but as, in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loss of a certain number of men must naturally be expected,—his royal highness, influenced by this consideration, agrees to promise, in the name of the British government, that 5000 French and Batavian prisoners, the proportion of each to be regulated according to the terms of the article, shall be unconditionally released and sent home.—Art. III. The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally considered in an improved state. None of the Dutch artillery shall be carried away.—Art. IV. On no account will it be conceded that the army shall be withdrawn from the position of the Zuyp.

until every preparation, requisite to render its embarkation easy and complete, can be arranged at the Helder. It must be evident, that it cannot be desirable that any delay should take place in this respect. No addition shall be made to the works at the Zuyp; and persons, properly authorized, shall be admitted, from time to time, to ascertain and report upon this point, for the satisfaction of general Brune; but no armed detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take post nearer than they already are, to our position. It must be farther understood, that, on his part, general Brune will not allow any approaches, or offensive preparations, to be carried on, and that the French and Batavian army shall remain in the line of advanced posts which it occupies at present, which shall also be the line of separation between the two armies respectively.——Art. V. The embarkation of the English and Russian troops will take place with all possible expedition; and, at this season of the year, any unnecessary delay will naturally be avoided as much as possible; but, to prevent any difficulty or future discussion upon this point, it is proposed, that the suspension of hostilities shall be limited to the end of November next, in order to secure sufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, shall be sooner, if practicable.—Art. VI. The ships of war, or other vessels, immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, or which may hereafter be sent, shall not land their troops, but shall put to sea again as soon as possible.—Art. VII. Hostages shall be reciprocally given, to be selected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By order of his royal highness the duke of York, commander in chief of the combined English and Russian army. H. TAYLOR, Sec.

Alkmaar, Oct. 17.

SIR,

I have seen general Brune, and have talked over with him fully all the articles on which I have received his royal highness's instructions. I have found the greatest disposition on the part of general Brune to enter fairly in the subject. In respect to the essential article of the fleet, general Brune has already received a letter from the Dutch directory, to make the delivery of it a *sine qua non*; and I much doubt, whether there is any chance of his being brought to give way on this point, at least without some assurance, that his royal highness would forward the demand to his court. In respect to the other very essential article of the prisoners, after much conversation, I brought the general to lower his demands to 8000 men, beyond which he cannot recede. Every other point can be amicably settled. I beg his royal highness's orders on these points; and I hope to receive them by noon to-morrow.

(Signed) J. KNOX.

To the hon. colonel Hope, adj.-gen. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen-brug, Oct. 18.

SIR,

His royal highness the commander in chief, in his instructions to you of yesterday's date, having declared, that every paper or proposal, from general Brune, and consequently *that* relative to the

whole of the Dutch fleet, will of course be regularly transmitted to England, can give no other answer than what you are already empowered to make, viz. "His royal "highness will on no account treat "upon this article; the execution "of which, it must be evident to "both parties, is impossible." If general Brune expects any thing farther to pass on that subject, the sooner the negotiation is put an end to the better. In regard to the number of prisoners, if *every other point is clearly* and *immediately decided upon*, his royal highness may be induced to relax; *if not*, it is unnecessary to enter farther into the subject; and he directs you to finish the negotiation.

(Signed) ALEX. HOPE.

The hon. major general
Knox, &c.

Alkmaar, Oct. 18, three P.M.

SIR,

I have received your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you, that every thing is settled to his royal highness's satisfaction; in consequence of which general Brune has given immediate orders to all his posts, that hostilities shall cease, and that no farther work of any kind shall be carried on; he requests his royal highness will be pleased to give similar orders without loss of time, as a report has just been made, that some houses have been set on fire on the road leading to Herenhuysen.

(Signed) J. KNOX.

To the hon. colonel Hope,
adj.-gen. &c.

P. S. General Brune has sent off to Amsterdam, to direct that nothing hostile shall be attempted on the part of the flotilla there fitted out; and he begs that similar notice may be sent to admiral Mitchell.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 26

This gazette contains a lette from lieutenant Searle, of the Courier cutter, who had received orders from lord Duncan to reconnoitre the ports of Helvoet and Flushing, giving an account of his having captured, on the 22d, after a close action of fifty minutes, Le Guerrier cutter privateer (a ship of superior force), of fourteen guns, and forty four men, commanded by citizen Felix L. Sallemand, out five days from Dunkirk. Lieut S. laments the loss of Mr. S. Marsh, the master, who was killed in the commencement of the action, and two men wounded. The enemy lost four men killed, and six wounded.—Also the capture of Le Petit Diable French cutter privateer, commanded by R. Simon Robt. Saltitat, out two days from Dieppe, with small arms only, and eight men, by the Anne cutter, lieutenant Young.

[In this gazette is also an order of council, dated November 20, containing several important provisional regulations to be (until farther order) observed, with respect to the due performance of quarantine, by all ships and their crews coming from the Levant; and with respect to the unpacking, opening, and airing of all the goods, of different descriptions, imported in ships arriving without clean bills of health.]

Downing street, Nov. 28.

The following dispatches have been received from the right hon. lord William Bentinck, by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Head quarters, Montnaux, Oct. 26.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you, that a report was this morning received by general Melas from general Karaczai

Karaczai (who commanded a corps of 6000 men near Novi, to observe the chief debouché from Genoa), stating that he had been attacked by very superior numbers of the enemy, and, after a very severe engagement, had been obliged to retire, with considerable loss, to Alexandria, where he had taken up a position behind the Bormida. General Kray marched this morning with a considerable reinforcement, and I hope will arrive time enough to prevent the enemy from making any further progress. A resolution has been taken, on the part of the commander in chief, immediately to embody the Piedmontese army; these troops are to be placed, in every respect, upon their ancient footing; they are to take the oath of fidelity to the king of Sardinia only, and are in no manner whatever to be made subject to Austrian discipline. The Piedmontese troops have behaved in the most gallant manner. Numbers of deserters come in daily, who all describe the distress of the enemy for want of provisions, to be extreme.

W. BENTINCK.

Head-quarters, Centalo, Nov. 6.

My Lord,

In my last I acquainted you, that, in consequence of information having been received, that a large detachment of the enemy was coming from the side of Savoy, the army made a movement to its right. The French having taken Pignerol and Susa, and having advanced to Salucco, threatening our communication with Turin, general Melas thought it necessary to march still farther to his right; and a camp was chosen between Bra and Fossano. These operations when connected with the system of defence only upon which this army had so long been acting, deceived the French into a belief that the Austrians were in full retreat. The evacuation of Mondovi, which was determined upon for the purpose of adding a very considerable force to the army, confirmed still more this opinion. Elated with these hopes, they advanced on all points and on the third took possession of Savigliano. On the 4th, the enemy marched in three columns, to attack the Austrian army. The 1st. column marched from Savigliano by Marenne, the second by Genola, and the third marched to the attack of Fossano, which had been put in a state of defence, and was occupied by a considerable garrison. It happened, that the Austrian army moved with the same intent, at the same time, and in the same number of columns, and upon the same roads. Lieutenant-general Ott commanded the right column; lieutenant-general Elsnitz the centre; and major-general Gottersheim the left. The two armies met at Marenne and Genola. It was not till after a very severe engagement that general Ott obliged the enemy to fall back from Marenne; a part retired to Genola, and a part to Savigliano. General Ott pursued the enemy to the latter place, where he took three cannon, and above 1000 prisoners. The column of gen. Elsnitz, that was destined for the attack of Genola, met with a much more formidable resistance. The action lasted for several hours; and it was not till the arrival of the column of gen. Ott from Savigliano, upon the rear of the French, that victory declared in favour of the Austrians. The two columns immediately proceeded in pursuit of the enemy: gen. Ott by Villa Falette, and general Elsnitz by Valedigi. The army halted at night at Centalo. The column of general Gottersheim repulsed the French

from Fossano to Murazzo. It will appear surprising, that while our army was at Centalo, a division of the French army remained between Murazzo and Ronchi, with the Stura in their rear, over which there was no bridge. Early in the morning of the 5th, the army marched in two columns to Ronchi and Murazzo. The enemy, surprised, made no resistance, and 200 prisoners were taken without any loss. It appears, that the French army was completely defeated, and that this division was left there without orders. The Austrians have made in the two days, above 3000 prisoners. The army, being extremely fatigned remained at Ronchi; but this morning general Melas having determined to follow up his success with the greatest vigour, the army marched in two columns; one upon the intrenched camp of the Madona del Almo, and the other upon Casaglia: the enemy retreated every where upon our approach. It is reported that the French are retiring over the mountains. It is impossible to do justice to the valour and perseverance of the Austrian army. The operations of the army, prior and subsequent to this affair, when considered in a military point of view, entitle the commander in chief to the admiration of the whole world. Accounts were yesterday received from general Kray, that he had attacked the enemy near Alexandria, and had obliged them to retire to Pozzolo Formigolo, with the loss of 1000 prisoners.

W. BENTINCK.

The gazette of Nov. 30 contains a letter from lieutenant Bond, of the Netley schooner, to earl St. Vincent, dated Oporto, Oct. 17th, relating his having recaptured a brig from Gibraltar, laden with brandy; as also a Spanish privateer the El Orely, y los Tres Amigos, of eight guns, and fifty-two men. Also, a letter from lieutenant Frissel, of the Fanny hired lugger, stating the capture of a French privateer, from Granville (swivels and small arms, and thirteen men), by hoisting French colours, to which the privateer fled from the pursuit of a British schooner. And likewise from lieutenant Laynon, commanding the hired cutter Kent, which gives an account of his having captured, on the 26th instant, a French lugger privateer, from Calais, of four guns, swivels, small arms, and twenty-four men.

DECEMBER.

6. This day a meeting took place at the London Tavern, to take into consideration measures for the relief of the poor of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark.

Mr. Devaynes, who was voted to the chair, opened the business of the meeting, stating its object to be to come to certain resolutions for entering into a subscription for the relief of the industrious poor, for the application in a proper manner of such subscription. He adverted to the subscription entered into for a similar purpose in 1795; and observed, that very considerable benefit had resulted from it; it had relieved thousands, and, by filling their bellies, mended their morals. The meeting would therefore perceive, that to continue that subscription would be to continue relief to the class he alluded to.

Mr. Edward Forster, in a pertinent speech, gave a detailed account of the number of persons who had been benefited by the subscription of 1795; and stated, that the object most immediately sought for was, to afford relief to the industrious (working) poor, which was only to be done by selling provisions to them

them at reduced prices. It was in this manner that the committee for the appropriation of the fund of 1795 had proceeded; and owing to this it was, that such general good had resulted from the labours of that body. The erection of soup-houses had particularly contributed to extend the benefits of this fund, insomuch, that in the course of the winter and spring months of the year 1798, 481,336 meals were distributed at three soup-houses in Spital-fields, &c. to about 8400 families, at an expense of only 895*l.* 12*s.* to the funds subscribed, exclusive of the first cost of the erections and repairs, &c. And in the months ending April 27, 1799, the number of persons who received benefit from the fund was 40,000; the number of meals distributed 750,918; of all which, the aggregate expense had been only 347*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* These were signal benefits, and could not be reflected on without feeling how great must be the good such institutions were capable of producing, if generally encouraged. He wished, therefore, to see soup-houses established in greater numbers; in the mean-time, much might be done to relieve the poor, by continuing the subscriptions of 1795. He then moved several resolutions which were put and agreed to.

Admiralty Office, Dec. 7. This gazette gives accounts of the following captures: by the Driver, captain Dunbar, Le Barras schooner privateer, fourteen guns, commanded by citizen Fromentin.—By the Jalouse, on the same day, the Fantaise, a new copper bottomed lugger of fourteen guns and sixty men; she had, the day before, taken four laden colliers, close in with Flamborough-head, one of which captain Temple had re-taken.—By the Racoon, captain Robert Lloyd, Le Vrai Decide French lugger-privateer, of fourteen guns, four swivels, and fifty men; and also L'Intrepide lugger privateer, of sixteen guns and sixty men, commanded by citizen Saillard, and considered the largest and best sailer from Calais, after a smart action, in which captain Lloyd and one man of the Racoon were wounded, and thirteen killed and wounded in L'Intrepide.—By the Atalante, captain Griffiths, Le Succès of Boulogne, François Mattieu Blondin master, of six carriage-guns and forty-eight men; she had taken a brig from Belfast laden with sundries.

[This gazette also contains a proclamation for giving currency to a new copper coinage of two-penny, penny, halfpenny, and farthing pieces. The penny pieces to weigh one ounce avoirdupois, and the two-penny pieces two ounces. No person obliged to take more than one shilling of this money in one payment.]

Admiralty Office, Dec. 10. This gazette contains an account of the capture of a republican French privateer, of twenty men, with small arms from Boulogne, by the Camperdown, lieutenant Wildey.—Also by the Speedwell, lieutenant Tomlinson, (the Valiant in company), L'Heureuse Espérance French privateer, of fourteen guns; had only twenty-four men on board, having gained four prizes during her last cruise; and L'Heureux Spéculateur, of fourteen 6-pounders and fifty-eight men, a remarkable fast-sailing vessel, which has done much mischief to the English trade.

Downing-street, Dec. 13. The following dispatch was received from

from the right hon. lord Wm. Bentinck by lord Grenville.

Head-quarters, Murazzo, Nov. 20.

My Lord,

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to state to your lordship, that it is the determination of the commander in chief to undertake immediately the siege of Coni, and push it on with all possible vigour. This resolution has been adopted in consequence of the events which have taken place since the battle of the 4th, and which prove the defeat of the enemy on that day to have been most complete. The prisoners taken on the 4th and 5th amount to 4,300, which number is much greater than was at first supposed. The Austrians lost 2,000 in killed and wounded. On the 11th, the division of general Ott attacked that part of the enemy which remained at Borgo Saint Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robillante. On the same day, major-general Somasiva pursued the French in the valley of the Stura as far as Demonte, of which he took possession, and made 100 prisoners. Major-general Gottesheim also obliged the French to evacuate the villages of La Chiusa, Boves, and Poveragna. General Championet had assembled his whole force at Mondovi, and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monasterlo. As long as he occupied this position, it was impossible to undertake the siege of Coni. General Melas therefore gave orders that a general attack should be made on the 13th. A letter from Championet to St. Cyr had been intercepted, which showed that the latter was not able to pursue the advantage he had gained over general Kray, in the last action which I had the honour of stating to your lordship. For this reason, the division of general Metrowski, which had marched as far as Cherasco, for the purpose of reinforcing general Kray, was ordered to return to the camp of the Trinita on the 12th, and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mondovi. The remainder of the army marched in two columns. The one by La Chiusa, upon Monasterlo; the other by Villa Nova, upon the centre of the enemy's line. From the difficulties of the roads, the attacks were not made till very late, and the enemy, without making much resistance, abandoned all his positions. The people of Mondovi opened the gates of the lower town to the Austrians. The French army retired to Vico, and evacuated the citadel of Mondovi in the night. General Championet is retreating towards Ormia, and major-general Bellegarde is sent with a considerable corps in his pursuit. The Austrian army marches this day to Beinette, and will to-morrow take up the necessary positions to cover the siege. I never yet have seen inveteracy and detestation of the French so general, and carried to such lengths, as it is here; the whole people are armed; and, headed by a priest, perform the most wonderful exploits. In the beginning of the campaign they took both Ceva and Mondovi from the French; and in the action of yesterday, a body of 15 000 prevented a very strong column of the enemy from marching by a particular road; the country being mountainous is peculiarly favourable to their irregular mode of fighting. The siege will begin in the course of ten days.

W. Bentinck.

[This gazette contains a letter from lieutenant Bond of the Netley schooner, which mentions the capture of two Spanish lugger privateers off the port of Lisbon, on the

14th

14th and 28th of November; also, a lugger taken on the 24th by the Castor. Lieutenant Bond likewise announces the recapture of two brigs from Newfoundland.—A list of vessels, seven in number, captured by the squadron employed at Minorca between August 2d and September 4th, 1799, laden with several thousand reams of paper, corn (including about 400 quarters of wheat), wine, and pine timber. And a list of ships captured, recaptured, and detained, by the squadron cruising off the Mauritius, eight in number, laden with rum, paddy, naval stores, bale goods, sugar, &c.]

14. The sword which had been voted to earl St. Vincent, by the corporation of London, was this day delivered to his lordship by Richard Clark, esq. the present chamberlain, with an appropriate speech.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS, *from* December 11, 1798, to December 10, 1799.

Christened	Males 10087 / Females 8883	18970.	Buried	Males 9046 / Females 9088	18,134

Inc. in Bur. this year 21.

Died under 2 Years	5111	20 and 30 -	1299	60 and 70 -	1565	100 - -	
Between 2 and 5	1790	30 and 40 -	1724	70 and 80 -	1125	101 - -	2
5 and 10	644	40 and 50 -	1624	80 and 90 -	456	105 - -	
10 and 20	573	50 and 60 -	1758	90 and 100 -	63	108 - -	

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1799.

Jan. 7. The lady of sir J. Kennaway, bart. of a daughter.

22. Lady of sir Francis Lindley Wood, bart. son and heir.

—. Lady of sir John Harrington, bart. of a daughter.

25. Lady of colonel Beaumont, M. P. a son.

—. Lady of C. Smith, esq. M P. a daughter.

Feb. 16. Countess Conyngham, a daughter.

—. The duchess of Athol, a son.

—. Hon. Mrs. Hay, a daughter.

—. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a daughter.

March 4. Lady Robert Fitzgerald, two daughters.

5. Countess of Derby, a daughter.

17. Lady of sir John Trollope, bart. a daughter.

20. Lady Charlotte Wingfield a son.

April 3. Lady of lord Bruce, a daughter.

5. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.

8. Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a daughter.

9. The empress of Germany, an archduke, baptised Joseph Francis Leopold.

23. Lady of A. Allardyce, esq. M. P. a daughter.

25. Lady of Inigo Freeman Thomas, M. P. a daughter.

—. Lady Riversdale, a son.

—. Lady of sir Thomas Parkyns, bart. a daughter.

May 2. Countess Camden, a son and heir.

4. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.

—. Lady of hon. col. Vaughan, M. P. a son.

8. Lady of W. Baker, esq. M. P. a son.

12. Hon. Mrs. Gunning, a son.

12. Lady

12. Lady of Sam. Smith, esq. M. P. a son.
25. Lady Rodney, a son.
28. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.
29. The young grand duchess of Russia, spouse to the grand duke Alexander, a son.
June 11. Marchioness of Donegal, a son.
14. Lady of sir John Chardin Musgrave, bart. a son.
25. Lady of sir Richard Glynn, lord mayor, a son.
26. Countess of Harborough, a daughter.
—. Lady of the hon. and rev. T. J. Twisleton, a daughter.
July 6. Marchioness of Titchfield, a son.
10. Lady Auckland, a son.
11. Duchess of Manchester, a son and heir.
15. Viscountess Deerhurst, a daughter.
16. Duchess of Montrose, son and heir.
18. Right hon. lady Charlotte Nares, a son.
—. Countess of Aylesford, twins.
21. Right hon. lady Rous, a daughter.
24. Lady Mary Fluyder, a daughter.
Aug. 15. Countess of Aboyne, a son.
16. Lady of the hon. Laurence Dundas, M. P. a son.
Sept. 2. Lady of sir James Saumarez, a son.
14. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a daughter.
22. Countess of Cork, a son.
Oct. 14. The queen of Prussia, a princess.
19. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a son.
—. Lady of general Craddock, and daughter of earl Clanwilliam, a son.
Nov. 3. Lady of sir Edward Pellew, bart. a son.
7. Lady Dynevor, a daughter.
—. Lady of T. Tyrwhitt Jones, esq. M. P. a daughter.
—. Hon. Mrs. Stanley, lady of J. T. Stanley, esq. a daughter.
11. Lady Templeton, a daughter.
17. Lady Charles Aynsley, a son.
22. Lady Arden, a son.
—. The queen of Sweden, a prince and heir to the throne.
—. Lady Inverary, a son.
27. Lady of G. H. Rose, esq. M. P. a son.
29. Lady of Robert Brudenell, esq. M. P. a daughter.
Dec. 21. Countess Spencer, a son.
27. Lady of sir Niger Bowyer Gresley, bart. a son.
30. Lady Belgrave, a son.
31. Lady of colonel Gascoyne, M. P. a son.

MARRIAGES *for* 1799.

Jan. 1. Thomas Wilkinson, esq. to miss Lyon, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Lyon.
8. Count Francis Byland, to the hon. Mrs. Naylor, widow of John Naylor, esq.
10. Rev. W. J. Jolliffe, to miss Julia Pitches, daughter of sir Abraham Pitches.
14. Hon. Hugh Lindsey, second son of the late earl Balcarras, to miss J. Gordon, daughter of the late lord Kochville.
25. George Abercrombie, esq. to miss Montague Dundas, daughter of the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.
Feb. 13. Major-general Jones, to miss E. A. Williams.

25. Sir

25. Sir Tho. Boulden Thompson, knt. to miss Raikes.

March 10. Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the duke of Grafton, to lady Frances Stewart, eldest daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

11. Earl of Elgin, to miss Nesbit.

12. John Weyland, esq. to miss Keene, niece to the earl of Dartmouth.

14. Sir Thomas Webb, bart. to the hon. miss Dillon, daughter of lord Dillon.

28. Capt. Durham to lady Charlotte Bruce.

30. Colonel Stewart Wortley, to lady Caroline Creighton, daughter of the earl of Erne.

April 15. Sir Charles Ross, bart. to lady Mary Fitzgerald, eldest daughter of the duke of Leinster.

16. Hon. capt. Courtenay Boyle, to miss Caroline Amelia Poyntz.

22. The duke of Rutland, to lady Eliz. Howard, daughter to the earl of Carlisle.

26. Sir Henry Vane Tempest, to the countess of Antrim.

May 1. Earl of Chesterfield, to lady H. Thynne, daughter of the marquis of Bath.

14. Viscount Southwell, to miss Jane Berkeley

19. Lord Wentworth, son of the earl of Strafford, to miss Louisa Packington.

21. Capt. Copley, to lady Cecil Hamilton, late marchioness of Abercorn.

30. Earl of Landaff, to miss Coghlan, sister to the countess of Barrymore.

June 1. Lord Hobart, to the hon. miss Eden, eldest daughter of lord Auckland.

11. Sir Robert Williams, bart. M.P. to miss Anne Hughes.

July 25. Col. de Charmilly, to miss D. Blackwood, daughter of sir. J. Blackwood, bart.

Aug. 1. Hon. Richard Ryder, M.P. to miss Frederica Skinner, daughter of sir John Skinner.

6. Francis Barlow, esq. to the right hon. lady Catharine Brabazon, daughter of the late earl of Meath.

7. Captain Carrington Smith, to the hon. Charl. Juliana Butler, daughter of lord Mountgarret.

9. Culling Smith, esq. to the right hon. lady Ann Fitzroy, daughter of the late earl of Mornington, and relict of the hon. Henry Fitzroy, brother of lord Southampton.

Sept. 3. Lieut.-colonel Chester, to miss Clinton, daughter of the late sir Henry Clinton, K. B.

9. James Duff, esq. to miss Maria Manners, daughter of lady Louisa Manners.

12. Charles Nathaniel Bayley, esq. to lady Sarah Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.

16. James Frampton, esq. to lady Harriet Strangeways, daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

17. Sir Henry Wilson, to lady Frances Bruce, daughter of the earl of Aylesbury.

24. Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, bart. to miss Eliza Smith.

28. Earl Ferrers, to miss Elizabeth Mundy.

Oct. 2. J. Angerstein, esq. M.P. to miss Amelia Lock.

5. Sir Thomas Durrant, bart. to miss Steenbergen.

8. John Jeffery, esq. M. P. to miss Spodgrass.

31. The archduke Joseph Palatine of Hungary, to her imperial highness the great duchess Alexanderina.

Nov. 3. Her imperial highness Helena Pawlona, to the hereditary prince Frederick, of Mecklenburgh.

5. Sir W. Loraine, bart. to miss Campart.

7. Capt. Ch. Dashwood, to the hon. Eliz. de Courcy, daughter of lord Kinsale.

14. James

Nov. 14. James Carstairs Bruce, esq. to the ca, Eliz. Rollo, daughter of the late lord Rollo.

16. Hon. Ed. John Turnour, son of the late earl of Winterton, to miss Richardson.

19. Earl of Portsmouth to the hon. miss Norton, daughter of the late lord Grantley.

—. Sir William Cunningham, bart. to miss Græme.

Dec. 23. Lieutenant col. Henry Clinton, to the hon. Susan Chatteris, daughter of lord Elcho.

DEATHS *in* 1799.

Jan. 1. Lady dowager Clementine Elphiestone.

3. Hon. Mrs Maddox, eldest daughter of the late lord Craven.

5. Lord Swinton, one of the senators of the college of justice, Scotland.

—. Lady Elizabeth Irving.

—. Marquis of Donegal.

6. Prince William George Frederick, second son of the Stadtholder of Holland.

8 William Shakespeare, esq.

13. Dame Rebecca Honora Lewes, wife of sir Watkin Lewes, knight and alderman.

17. Lady Georgina Smith, daughter of the duke of Grafton.

22. Lady Ongley, relict of the first lord Ongley.

—. Lady Christian, wife of admiral sir Hugh Christian, K. B.

31. Francis Godolphin Osborne, fifth duke of Leeds.

—. Sir Hugh Christian, K. B. commader in chief of the ships at the Cape of Good Hope.

—. Hon. Henry Grey, son of the earl of Stamford and Warrington; wrecked on board his ship the Weazle.

—. The dowager lady Tichbourne.

Feb. 9. Hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset, and canon of Windsor, &c.

10. Charles Brett, esq. lately one of the lords of the admiralty.

12. George Augustus Clavering Cowper, earl Cowper.

19. Francis Lloyd, esq. M. P.

20. Lionel, 12th earl of Dysart.

—. Charles Theodore, elector of Bavaria.

21. Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Kerr, daughter of the late lord Charles Kerr.

28 Thomas Birmingham, earl of Lowth.

—. Right Hon. Robert Ross, M. P. Ireland.

March 4. William Anne Holles Capel, earl of Essex.

13. Sir Richard Hotham, knt.

14. William Melmoth, esq. a celebrated writer.

21. Lieutenant-col. Hay Drummond, brother to the earl of Kinnoul.

—. John Strange, esq. LL. D. F. R. and A. SS.

25. Killed in the action in Susbia, Alexis Frederick Christian, prince of Anhalt-Bernbourg.

29. Right hon. Charles Bingham, earl of Lucan.

30. Lady Elizabeth Gordon, relict of sir Samuel Gordon, bart.

—. Lady Margaret Macdonald, mother to the lord chief baron, sir Arch. Macdonald.

—. Right hon. Robert King, earl of Kingston.

April 5. Sir John Inglis bart.

6. Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, F. R. S. and A. S.

8. Elizabeth, duchess dowager of Beaufort.

9. The countess of Kerry.

11. Sir William Bowyer.

12. Hon.

12. Hon. Mrs. Cary,

—. Sir William Wheeler, bart.

21. Right hon. and rev. Robert Sherard, earl of Harborough.

22. Right hon. Henry Yelverton, earl of Sussex.

—. Sir John Haly, M. D. knt.

May 5. Lady Margaret Crighton, countess of Dumfries.

10. Hon. Henry Hobart, M. P.

—. Sir Robert Clayton, bart.

20. Sir John Lambert, bart.

—. Hon. Charles Carleton, son of lord Dorchester.

26. James Burnet, lord Monboddo, one of the senators of the college of justice, Scotland.

28. Hon. John Tufton, brother of the earl of Thanet, and M. P.

31. Hon. Robert M'Queen, lord Braxfield, lord chief justice, clerk of Scotland.

June 12. Other Windsor Hickman, earl of Plymouth.

14. Sir John Nelthorpe, bart.

—. Sir Patrick Warrenden, bart.

18. Hon. Lucy Grey, aunt to the earl of Stamford.

26. Right rev. Edward Smallwell, D. D bishop of St. David's.

—. Lady dowager Dungannon.

July 4. Sir John Anstruther, bart.

6. Sir William Lee, bart.

—. Right hon. sir James Eyre, knt. lord chief justice of the common pleas.

19. Lady Betty Mackenzie, daughter of the late John, duke of Argyle.

—. John Frederick Sackville, duke of Dorset.

—. Hon. miss Upton, daughter of lord Templetown.

Aug. 1. Douglas Hamilton, duke of Hamilton.

4. Earl of Charlemont.

5. Sir Peter Negent, bart.

—. Right hon. admiral earl Howe, K. G.

7. John Bacon, esq. the celebrated sculptor.

7. Lady Anne Heathcote, relict of sir T. Heathcote, bart.

—. Right hon. F. T. Wentworth, earl of Strafford.

8. Lord viscount Fielding.

10. Charles Townsend, esq. son of the hon. Thomas Townsend.

27. Killed at the Helder Point, lieutenant-colonel Smollet, and lieutenant-colonel Hay.

—. Right hon. Nicholas, lord Cloncurry.

Sept. 2. General Lacelles.

13. Hon. Richard Wenman, uncle to lord viscount Wenman.

14. Hon. Mrs. Arundel, relict of the hon. Thomas Arundel.

—. Elizabeth, countess Ferrers.

19 Killed in action in Holland, colonel Roger Morris.

23. Major-general Blundel.

24. The lady of sir John Cox Hippisleys, bart.

26. Right. hon. Willoughby Bertie, earl of Abingdon.

29. Richard Molesworth, esq. brother to lord Molesworth.

—. Hon. Henry Newman, uncle to viscountess Newman.

Oct. 8. Sir Thomas Hayward, knight.

13. Lady Anne Howard, sister to the earl of Carlisle.

21. Lieutenant-col. Maitland.

23. Lady Lindsay, relict of admiral sir John Lindsay K. B.

—. Sir George Dunbar, bart.

—. Major Lindsay Crawford Campbell.

25. Thomas Bromley, lord Montford.

28. Rev. sir John Banks l'Anson, bart.

—. Lady Elizabeth Luttrel, daughter of the late earl of Carhampton.

Nov. 4. Rev. Josiah Tucker, D. D. dean of Gloucester.

5. Earl of Kellie.

8. Rear admiral Thomas Lenox Frederick.

16. Right

16. Right hon. lady Martha Dashwood.

18. The lady of the rev Dr. Parker, and sister of lord Howard de Walden.

19 Hon. George Finch, son of the earl of Aylesford.

23. Lady Knatchbull, wife of sir Edward Knatchbull, M. P.

26. General George Morrison.

—. Kien Long, emperor of China.

27. Rear admiral Mark Robinson

—. Sir John William de la Pole, bart.

December 8. Hon. lady Forbes, of Cragievar.

13. Lady Affleck, relict of sir E. Affleck, bart.

16. Vice-admiral Symonds.

19. Lady Mackworth, relict of sir Herbert Mackworth.

21. Sir James Napier, knt.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1799.

Jan. 8. Lieutenant-general the hon. Charles Stuart, created a knt. of the Bath.

9. Dr. Thomas Somerville, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland, vice Hardy, deceased.

—. Dr. Gerald, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

—. Dr. Wm. Gloag, to be his majesty's almoner in Scotland, vice Greenfield, resigned.

12. Brevet. Colonel the right hon. William lord Milsintown of the North Lincoanshire militia; colonel George, earl of Buckinghamshire, of the third regiment of Lincolnshire militia—to be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service.

—. Staff. Colonel Henry Calvert, of the Coldstream foot guards, to be adjutant-general to his majesty's forces; lieutenant-col. Wm. Wynyard, of the Coldstream foot-guads, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, vice Calvert. Captain Jame Mackenzie, of the 85th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in South Britain, vice Hardyman, who resigns; Capt. Allan Cameron, of the 60th foot, to be major of brigade to the said forces, vice Maxwell, who resigns.

—. Garrison. Col. Cha. Craufurd, of the 2d dragoon-guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Tynmouth and Clifford's fort, vice Hope, appointed lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh castle.

22. Sir John Macartney, of Lesh, county of Armagh, created a bt.

23. General sir Wm. Fawcett, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

—. Right rev. Dr. Hugh Hamilton, bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, translated to Ossory, vice O'Beirne, now bishop of Meath; and the rev. Mathew Young, D.D. promoted to the united bishoprics of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, vice Hamilton.

—. Right hon. Isaac Corry, to be chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, vice Parnell.

—. St. George Daly, esq. to be his majesty's prime serjeant at law, vice Fitzgerald.

26. Thomas Barclay, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general for the Eastern States of America.

—. Brevet. Colonel sir John Morshead, bart. of the Devon and Cornwall miners, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said miners shall remain embodied for actual service.

—. Major Thomas Vincent Reynolds, of the 30th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

—. Staff. Colonel Donald Macdonald, of the 55th foot, to be brigadier-

dier-general in the island of Guernsey only.

—. Captain Drigue Morgan, of the 30th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces, vice Cameron.

—. Right rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, bishop of Meath, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

31. Charles Fauquier, esq. to be page of honour to her majesty, vice Rooke.

Feb 9. Charles Arbuthnot, esq. to be his majesty's consul-general in Portugal.

—. Alexander Cockburn, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul to the circle of lower Saxony, and to the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

—. Staff. John Gordon, gent. to be assistant-commissary of stores and provisions in the island of Dominica.

13. Thomas Boulden Thompson, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

14. Admirals of the blue, sir Chaloner Ogle, knt. right hon. Samuel viscount Hood, sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliott, esq. right hon. William lord Hotham, Joseph Peton, esq. John Carter Allen, esq sir Charles Middleton, bart. sir Richard King, bart. Philip Affleck, esq. right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, K. B. right hon. Adam viscount Duncan, to be admirals of the white.—Vice admirals of the red, Richard Braithwaite, esq. Philip Cosby, esq. Samuel Cornish, esq. John Brisbane, esq. Charles Wolseley, esq. Samuel Cranston Goodall, esq. his royal highness William Henry duke of Clarence, sir Richard Onslow, bart. Robert Kingsmill, esq. sir George Bowyer, bart. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. hon. William Cornwallis, to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, William Allen, esq. John Macbride, esq. George Vandeput, esq. Charles Buckner, esq. John Gell, esq. William Dickson, esq. sir Alan Gardner, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the blue, Robert Linzee, esq. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Pasley, bart. John Symons, esq. sir Thomas Rich, bart. sir Charles Thompson, bart. James Cumming, esq. sir John Colpoys, K. B. Skeffington Lutwidge, esq. Archibald Dickson, esq. George Montagu, esq. Thomas Dumaresq, esq. right hon. George lord Keith, K. B. James Pigott, esq. hon. William Waldegrave, to be vice-admirals of the red,—Rear-admirals of the red, Thomas Mackenzie, esq. Thomas Pringle, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart. Henry Harvey, esq. Robert Man, esq. sir William Parker, bart. Charles Holmes Everitt, Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. Alexander Græme, esq. George Keppel, esq. Samuel Reeve, esq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the white Robert Biggs, esq. Francis Parry, esq. Isaac Prescott esq. John Bazely, esq. Christopher Mason, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. sir John Orde, bart. William Young, esq. James Gambier, esq. Andrew Mitchell, esq. Charles Chamberlayne, esq. Peter Rainier, esq. right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the blue, John Stanhope, esq. Christopher Parker, esq. Phillip Patton, esq. Charles Morice Pole, esq. John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swiney, esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio lord Nelson, K. B. Thomas Lenox Frederick, esq. sir George Home, bart. sir

Charles Cotton, bart. to be rear-admirals of the red.——The undermentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz. Captains Mathew Squire, Roddam Home, John Thomas, to be rear-admirals of the red.—Captains James Brine, John Pakenham, sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, John Blanket, George Wilson, sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deane, Cuthbert Collingwood, James Hawkins Witshed, Arthur Kempe, Smith Child, right hon. lord Charles Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, John Thomas Duckworth, to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains John Knowles, John Willett Payne, sir Robert Calder, bart. James Richard Dacres, hon. George Berkeley, Thomas West, James Douglas, Peter Aplin, Henry Savage, Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, sir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, Robert Montagu, John Fergusson, Edward Edwards, sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. to be rear-admirals of the blue.

Feb. 14. Edward Thornborough, sir William George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, knt. to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces, vice hon. Thomas Pakenham, hon. George Berkeley, and John Thomas Duckworth, esq. appointed flag-officers of the fleet.

19. Ralph lord Lavington, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. B. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anquilla, and all other countries and plantations in America, commonly called or known by the name of the Caribbee Islands, vice major-gen. Ch. Leigh.

19. Staff. Capt. James Muter, of the 42d foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in the island of Minorca, vice Trant, promoted.—Capt. Richard Pigott, of the 14th light dragoons, to be major of brigade to the said forces.

Garrison. Capt. Charles Snell, of the 58th foot, to be fort-major of fort St. Philip, in the island of Minorca.—John Geddes, late serjeant in the 51st foot, to be town-adjutant of Mahon, in the said island.

Feb. 20. Edward Fitzgerald, esq. late major of the 57th foot, to be town-major of Limerick, vice Binden, deceased.

Hon. George Napier, to be examinator and comptroller of army accounts in Ireland.

25. George Granville Levison Gower, (commonly called earl Gower, called to the house of peers, by the title of baron Gower, of Stittenham, co. York.

26. Frederick earl of Carlisle, appointed lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the east riding of the county of York, and of the town and county of Kingston upon Hull, vice the duke of Leeds, deceased.

26. Staff. Brevet major William Lumsden, of the 55th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in the island of Guernsey, vice Donellan, who resigns.

James Laughnan, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces in the East Indies, *v* Strachey resigned

Richard Yeldam, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces on the coast of Coromandel, vice Jarvis deceased.

Garrison. Major-gen. Thomas Murray, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth, vice lieut.-gen. Cuyler, who resigns.

March 1. George John earl Spencer, created a knight of the garter, vice duke of Leeds, deceased.

13. Lord Hawkesbury, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

James

James Durno, esq. of Atrochie, late c[illegible]l at Memel, knighted.

19. Staff. Major Alex. Stewart, of the 42d foot, to be quarter-master general to the forces serving in Minorca, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Oakes, who resigns.

—— Holland, to be barrack-master in the garrison of St. John's island, vice Lyons, superseded.

26. Rev. George William Lukin, LL. D. and prebendary of Westminster, to be dean of Wells, vice lord Francis Seymour, deceased; and the rev. Thomas Causton, to be a prebendary of Westminster, vice Lukin, resigned.

30. George Canning, esq. one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

April 3. Sir George Yonge, bart. K. B. governor and commander in chief of the Cape of Good Hope, vice earl Macartney, resigned.

9. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service: colonel John Kemys Tynte of the West Somersetshire militia; colonel John Strode, of the East Somersetshire militia; colonel John Colby, of the royal Pembrokeshire militia.

13. The earl of Elgin, to be ambassador extraordinary at the Sublime Porte.

—. Thomas Jackson, esq. to be minister plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia.

James Talbot esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

Justinian Casamajor esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Petersburg.

Anthony Merry, esq. to be consul general in the dominions of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia.

16. Staff. Colonel John Skerret, of the late 7th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the island of Newfoundland; captain John Lawrenson, of the 18th light dragoons, to be major of brigade in North-Britain, vice Imrie, who resigns.

23. His royal highness prince Edward, created duke of Kent, and of Strathern, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland.

His royal highness prince Ernest Augustus, created duke of Cumberland, and of Teviotdale, in the kingdom of Great-Britain, and earl of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland.

— Staff Colonel the honourable Cochrane Johnstone, of the 8th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward-islands only.

May 3 John Harrison, esq. to be one of the commissioners for victualling the royal navy.

10. Thomas Hayward, esq. knighted.

The earl of Leven and Melvill, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church Scotland.

Wm. Macleod Bannatyne, esq. —one of the lords of session of Scotland, vice lord Swinton, deceased.

—. Lieutenant-general his royal highness the duke of Kent—a general in the army.

14. Philip Lybbe Powys, jun. esq. appointed clerk of the cheque to the band of gentlemen pensioners, vice Hayward resigned.

17. His royal highness general Edward duke of Kent, K. G to be general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in North America, vice general Prescot.

29 David Rae, esq. of Eskgrove,

one of the lords of session, and a senator of the college of justice, appointed his majesty's justice clerk in Scotland, vice M'Queen, resigned.

June 4. Staff. Colonel George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Mediterranean only. Major Kenneth Mackenzie, of the 90th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major John Duncan of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-master general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Serjeant J. Mitchell, from the 2d battalion of royals, to be provost-marshall to the said forces.

5. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Kent and Cumberland—privy councellors.

11. Francis Drake, esq. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the elector palatine, and minister to the diet at Ratisbon.

22. Claud Irwin Boswell, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland, vice lord Monboddo, deceased.

26. Christopher Pegge, M. D. reader of anotamy in the university of Oxford, and major of the Oxford university association, knighted.

14. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lieutenant-colonel Quin John Freeman, to be deputy barrack-master-general in Ireland.

25. Brevet. Colonel John Lord Cawdor, of the Caermarthenshire militia to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said regiment of militia shall remain embodied for actual service.—Staff. Brevet Lieutenant colonel John Le Couteur from the 16th foot, to be inspector of the militia serving in the island of Jersey. Brevet lieutenant-colonel sir Thomas Saumarez, from the royal fuzileers, to be inspector of the militia in the island to Guernsey. Wm. Boothby, esq. to be paymaster of a recruiting district, vice Brereton, resigned.

28. Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart. K. B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of Baron Henley, of Chardstock.

29. Major-generals Edmund Fanning, William Gardiner, Hen. Johnson, hon. Henry Edward Fox, John W. T. Watson, James Lumsdaine, Lowther Pennington, Philip Goldsworthy, Duncan Drummond, William Spry, Charles Eustace, Francis Edward Gwyn, Robert Morfe, Francis lord Heathfield, T. S. Stanwix, and sir James Pulteney, bart. to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Garrisons. Major-general John Whitelock, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth, vice Murray, resigned. Captain Haylet Framingham, of the royal artillery, to be governor of the fort of Fornelles, in the island of Minorca. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service:- Colonel Mathew Smith, of the 2d regiment of the Tower Hamlets militia; colonel Mark Beaufoy, of the 1st regiment of the Tower Hamlets militia.

July 2. Right hon. Gilbert lord Minto, envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenepotentiary at the court of Vienna.

3. Thomas earl of Elgin,—a privy-counsellor.

—. James Allan Park, of Lincoln's inn—one of his majesty's counsel learned in the law.

6. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Albert

bert Gledstanes, of the 57th foot—adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward islands, vice Dickens, resigned. Lieutenant-colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot—quarter-master general to the said forces, vice Gledstanes.

10. John Henry duke of Rutland—lord lieutenant of the county of Leicester, vice duke of Beaufort, resigned.

13. Robert Cullen, of Cullen, esq. one of the lords of session—a lord of justiciary in Scotland, vice Swinton, deceased; William Honyman, of Armadale, esq.—a lord of justiciary in Scotland, vice David Rae, of Eskgrove, esq. a lord justice clerk; George Ferguson, esq.—one of the lords of session in Scotland, vice Robert Macqueen, of Braxfield, esq deceased; Mr. John Anstruther one of the four commissaries of Edinburgh, vice Ferguson.

—. His royal highness Ernest-Augustus duke of Cumberland, K. G.—a lieutenant-general in the army.

17. Right hon. sir John Scott—a privy-counsellor.

18. Right hon. sir John Scott, knt. late his majesty's attorney general—a baron of Great-Britain, by the title of Baron Eldon, of Eldon, in the county of Durham.

—. Rev. John Kearney, D. D.—provost of Trinity-college, Dublin, vice Murray, deceased; Sir Georeg Shee, bart. to be secretary to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury in Ireland, vice Burgh, deceased.

23. Garrison. Hon. lieutenant-general sir Charles Stuart, K. B. governor; and the hon. lieutenant-general Henry Edward Fex—lieutenant-governor of the island of Minorca.

27. Garrisons. Colonel John Callow, of the 3d dragoons, lieutenant-governor of Quebec, vice Bellew, deceased; E. B. Brenton, esq. deputy judge-advocate of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, to be deputy judge-advocate to the forces in all the British provinces of North America; lieutenant Winkworth Tonge, of the royal fuzileers, to be town-major of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, vice Prevost, resigned; captain Daniel Lyman, town-adjutant of Cape-Breton, to be fort-major of Frederick town, vice Hales; Lieutenant Thomas Fitzsimons, of the royal fuzileers, to be town-adjutant of Cape-Breton, vice Lyman.

Aug. 6. Staff. George Brinley, esq. to be commissary-general in British North America. John Butler Butler, esq. to be deputy-commissary-genneral in Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick, Newfoundland, St. John's island, and Cape Breton; John Craige, esq. to be deputy-commissary-general in the Canadas. Wm. Monsell, esq. to be paymaster in a recruiting district.

10. Brevet. Major Lewis Hay, of the royal engineers, to be lieut. colonel in the army.—Staff Major-general George Hewett, to be inspector-general of the recruiting service, vice the hon. lieutenant-general Fox; captain Henry Erskine, of the Scotch brigade, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces at the Cape of Good Hope, with the rank of major in the army, vice Scott, resigned.

12. Right hon. John Beresford, right hon. sir Herculus Langrishe, bart. right hon. Richard Hely Viscount Donoughmore, right hon. Richard Annesley, Charles Henry Coote, Maurice Fitzgerald, John Ormsby Vandeleur, John Townshend, and Mountifort Longfield, esqrs. to be chief commissioners of

his majesty's revenues of excise and customs in the kingdom of Ireland.

13. John Falcon, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul-general for the city and kingdom of Algiers.

—. Rev. John Randolph, D. D. to the bishop of Oxford, vice Smallwell, deceased.

13. Staff. Hon. colonel John Hope, of the 25th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces under the command of lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby; lieutenant-colonel Robert Anstruther, of the 68th foot, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the said forces; Henry Motz, esq. to be commissary general to the said forces.

14. Right hon. John Jefferys, earl Camden, installed a knight of the garter, vice duke of Dorset, deceased.

17. Shadrach Moyse, esq. a commissioner of the customs in Scotland, vice Edgar, deceased.

20. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel John Drinkwater, on the half-pay of the late 109th foot, to be commissary of accompts to the forces under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrmby. John Baptist de Bels and Ortz de Bulley, to be assistant commissaries of stores, provisions, and forage for the said forces.

—. Hon. Samuel Barrington, admiral of the white, to be general of his majesty's marine forces, vice Earl Howe, deceased; and the right hon. Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces, vice Barrington.

Sept. 3. Right hon. John earl of Clare, of the kingdom of Ireland, and lord chancellor of the said kindom—an English baron, by the title of baron Fitzgibbon, of Sidbury, county of Devon.

—. Brevet. Captain Rouland Edward, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.

4. Brevet-major William Raymond of the 89th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

7. His royal highness field-marshall Frederick duke of York, K.G. to be captain-general of all and singular his majesty's land forces, raised or to be raised and employed in his majesty's service within the kingdom of Great-Britain, or employed on the continent of Europe in conjunction with the troops of his majesty's allies.

10. Brevet. Major Oliver Grace, of the Minorca regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major James Kempt, on the half-pay of the late 113th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

23. Andrew Stewart, esq. and Robert Dundas, esq. (lord advocate for Scotland), constituted and appointed conjunctly to be sole and only clerks and keepers of the general register for seisins and other writs in Scotland.

25. Right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland—a privy counsellor.

Right hon. George Granville Levison Gower, earl Gower, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford, vice marquis of Stafford.

Oct. 16. Richard Master, esq. took the oaths on being appointed captain-general and commander in chief of the island of Tobago, and its dependencies.

19. Brevet. Count Bentinck de Rhone, to be colonel in the army on the continent of Europe only; capt. James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot-guards, to be major in the army; captain Thomas Browne, of the 59th foot, to be major in the army. Frederick Vander Hooven,

ven, gent. aide-du-camp to count Bentinck de Rhone, to be captain in the army on the continent of Europe only.—Staff. Hon. colonel John Hope, deputy-adjutant-general, to be adjutant-general to the army serving under the command of his royal highness the duke of York; hon. lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, assistant-adjutant-general, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said army, vice John Hope. Lieutenant-colonel John Sontag, to be military commissary to the troops forming under his serene highness the hereditary prince of Orange; captain Stephen Watts, to be assistant-barrack-master-general in the island of Jersey, with the rank of major in the army, so long only as he shall continue in the barrack department: Henry Castleman, esq. to be assistant barrack-master-general.

26. Staff. Lachlan Maclean, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort St. George, vice Plenderleath, resigned; John Johnston, gent. to be barrack-master in the island of Minorca.

30. Right hon. Ralph lord Lavingdon, K. B.—a privy-counsellor.

Nov. 2. Brevet. Colonel Samuel Twentyman, of the 87th foot, to be brigadier-general in the West-Indies only; captain R. Sacheverell Newton, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army. Staff Lieutenant colonel George Townshend Walker, of the 50th foot, to be military commissary to the Russian troops.

12. Brevet. Captain William Cullen, of the Scotch brigade, to be major in the army.

13. Major-general his highness prince William to be lieutenant-general in the army.

23. Thomas Trowbridge, esq. captain in the royal navy, and of Plymouth, created a baronet.

26. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, B. D. to be a canon of Christ-church, Oxford, vice Shafto, dec.

—. Garrison. Major-general John Graves Simcoe, to be commandant of the garrison of Plymouth in the absence of the governor and of lieutenant-general Grenville.

Dec. 2. Richard earl of Mornington, K. P. created a marquis of Ireland, by the title of marquis Wellesley, of Norrah, in that kingdom.

3. Major-general Eccles Nixon, knighted.

—. Brevet. Captain Henry Bird, of the 54th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Jonathan Page, gent. to be assistant barrack-master to the barracks occupied by the Dutch troops in the Isle of Wight.

14. Brevet. Major-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, knt. to be lieutenant-general in the island of Guernsey only; major-general Andrew Gordon, to be lieutenant-general in the island of Jersey only.

21. Staff. Serjeant-major James Lee, from the 1st foot-guards, to be provost-marshal, with the rank of captain in the army on the continent of Europe only.

23. Major Colyear, to be equerry to the duke of Cumberland.

28. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Robert Anstruther, of the 3d foot-guards, to be a deputy quarter-master-general to the forces.

SHERIFFS *appointed for the year* 1799.

Berks, James Sibbald, of Sunninghill.

Bedfordshire, Robert Trevor, of Flitwick.

Bucks, George Morgan, of Biddlesden-park.

Cumberland, John Hamilton, of Whitehaven.

Cheshire, Joseph Green, of Poulton Lancelyn.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, John Westwood, of Chatteris.

Devonshire, John Burton, of Jacobstowe.

Dorsetshire, Henry Seymer, of Handford.

Derbyshire, Joseph Walker, of Aston-upon-Trent.

Essex, Capell Cure, of Blakehall.

Gloucestershire, John Elwes, of Colesbourne.

Hertfordshire, Archibald Paxton, of Watford, esqrs.

Herefordshire, Sir Henry Tempest, of Caldwell, bart.

Kent, Samuel Chambers, of Woodstock-house.

Leicestershire, Henry Greene, of Rollestone.

Lincolnshire, Henry Hopkinson, of Castle-Bytham.

Monmouthshire, Caple Leigh, of Pontypool, esqrs.

Northumberland, sir John Edw. Swieburne, of Capheaton, bart.

Northamptonshire, Martin Lucas, of Northampton.

Norfolk, John Motteux, of Beauchamp Wells.

Nottinghamshire, Samuel Bristowe, of Beesthope.

Oxfordshire, George Stratton, of Great Tew.

Rutlandshire, Samuel Raeve, of Ketton.

Shropshire, Thomas Dicken, of Wem.

Somersetshire, James Bennet, of North-Cadbury.

Staffordshire, Joseph Scott, of Great Bar.

Suffolk, George Rush, of Benhall.

County of Southampton, John Norris, of Hawley.

Surrey, Robert Hankey, of Putney.

Sussex, Charles Pigou, of Frant.

Warwickshire, Francis Fauquier, of Stoney Thorpe.

Worcestershire, Edward Dixon, of Dudley.

Wiltshire, Edward Hinxman, of Great Durnford, esqrs.

Yorkshire, Sir Rowland Winn, of Nostell, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen, Richard Mansel Philips, of Coedgain.

Pembroke, Gwynne Vaughan, of Jordanston.

Cardigan, Pryse Loveden, of Gogerthan.

Glamorgan, John Goodrich, of Energlyn.

Brecon, Edward Loveden Loveden, of Llangorse.

Radnor, John Boddenham, of Discoed, esqrs.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon, Evan Lloyd, of Porth yr Aur.

Anglesea, Hugh Wynne, of Beaumaris, esqrs.

Merioneth, sir Thomas Mostyn, of Corsygedol, bart.

Montgomery, John Palmer Chichester, of Gyngrogfawr.

Denbighshire, John Wilkinson, of Brymbo-hall.

Flint, Thomas Mostyn Edwards, of Kilken Hall, esqrs.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year 1799.*

Cornwall, Edmond John Glynn, of Glynn, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Report of the Committee of Secresy to whom the several Papers, which were presented (sealed up) to the House, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, upon the 23d day of January 1799, by his Majesty's command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same as they shall appear to them to the House.

THE report begins by asserting, that the committee have satisfied themselves a design has long been entertained, by societies animated by French principles, to overthrow the constitution, and separate Ireland from Great Britain. The utmost diligence, it is said, is still employed to sustain and revive these societies. Secresy, with respect to the sources of many parts of the information is indispensable to good faith and public safety. The committee applaud the activity of government informers, and add, they may be the more depended on now, as what intelligence they formerly gave has been confirmed. The report then takes a view of the nature and system of the society of the United Irishmen, from their institution in 1791, and traces the origin and progress of the similar societies in Great Britain, their correspondence with France, the Scotch convention, the meetings at Chalk Farm and Copenhagen House, the state trials, attack on the king's person, treason and sedition bills, &c. &c. It then comes to the naval mutiny, and states as follows:

During the remainder of the year 1796, the system continued to operate silently and secretly; but, in the beginning of the following year, its contagious influence was found to have extended to a quarter where it was the least to be suspected, and produced effects which suddenly threatened the dearest interests and immediate safety of the country with the most imminent danger.

The mutiny which took place in the fleet, if considered in all its circumstances, will be traced to an intimate connection with the principles and practices described by your committee, and furnishes the most alarming proof of the efficacy of those plans of secrecy and concert, so often referred to, and of the facility with which they are applied for inflaming and heightening discontent (from whatever cause it proceeds,) and for converting what might otherwise produce only a hasty and inconsiderate breach of subordination and discipline, into the most settled and systematic treason and rebellion. These principles and this concert could alone have produced the wide extent of the

the mutiny and the uniformity of its operation in so many and such distinct quarters. The persons principally engaged in it, even in its early stages, were many of them United Irishmen. The mutineers were bound by secret oaths to the perpetration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give to the ships in mutiny, the name of 'The Floating Republic;' and this attempt was countenanced both by papers published in France, and by a paper here called 'The Courier,' which has on many occasions appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause. In some instances a disposition was manifested to direct the efforts of the mutineers to the object of compelling the government of this country to conclude a peace with the foreign enemy, and they at length even meditated betraying the ships of his majesty into the hands of that enemy. All these circumstances combine to impress your committee with a firm persuasion, that whatever were the pretences and misrepresentations employed to seduce from their duty a brave and loyal body of men; yet a spirit in itself so repugnant to the habits and dispositions of British sailors must have had its origin in those principles of foreign growth, which the societies of the conspirators have industriously introduced into this country, and which they have incessantly laboured to disseminate among all descriptions of men; but especially among those whose fidelity and steadiness are most important to the public safety. A striking instance of the desperate extent to which these principles were carried, appears in the proceedings of a court martial, held in the month of June 1797; an abstract of which your committee have thought it right to insert in the Appendix. The opinion stated by your committee will be still more confirmed by the repeated and atrocious attempts (bearing still more evidently the character of those principles in which they originated) which have been made in a great number of instances since the general mutiny was suppressed, and of which it will be necessary for your committee hereafter to take notice. At the period now referred to, these systematic attempts made to seduce both the sailors and soldiers from their duty and allegiance, to incite them to mutiny, and to engage them in plans for the subversion of government, had become so apparent and frequent as to attract the immediate notice of the legislature. Among these attempts, that made by a person of the name of Fellows, convicted at Maidstone in July 1797, deserves particular attention. The seditious hand-bill which he was proved to have distributed among the soldiers is inserted in the Appendix; and it appears from a letter (also there inserted) written by him to Evans and Bone, two of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society, and who have successively filled the office of secretary to that society shortly before his arrest, that he had gone to Maidstone for the purpose of circulating seditious papers, as well as of making reports of the society at Maidstone.

Progress of the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, till the period of the rebellion; its intercourse with France, and with leading members of Societies in this Country.

This section begins by noticing —Treasonable correspondence of Jackson with France, in 1794. Offer,

Offer, through Tone, in 1796, to send a French army to Ireland. Missions of Lewins to France in 1795. Expedition of general Hoche, concerted with lord Edw. Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, 1796. Missions of Lewins and M'Nevin, 1797.

The arrest of several persons in Ireland, and the flight of others; and the memorable defeat by lord Duncan, of the fleet intended to protect the expedition fitted out from Holland, again disconcerted the projects of the conspirators. After this event the French government appears to have repeatedly urged the leaders of the Irish union to immediate insurrection; but the more cautious among them were unwilling to act, until the French should actually have landed; and their opinion for a time prevailed.

The correspondence was in the mean time continued: the projects of rebellion and invasion were ripening; and at this period the hopes of the Irish conspirators derived fresh encouragement from reports of the progress of new societies in Great Britain, formed on the same plan with themselves. A regular communication was kept up between the Irish and English committees, through Arthur O'Connor, who had come from Ireland to England early in January 1798; and in the reports transmitted by the English societies to Ireland, the force of the United Englishmen (a society which had been recently formed on the model of the united Irish, and of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) was represented to be considerable, though your committee have reason to believe, that there was much exaggeration in these reports. Arthur O'Connor, in a letter to his brother, dated London, 13th Feb. 1798, and seized in lord Edward Fitzgerald's apartments at Leinster-house, states, "that Scotland is Irish all over—that the people here give no opinion, though it is easy to learn they look for a change."

At a provincial meeting in Ireland, held on the 1st of February 1798, it was stated to the meeting, by a person just arrived from Dublin, that "the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was more flatering, three delegates had been sent from the United Britons to the Irish National Committee, and from that moment the Irish were to consider England, Scotland, and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cause." An address was at the same time produced, which, it was stated, the delegates of Britain had brought with them to the Irish National Committee. It was also stated, that the priest, O'Coigly, was one of the delegates mentioned to have been then lately returned from France; and it was added, that he, and another priest who had fled from Ireland, were the principal persons who had opened the communication with the United Britons.

At another provincial meeting, held on the 27th February 1798, it appears to have been stated, "that a delegate had arrived from France; that the French were using every endeavour to have the expedition for Ireland completed; and that the Irish delegates came home to cause the United Irish to put themselves into a state of organisation to join them, as the Directory positively assured the Irish delegates, that the expedition would set out for Ireland the end of April or the beginning of May." It was also stated, that there

there had been a meeting of all the delegates in England and Scotland held in London; but that their resolutions could not be obtained till the next provincial meeting to be held on the 25th of March.

The address which the delegates of United Britons were so stated, at the provincial meeting of the 1st of February 1798, to have brought with them to the Irish National Committee, your committee have inserted in the Appendix. About the same time a most seditious paper, sent from the London Corresponding Society to the Society of United Irishmen, signed J. T. Crossfield, president, Thos. Evans, secretary, dated 30th January 1798, (also inserted in the Appendix), was published in Ireland, in a paper called "*The Press*," and the original seized in March 1798, in consequence of the apprehension of Arthur O'Connor in England.

The priest O'Coigly, referred to in these transactions, and who has since been convicted and executed at Maidstone, was a native of Ireland, and went from that country to Cuxhaven in 1797 with another Irishman who was obliged to fly from Ireland, and passed into Holland at the time when the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Winter was about to sail, with a large body of troops, on an expedition destined against Ireland. When that fleet had sailed without the troops, O'Coigly and his companion went to Paris, where finding themselves thwarted by the jealousy of the resident envoy from the Irish union, O'Coigly returned to England about the middle of December 1797, and went to Ireland in January 1798.

Whilst in Ireland, he appears to have had interviews and correspondence with lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the Irish conspirators; and he returned to England about the middle of February 1798.

Intelligence was conveyed to government of this man's designs, and particularly of his intention to pass into France, for the purposes which afterwards appeared to be the object of his mission: he was therefore narrowly watched; and on the 28th of February 1798, he was, together with Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, Allen, and Leary, taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France. The particular circumstances attending these attempts are detailed in the evidence on his trial. One of the papers seized by the officers who apprehended him was an address from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," set forth in the Appendix; clearly demonstrating the traitorous views of those who formed the address, and were instrumental in the attempt to transmit it to France.

It appears also to your committee, both from previous and subsequent information, that Arthur O'Connor, who had been, to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France, in the confidence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but was confidentially employed by the remaining members of that Directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of Lewins.

Further intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies; formation of new Societies, and their proceedings.

At the meetings of the *London* Corresponding Society, for above two

two years before this time, it had been avowed that the object of the society was to form a republic, by the assistance of France.—Reform in parliament, or even annual elections, or universal suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of Ashley (one of the persons arrested in 1794) and who had, for a long time, been secretary to this society, was now acting as their agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French army. Meetings were held to contrive the means of procuring arms, to enable them to co operate with a French force, in case of an invasion. The leading members of the disaffected societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional meeting, which was held at a cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable publication called '*The Press.*' This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the conspiracy. It was particularly attended by Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly, previous to their attempt to go over to France, and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger societies. Among these plans was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment in the metropolis, and throughout the country, and of directing it to the object of seizing or assassinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houses of parliament. An officer of some experience in his majesty's service, was selected as their military leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprise. But although the apprehensions that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt: yet the general language held among these persons, at this period, proved that they had brought themselves to the opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measure of open violence.

Attempts were at the same time made to form in London, upon the plan of the United Irishmen, the Society of United Englishmen or United Britons, before referred to: and O'Coigly and John Binns appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this society into four districts, including a large part of the coasts of this kingdom the most exposed to invasion: and it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this society with those of a society of United Irishmen; of which your committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the societies through England, which had used to correspond with the London Corresponding Society, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming societies of United Englishmen; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers; used cyphers, or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them.

them, and principally carried on their intercourse by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognised by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconsiderate persons, throughout the country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions: and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded was still further extended by the establishment of clubs, among the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which songs were sung, toasts given, and language held of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a meeting of United Englishmen, to be held at a House in Clerkenwell, warrants of arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 16th of April 1798. There were found upon the secretary of the London Corresponding Society (who appears to have officiated as president at that meeting) the oath proposed for the United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix; another oath, of the same nature, was found under the table; and also a printed constitution of the Society of United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix.

Information having also been received of an extraordinary meeting of the delegates and secretary of the London Corresponding Society intended to be assembled at a large room in Wych-street, on the 19th of April 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these arrests, the connexion between the London Corresponding Society and the London Society of United Englishmen was clearly established.

It appeared, that about forty divisions of United Englishmen had been formed in London; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting; and that many similar societies were forming in different parts of the country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different counties in Great Britain should, respectively, be divided into districts; in each of which a central society was to be established in the principal town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller societies in that district, and with the general society in London. And this system was so constructed as to admit of still further subdivision, if the increase of numbers had been such as the leaders hoped.

It appears to your committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of societies of United Englishmen was in London and the parts adjacent; and in Lancashire, and some parts of the west of England and of Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents, or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and in the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of the printed copies of the 'Constitution of United Englishmen' have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the society was making great progress, when is was checked by the arrest of several of its leaders in 1798.

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A society of United Englishmen had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it consisted of about fifty divisions. And in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of these divisions consisted of not less than fifteen members, and was again subdivided when the number of its members exceeded thirty-six. This society has been particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the soldiers in different regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy; and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of his Majesty's forces, of every description in this kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that these diabolical practises have not been successful in any considerable degree. The test used for the soldiers is set forth in the Appendix. In other respects the society has followed the United Irish and the United English formed in London, in their constitution, their test, and their signs of secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction; the whole being governed by the persons who form the Committee of United Englishmen, styled, 'The National Committee of England,' who are, apparently unknown to the rest of the members of the society though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually members of the society; or if they were members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the meetings. In some degree this persuasion may have been well founded; but your committee are induced to think, that some art was used to strengthen this impression, for the purpose of giving greater encouragement to the members in their hopes of final success.

The societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a delegate to the committee, called, 'The County Committee;' which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish frequently passing and repassing between Cheshire, or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English societies. Among the persons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your committee have remarked O'Coigly, who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention. He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland, after his journey into France before-mentioned. He then wore a military dress, and passed by the name of capt. Jones, the same appellation by which he was introduced, by A. O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charter-house square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at

at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journies between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest; and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen and United Irish, at Manchester, and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport at least of his mission, and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him, very strong assurances.

The society at Manchester seems to have been the central society of an extensive district, and to have been managed by a very zealous and active committee. It frequently sent delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire. Their correspondence appears to have extended to the most distant parts of England, as well as Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Liverpool also became the seat of another central society, presiding over a surrounding district, and corresponding with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland, and different emissaries, some of whom were foreigners, about this time were sent through various parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the numbers and dispositions of the societies of United English and United Irish.

[The report then describes the society of United Scotsmen resembling the others already mentioned; and after stating some facts, to show the design of the naval mutineers to carry the men of war into an enemy's port, it concludes as follows:]

While these proceedings of the United Irishmen in the first exhibit so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great Britain for the purposes of sedition and treason, the societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the most formidable, particularly at the present moment; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs, of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these societies is much increased, from the constant communication which they maintain with the societies in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumstance of their being, at this moment, subject to the same secret direction, and the same chiefs.

These societies have been instituted not only in London, but in different parts of the country, and have formed themselves into subdivisions. In the Appendix are inserted printed forms of certificates of election to the society, which were seized among the papers of a person long engaged in this conspiracy. One of these forms has been framed for a 'London Society.' The other appears to relate to a society called an '*External Society.*'

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The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of Lord Edward Fitzgerald when he was apprehended. The reference in these certificates to the constitution and the test confirm the unquestionable information which your committee have received, that these societies form a part of the dreadful system which was unhappily established in Ireland. The constitution of the United Irishmen, such as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and copies of this constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable paper recently found at one of these meetings, of which government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix. Other papers, seized at the same meeting, strongly confirm the account which your committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland) of keeping the accounts of the society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the members. Your committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix a copy of a printed card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and, particularly among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who there is reason to believe has been very lately chosen to act as general secretary to the different societies of United Irishmen now in London.—The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this society. But the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country; rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects, to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid, and form the committee, by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on through Hamburgh, with France.

Among these plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798 it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the metropolis in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of

and occupations in which the Irish commonly resorting hither are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society, in effecting an insurrection in London, at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period another project was secretly formed (of which your committee have received more distinct information) for collecting at one point a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the River Thames, to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be administered. Large rewards were to be promised. They were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform, till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French. They were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions, and were to make an attack by surprise, at the same moment, on both Houses of Parliament, on the Tower, and on the Bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by government, respecting the proceedings and plans of the conspirators, the seizure and detention of some of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realise these extravagant designs, when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and although these conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprise would be immediately resisted, your committee have received undoubted proof that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making by agents from Ireland to concert with the French government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another expedition to co-operate with the rebels in that kingdom. The time for making this attempt seems to be in a great measure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the traitors in Ireland tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your committee! and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their confederates in this country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion by another French force on different parts of the coasts of this kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the conspirators, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the species of warfare which the French have had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident from a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last session on the treatment of prisoners of war), and to those of

Humbert,

Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been destined to command an expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report. For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland. It is also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an insurrection in the metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom where these societies are most numerous. Your committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors. But your committee are at the same time so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the House.

Societies at Hamburgh.

In addition to this mass of treason, in Great Britain and in Ireland, your committee find, that, for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a committee of United Irishmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the conspiracies carried on against their respective countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a correspondence, which has long subsisted among the British and Irish societies established at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this correspondence with Great Britain and Ireland has frequently been covered by the pretence of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of Jacobinism in Holstein and the north of Germany, and generally in all the northern parts of Europe. Many emissaries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been dispatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the Continent, as circumstances required. There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a society called *The Philanthropic Society*, for the purpose of correspondence with the republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the Corresponding Societies established in Great Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the reform of all kingdoms and states. The leading members of this society, who direct all the rest, compose a committee of about 20 persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The members of the sub-

ordinate societies at Hamburgh and Altona are all under the controul of the committee or principal society before-mentioned. This committee constantly corresponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has secretaries skilled in different languages, and corresponding agents in different towns, particularly in London. It may become a formidable engine in the hands of the French Directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress; but there is reason to hope that it has at length attracted the notice of the government of those places.

Upon a view of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction, That the safety and tranquillity of these kingdoms have, at different periods, from the year 1791 to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views of our inveterate foreign enemy:

That although the society of United Irishmen in Ireland has alone been enabled to attain its full strength and maturity, yet the societies instituted on similar principles in this country had all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of his majesty's faithful subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary powers which Parliament has, in its wisdom, from time to time confided to his majesty's government:

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connection have been maintained between all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland; and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings, in both kingdoms, were no other than the entire overthrow of the British constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the laws and constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even these circumstances by no means appear to your committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger passed.

The principles and views of the conspirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the assistance and co operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purpose, continues undiminished. And the system of those secret societies, which are at once the instruments of seditious conspiracy at home, and the channel of treasonable correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed.

Your committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the ports of France, for the invasion of this country, or of Ireland. The activity of

of seditious and treasonable societies, in their correspondencewith France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the enemy; and the principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful oaths, which is the great characteristic of these societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprises, and, by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal inquiry in the next. To this principle, therefore, in the opinion of your committee, such further measures as Parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the public safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which, in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the constitution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to his majesty's government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger) has, under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the correspondence with the enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progress and communication of sedition and treason at home. But from particular circumstances, which have come under the observation of your committee in the course of their inquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more complete, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be hereafter, detained on suspicion of treasonable practices shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the metropolis.

The whole of the secret information which has been laid before your committee has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to his majesty's government; and the very circumstances which created this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclosing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the House the general result, and on which their judgment is founded; but they trust that they have laid before the house sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies of their country carry on their dangerous conspiracies, can only be defeated by a corresponding vigilance on the part of government, and by the exercise of such additional powers as may from time to time be intrusted to it by Parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of parliament, they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the system of secret societies, the establishment of which has, in other countries, uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and, by facilitating

vinating the progress of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be suffered to exist in these Kingdoms, compatibly with the safety of their government and constitution, and with the security against foreign force and domestic treason.

Your committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of vigilance and precaution, which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the projects which have been so long pursued by our foreign and domestic enemies. Impressed with a just sense of the blessings enjoyed under our happy constitution, which distinguish this country from every nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of society have shewn their determination to preserve those blessings entire, and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence. While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the kingdom, and while the wisdom of the legislature encourages and directs its exertions for the public safety, your committee entertain a full conviction that the religion, the laws, and the constitution of Great Britain, and with them the interests and happiness of all classes of his majesty's subjects, will, in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest under the protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the government, and by the courage, the patriotism, and the virtue of the nation.

Protest against the Bill enabling his Majesty to arrest and detain Persons suspected of conspiring against his Person and Government.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because the existence of a conspiracy, of an extent so formidable, and of a nature so complicated, that the public disclosure of the evidence necessary to the conviction of one conspirator might enable his accomplices to ascertain the information of government, and to elude the justice of the country, can alone constitute a necessity sufficient to justify a peer of Parliament in assenting to any suspension of the habeas corpus.

2dly, Because no measures have been taken to make such necessity apparent.

3dly, Because if, from private information, or from the general circumstances of the country, the House were convinced that such necessity did actually exist, it would, nevertheless, be more consonant with the usages, and less derogatory to the dignity of Parliament, to produce substantial documents, rather than the suggestions of ministers, or the vague suspicions of individuals, in justification of so extraordinary a measure.

4thly, Because the alarms of ministers are always to be received with mistrust by the legislature, when the remedy proposed is an extension of their power, and a diminution of the liberty of the subject.

5thly, Because these principles of jealousy, applicable to all times, appear to me to be peculiarly so to the present, when a system of government by alarm has been resorted to year after year, and powers similar to those required by this bill, been obtained on the score of allegations

gations which subsequent events have refuted; a memorable example of which occurred in the years 1794 and 1795, when a number of persons detained under the provisions of a bill similar to this, were all either liberated without trial, or acquitted by a verdict of their country.

6th, Because the danger of an invasion (the pretence for suspending the habeas corpus last session) exists no longer. And it is subversive of that mutual confidence which should subsist between the government and the governed, to require with distrust in their dispositions, and a continual suspension of one of the most essential safeguards of their liberty, the affections of the people, manifested in their late exertions at the moment of alarm, and in the cheerfulness with which they have submitted to burdens unparalleled in their pressure, and now confessedly unequal in their operation.

(Signed) HOLLAND.

March 16.

By the King. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas we have reason to apprehend that divers persons, engaged in the treasonable conspiracy against us in our kingdom of Ireland, which lately manifested itself in open act of rebellion and war against us in our said kingdom, have not abandoned their treasonable designs against us; and, acting in concert with our foreign enemies, are preparing to assist our said enemies in an invasion of our kingdoms, and for that purpose are endeavouring to incite and stir up rebellion and war against us in this kingdom: we have, therefore, thought it necessary, for the safety of our kingdoms, to prevent all persons engaged in such treasonable designs from passing from our said kingdom of Ireland into this kingdom: and we do, for that purpose, by and with the advice of our privy council, order, and do hereby strictly charge and command, that, from and after the 20th day of *March* inst. no person whatsoever be permitted to pass from our said kingdom of Ireland into this kingdom, except such persons as shall be in our service, and actually so employed, and such persons as shall obtain a passport for that purpose from our lord lieutenant of our said kingdom of Ireland, his chief or under secretaries, the mayor, or other chief magistrate of some city or town in Ireland, or one of our general officers commanding our forces within the several districts in our said kingdom: and, by and with advice aforesaid, we do further order, and hereby strictly charge and command, that no person whatsoever (except as aforesaid), coming from our said kingdom of Ireland, be permitted to land in this kingdom, without our license for that purpose first obtained; and that all such persons (except as aforesaid), who shall land, or attempt to land, in this kingdom, without such license as aforesaid, shall be forthwith taken into custody, and detained in custody until our pleasure shall be further known: and we do further order and require that all persons having such passports as aforesaid shall produce the same to some officer of our customs, at the port or place at which such person shall arrive before such person shall be permitted to land at such port

port or place? and we do hereby, by and with the advice aforesaid, strictly enjoin, require, and command all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables and all other our officers and subjects, to use their utmost endeavours for the due execution of these our commands.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 15th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, in the thirty-ninth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Message from his Majesty delivered to Parliament, June 6.

GEORGE R.

His majesty thinks proper to acquaint this house, that he had some time since concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother and ally, the emperor of Russia, for employing forty-five thousand men against the common enemy in such manner as the state of affairs in Europe at that period appeared to render most advantageous. The change of circumstances which has since arisen, having rendered a different application of that force more desirable, his majesty has recently had the satisfaction to learn, that the views of the emperor of Russia in that respect are entirely conformable to his own. But his majesty has not yet received any account that the formal engagements to that effect have been regularly concluded. He has, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the same promptitude and zeal in support of the common cause, which his ally has already manifested in a manner so honourable to himself, and so signally beneficial to Europe, have induced him already to put this army in motion towards the place of its destination, as now settled by mutual consent. His majesty therefore thinks it right to acquaint the house of commons, that the pecuniary conditions of this treaty will oblige his majesty to pay the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in stipulated instalments, as preparation money; and to pay a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment, at the rate of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month! which payment is not to take place till after the conclusion of a peace made by common consent.

His majesty relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, to enable him to make good these engagements.

And his majesty being desirous of continuing to afford the necessary succours to his ally, the queen of Portugal, as well as to give timely and effectual assistance to this important conjuncture to the Swiss cantons for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence, and to make every other exertion for improving to the utmost the signal advantages which, by the blessing of God, have attended the operations of the combined arms on the Continent, since the commencement of the present campaign; recommends it also to the house of commons to enable his majesty to enter into such farther engagements, and to take such measures as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs, and most likely, by continued perseverance and vigour, to complete the general deliverance of Europe from the insupportable tyranny of the French republic.

G. R.

Privy

Protest against the third Reading of the Militia Reduction Bill.

DISSENTIENT, *July* 10.

Because the measures prescribed by the bill are destructive of the constitutional force of the country, by making the militia ballot a fund for the supply, and its dicipline a drill for the accommodation of other corps, and by degrading its officers to the humiliating situation of commanding the miserable remnants of their regiments rejected by recruiting serjeants of the line.

Because the subversion of this constitutional force must be the inevitable consequence, as it is probably the object of these measures; for it cannot be imagined that gentlemen of property (such as are required by the still remaining wreck of the militia laws) should hereafter come forward in times of difficulty and danger, with a zeal and patriotism so much applauded, and so bitterly insulted; that men of the highest consideration and fortune, such as alone can form a constitutional force, should quit their domestic comforts and family occupations without personal views, or professional allurements, to fill a station so degrading to them as that of drill serjeants to the army: but exclusive of this great and insuperable objection, we consider this bill as framed under circumstances of gross inattention to the public interest, to private rights of various descriptions, and to the clearest and most important principles of the constitution; and we should esteem ourselves neglectful of our own characters, as well as deficient in public duty, if we did not record our marked and unreserved reprobation of a measure of such dangerous tendency: first, because the promoters of this bill have, contrary to every principle of common justice, established an arbitrary proportion, by which the respective counties are hereafter to be burthened with the expense of raising their future militia, deviating from the established scale, approved and sanctioned by the act of the twenty-sixth and thirty-seventh of the king, without any grounds laid before parliament, by which the justice of such deviation could be estimated, though in a few days, and with no expense. The annual list for the county ballots returned to the lieutenants of each county, and directed (by the twenty-sixth of Geo. III. chap. 107, clause 50.) to be transmitted to the secretary of state, would, without error, have produced a correct scale.

Secondly, Because all militia men, not arriving (after their inrolment) at their respective regiments at the exact time, contained in any order which may be given to them, are declared to be deserters, liable to be taken from service in the militia for five years within the kingdom, and condemned to serve in regiments of the line for life in any part of the world, by sentence of a regimental court-martial, where neither the judges nor witnesses are upon oath; and by an additional injustice, the county which paid the service of the man is liable to the further charge of supplying his place.

Thirdly, Because the difficulties and embarrassments which men inrolled to serve in the militia are exposed to by this bill, are so obviously cruel and unjust, that it affords no slight ground of suspicion that they are intended to promote the recruiting the regular forces from the militia, by the forced desertions of the unfortunate individuals who shall be engaged in the militia service; for the man

man, as soon as he is inrolled, perhaps many hundred miles from his regiment, is ordered to join it; but by this bill no pay is to commence, nor allowance to be granted, till he actually joins his regiment; he is deprived of all former sources of subsistence, and is not entitled to the means of present support; plunder or charity alone can maintain him on the road, and if, under all these unsurmountable difficulties, he does not arrive within the time limited in his orders, he is liable to be treated as a deserter.

Fourthly, Because by this bill the regiments of militia are invited to a state of disorder and mutiny by anticipation, as the bill has publicly declared that desertion before the period of its passing into a law was to be made an offence not necessarily followed by punishment, but that every man may, by such desertion, take leave of absence till August, if by that time he shall inlist in the public service; the bill encourages immediate desertion from a service to which the man had sworn fidelity; and the king is empowered to authorise the deserter's entrance into another service discharged from any claim by the militia regiment to which he belongs.

Fifthly, Because by this bill the most important and incontrovertible principle of the constitution is flagrantly impeached. Whether it is legal or not to appropriate public money by an order of the commissioners of the treasury, and levy money on the land owners by a similar order, without consent of parliament, is stated by the bill as a matter of doubt entertained by parliament; and on the grounds of this pretended doubt, a clause of indemnity is introduced, of which the title of the bill gave no intimation, and to which the attention of the legislature had not been directed.

In this general neglect, overthrow, and denial of private justice, public principles, and national rights, it is not to be wondered at that little attention should be paid to the feelings of individuals, however called by their country to stations of considerable confidence and trust; yet we cannot but express our disapprobation of the granting directions to commanding officers of militia regiments to crimp for another service their associates and fellow soldiers, and become at once the instruments both of their own disgrace, and of that of the militia establishment to which they are zealously attached.

CARNARVON.
RADNOR.
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Speech of his Majesty in proroguing Parliament, Wednesday, July 12.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The favourable appearances which I announced to you at the commencement of the present session have since been followed by successes beyond my most sanguine expectations. By the progress of the imperial arms under the command of the archduke Charles of Austria, a great part of Switzerland has already recovered its ancient religion, laws, and liberties; and the uninterrupted and brilliant victories of the combined armies under the command of field-marshal Suwarroff, have, in the short period which has elapsed since the opening of the campaign, nearly accomplished the deliverance of Italy from the degrading yoke of the French republic.

The

The decision and energy which distinguish the councils of my ally the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert happily established between us, will enable me to employ to the greatest advantage the powerful means which you have entrusted to me, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe.

I have the satisfaction of seeing that internal tranquillity is in some degree restored to my kingdom of Ireland. The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant quarter must nearly extinguish even the precarious hope which the traitorous and disaffected have entertained of foreign assistance. But our great reliance for the immediate safety of that country must still rest on the experienced zeal and bravery of my troops of all descriptions, and on the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful subjects in both kingdoms: Its ultimate security can alone be insured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain; and I am happy to observe that the sentiments manifested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects, justify the hope that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest of both my kingdoms.

The provisions which you have made for suppressing those dangerous and seditious societies which had been formed for the purpose of disseminating the destructive principles of the French revolution are peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the times, and have furnished additional security to the establishment.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The unusual sacrifices which you have made in the present moment, on behalf of my subjects, are wisely calculated to meet effectually the exigencies of this great crisis. They have at the same time given additional security to public credit, by establishing a system of finance beneficial alike to yourselves and to posterity; and the cheerfulness with which these heavy burthens are supported, evince at once the good sense, the loyalty, and the public spirit of my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is impossible to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble thankfulness, the visible interposition of Divine Providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishements of the civilised world.

It may be permitted to us to hope, that the same protecting Providence will continue to us its guidance through the remainder of this eventful contest, and will conduct it finally to such an issue as shall transmit to future ages a memorable example of the instability of all power founded on injustice, usurpation and impiety; and shall prove the impossibility of ultimately dissolving the connection between public prosperity and public virtue.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament

ment is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of August next.

The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons at the Bar of the House of Lords, July 12.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

In the name of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, it is my duty humbly to tender to your majesty the bills by which their grants are completed for the public service of the year. The magnitude of the supply, and the cheerfulness with which it has been given, combined with the flourishing state of commerce, and of the revenue, and with the manifestations of zeal and public spirit which universally prevail, may justly be considered as indications, the most encouraging and decisive, of the abundant and unimpaired resources of the British empire, and of the unshaken firmness of your faithful people. To your commons it is a subject of pride and satisfaction to reflect, that in providing for the exigency of the present conjuncture, they have been enabled to adopt a measure, which, though attended with sacrifices unprecedented in their amount, is eminently calculated to administer effectual support to public credit; upon the depreciation, and unexpected failure, of which, the enemy have long been induced to found the vain hope of destroying the liberties and independence of these kingdoms. The conduct, however, of your commons has not been influenced by a limited and partial view of the situation and circumstances of this country, and of the causes which operate upon its welfare and security; they know that its interests are closely connected with those of other states; and they have accordingly conformed to the principles of a sound and enlarged policy, by affording to your majesty the most ample means of promoting and assisting the exertions of those powers, who, justly estimating the danger with which they are threatened, are convinced that a fatal aggravation of it would be the probable consequence of compromise and supineness; and that, to be successfully repelled, it must be opposed by such efforts as will be sufficient to prove to the enemy that their system of ambition and conquest is equally nefarious and extravagant, and that its objects are unattainable. Your commons, Sire, are deeply sensible of the importance of the stake for which your majesty is still unavoidably contending, and of the duties which they are bound to discharge. It is, they are persuaded, upon the wisdom and fortitude of the British parliament, that, under the favour of Divine Providence, must chiefly depend the preservation of whatever is truly valuable in civil society, and of all that constitutes the happiness of private life. Actuated by these sentiments, and relying with perfect confidence upon the justice and moderation of your majesty's views, your commons have not hesitated to continue to your majesty that cordial and decided support in the prosecution of the contest, which can alone justify the hope of concluding it by a safe and durable peace.

His Majesty's Speech on opening the Parliament, Tuesday, Sept. 24.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have called you together at this

this unusual season, in order to recommend it to you to consider of the propriety of enabling me, without delay, to avail myself, to a further extent, of the voluntary services of the militia, at a moment when an increase of our active force abroad may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.

We have seen the happy effects of the measure which you adopted on this subject in the last session; and the forces which I was thereby enabled to employ have already displayed, in the face of the enemy, a courage, discipline, and steadiness, worthy of the character of British soldiers. In the short interval since the close of the last session, our situation and the prospects have, under the blessing of Providence, improved beyond the most sanguine expectation.

The abilities and valour of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies have continued to be eminently displayed; the deliverance of Italy may now be considered as secured by the result of a campaign equal in splendour and success to any the most brilliant recorded in history: and I have had the heartfelt satisfaction of seeing the valour of my fleets and armies successfully employed to the assistance of my allies, to the support of our just cause, and to the advancement of the most important interests of the British empire.

The kingdom of Naples has been rescued from the French yoke, and restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign; and my former connections with that power have been renewed.

The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies; while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded.

The desperate attempt which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices, and deluded by the promises, of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests in that quarter of the globe in a state of solid and permanent security. The vigilance, decision, and wisdom of the governor-general in council, on this great and important occasion, and the tried abilities and valour of the commanders, officers and troops employed under his direction, are entitled to my highest praise.

There is, I trust, every reason to expect that the effort which I am making for the deliverance of the United Provinces will prove successful.

The British arms have rescued from the possession of the enemy the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic; and although we have to regret the loss of many brave men in a subsequent attack against the enemy, whose position enabled them to obstruct our progress; I have the strongest ground to expect that the skill of my generals, and the determined resolution and intrepidity of my troops, and those of my allies will soon surmount every obstacle; and that the fleet which, under the usurped dominion of France, was destined to co-operate in the invasion of these islands, may speedily,

I trust,

I trust, under its ancient standard, partake in the glory of restoring the religion, liberty, and independence of those provinces, so long in intimate union and alliance with this country.

While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia. To his magnanimity and wisdom, directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are in a great measure indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favourable change in the general situation of affairs. I have directed copies to be laid before you of those engagements, which have consolidated and cemented a connection so consonant to the permanent interests of my empire, and so important at the present moment to every part of the civilised world.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The ample supplies which you have granted to me in the course of the last session will, I trust, so nearly provide for the exigencies of the public service, even on the extensive scale which our present operations require, as to enable me, without further aid, to continue those exertions to the close of the present year; but, in order to afford you the convenience of a longer recess, I recommend it to you to consider of providing for the expense which will be necessary in the early part of the ensuing year, and with this view I have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In pursuance of your recommendation, I judged it proper to communicate to my two houses of parliament in Ireland, at the close of their last session, the sentiments which you had expressed so as respecting an incorporating union with that kingdom.

The experience of every day confirms me in the persuasion, that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure; and I trust that the disposition of my parliament there will be found to correspond with that which you have manifested for the accomplishment of a work which would tend so much to add to the security and happiness of all my Irish subjects, and to consolodate the strength and prosperity of the empire.

Protest on the Bill for enabling his Majesty to accept the Services of an additional number of Volunteers from the Militia, under certain Restrictions.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because, by this bill, and by the recited act of the last session, whose powers are by this bill aggravated and extended, the constitutional purposes of the militia establishment are totally and finally subverted.

2. Because all the purposes of procuring men for the army might have been easily obtained, by disbanding the Supplementary War Militia (which, by its extraordinary increase, had confessedly occasioned a scarcity of men), without reducing the permanent militia establishment to a service, in which no gentleman could hereafter hope that his patriotic and disinterested industry would enable him to form his county regiment to a continued state of discipline, at the head of which he might, with credit and honour to himself, answer the purpose

peace of this institution in the defence of his country against an invasion.

3. Because by this measure, all that system and arrangement which nourished the zeal of independent country gentlemen is irrecoverably done away in the existing pressure of a formidable and alarming war, and the peace establishment of militia (if, mangled as it is by this bill, it can survive the war) will necessarily be reduced to a mere standing army of the worst sort; independent of an annual vote of parliament—deprived of all its former constitutional advantages, connected with the people by nothing but the unequal and oppressive burthens it imposes on them, and commanded by such persons as may be procured to be regulating officers to a mere drill army of recruits.

4. Because the landed interest of England and Wales, already so heavily burthened, is most materially affected by this total revolution in the militia system; inasmuch as the peculiar expenses of a militia, originally formed for our unalienable domestic defence and insular garrison, are unjustly continued on the oppressed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales, when they are by this measure deprived of the advantages which they had purchased, namely, those of security, resulting from a permanent domestic protection for their wives and children, which, under the faith of parliament, was held out to them as the valuable consideration for heavy taxes imposed solely on them.

5. Because this bill operates with most unjustifiable partiality; it does not fairly and equally extend to Scotland; Scotland is still protected in the enjoyment of a constitutional militia; neither reduced to the disgraceful condition of a drill for the army, nor liable to be employed in the defence of England; from its services (confined and limited solely to the boundaries of Scotland) England and Wales can derive no protection; whilst the reduced remnants of the militia of England and Wales may be removed from the defence of their own homes, to that of the most remote parts of Scotland.

CARNARVON.
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.
All but the second reason.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on opening the Parliament, Jan. 22, 1799.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievement of the detachment of his majesty's fleet under the command of rear admiral lord Nelson; on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts of this kingdom, by that under the command of Sir J. B. Warren; and the brilliant and important conquest of Minorca. Those events, while they afford to us, in common with every other description of his majesty's subjects, matter of just pride and satisfaction, must, at the same time, give confidence to other powers, and show to all Europe the beneficial effects of a system of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perseverance, against the destructive projects of the common enemy.

I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you, that a spirit of disaffection still prevails in several parts of this kingdom, and that the secret agents of the enemy are

are active in raising an expectation of fresh assistance from France.

In this situation, and under the evident necessity of continuing the war with vigour, his majesty firmly relies upon that spirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exertions in support of the honour of his crown, of the interest of this kingdom, and of the general cause of the empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the public accounts and estimates to be laid before you; and as I am confident your wisdom will raise the supplies which may be necessary in the manner least burthensome to the subject, so you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and œconomical application.

It is with great satisfaction I observe, that, notwithstanding our internal calamities, this kingdom, blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the increasing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have increased.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions, will require, and will, I am sure continue to receive, that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give further attention to the just and honourable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion etc.

His Majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress, by every wise effort, the spirit of disaffection, which still requires the exercise of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occasion has required it, to acts of indispensable severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice and the necessary exertions of the powers of the state, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be consistent with the public safety.

In the general cause which engages the empire, our prospect is highly encouraging; but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts should be redoubled in order to secure it.

The zeal of his majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill, and valour of his majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering, on the one hand, the strength and stability of Great Britain, and, on the other, those divisions which have shaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this island.

The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain must have engaged your particular attention;

tion; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on proroguing the Parliament of that Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to release you from your further attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are still agitated by the projects of the disaffected, may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

I am at the same time to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the continued and undiminished zeal which you have manifested for counteracting the wicked plots of internal conspirators, and for the defeat of every hostile attempt which the desperation of the enemy may meditate.

The situation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the session. The signal advantages already obtained by the Austrian arms, and the vigorous and decisive exertions on the part of Russia, must be subjects of great joy and congratulation to all who can estimate the value of established order and legitimate government. I know the pleasure you must derive from the consoling prospect that Europe may be ultimately rescued from the ravaging arms and the desolating principles of France.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you, in his majesty's name, for the large and extraordinary supply which you have so honourably voted to meet every wish of the government, and every exigency of the state. You must reflect with the highest satisfaction on the liberal co-operation which in every moment of difficulty you have experienced from the British parliament: and I have the fullest confidence that the public spirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain, in submitting to such temporary burthen as the safety of the community may require. I sincerely regret that so extensive a demand should be made on your liberality; but when no measure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to sever this kingdom from the British empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and massacre, you have displayed true wisdom in proportioning your exertions to the blessings you have to preserve, and the miseries you have to avert.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am to return you his majesty's acknowledgments for the many important measures you have accomplished this session. Your liberality and justice to those who have suffered from their loyalty will confirm the exertions of the well-disposed, and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation, without diminishing the necessary circulation.

I am sensible of the confidence which you have reposed in me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the purposes for which they were given, by taking the most effectual and summary measures for the suppression and punishment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as possible with the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty's peaceable subjects.

I have his majesty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of the parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections. His majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which, by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of his respective kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment, the best means of jointly opposing an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies: and his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment, when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire.

I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust which his majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to contribute in the smallest degree to the success of this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction that I have had some share in averting from his majesty's dominions those dangers and calamities which have overspread so large a portion of Europe.

Protest entered in the Irish House of Lords against the Address in favour of the Union with Ireland.

1. Because, the measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the policy of which is highly questionable, and the importance of which demands the most calm, dispassionate, and deliberate examination, is persisted in and urged forward in compliment to his majesty's ministers, under circumstances which ought imperiously to have deterred us from the prosecution of it.

The moment of civil disturbance and division, when the necessity of military law is alleged by ministers and acknowledged by parliament, seems ill calculated for ensuring the full and unequivocal consent of the Irish people, without which even the supporters of the measure must confess it to be illusory and dangerous

rous in the extreme. And to commit the parliament of Great Britain to the wisdom of a project which the commons of Ireland have rejected, and to which the inhabitants of that kingdom are disinclined, appears to us a whimsical expedient for securing the connection of the two countries, and consolidating the strength of the empire.

2. Because, as no jealousy or division has existed between the two legislatures, the present dangers and discontents in Ireland cannot be attributed to the independence of parliament, but must rather be considered as the bitter fruits of a coercive system of policy, suggested by his majesty's advisers, and enforced under the sanction of the executive power with unconstitutional and wanton severity.

3. Because, though the possibility of a different will in the two separate legislatures cannot be controverted, yet possible inconveniences in remote and extreme cases from supposed legislative measures, or possible instances of additional embarrassment to the executive government, are no arguments for the subversion of a system in which no such inconveniences have been experienced, and no such difficulties encountered. For the consequences of such reasoning would lead us to consolidate into one the different branches of our own excellent constitution; to remove all the checks which the jealousy of our ancestors has imposed on the executive government; to condemn whatever theory might suppose difficult, though practice had shown it to be easy; and to substitute hypothesis and speculation for history, fact, and experience.

4. Because, the notion that a legislative union will either conciliate the affections of the discontented in Ireland, or furnish more effectual means for defeating the design of the enemy in that country, seems unsupported by reasoning, and in direct contradiction to analogy and experience. Were we to admit the beneficial consequences of a union, yet the benefits which, according to such hypothesis, are likely to result to Ireland from the measures, are, at least, progressive, and distant, and can furnish, therefore, no reasonable hope of allaying immediate discontent, suppressing actual rebellion, or defeating designs already on foot. If, indeed, the enemies of the connection endeavoured to effectuate a separation of the two kingdoms, by sowing jealousies and dissentions between the two parliaments (as was the case in Scotland, immediately previous to the union), the measure proposed would manifestly be an effectual, it might be represented as the only remedy for the evil: but if it be true that their object is to disseminate jealousy, and foment discontent, not between the distant legislatures and governments of England and Ireland, but between the people and parliament, between the governed and government of that country; and if, by representing their legislature as the corrupt agent of British ministers, and slavish engine of British tyranny, they have succeeded in alienating a large portion of his majesty's subjects; and if it be farther true, as stated in the report of the committees of secrecy of the Irish parliament, that the misrepresentations of a few individuals have been found sufficient to seduce the allegiance of one whole province in Ireland; we are indeed at a loss to conceive how the danger of such designs is to be averted, or the force of such misrepresentation

diminished, by a measure, which reduces the number of representatives of the Irish people, transfers the legal organ of their will out of the bosom of their own country, and annihilates all independent and exclusive authority in that kingdom.

An examination of the immediate consequences which the union formerly produced in Scotland, and a contemplation of the recent effects of its discussion in Ireland, suggests yet stronger reasons for doubting its efficacy either in healing discontents, or furnishing the means of resistance to any attempt of the enemy. We learn from the most authentic documents of those times, that in Scotland its agitation produced disorder and tumult; that, six years after it passed, nearly all the Scotch peers voted for its dissolution, and founded that vote on the discontents it had occasioned; that it remained for a long period a subject of sullen discontent; that a promise of its dissolution was considered by the agents of the pretender as advantageous to his cause in Scotland; and that two rebellions broke out in that kingdom, subsequent to its accomplishment.

Furthermore, from what information we have been able to procure, we observe, with the deepest concern and alarm, that its discussion in Ireland has already been attended with the most fearful symptoms. From the increased powers with which it has recently been deemed necessary to arm the executive power, we cannot but infer, that the prospect of an incorporating union has failed to conciliate the minds of the disaffected; and, from the ferment occasioned by its discussion, it is evident that all other parties in Ireland are alienated or divided, and the means of resistance, in case of insurrection or foreign invasion, thereby materially weakened.

We thought it therefore more prudent, in this moment of alarm, to desist from the prosecution of a measure, which might become a fresh subject of complaint, and a new source of discontent and division. And we were more disposed to seek for the re-establishment of mutual confidence, in the adoption of conciliatory laws, in the removal of odious disabilities, in the redress of grievances, and the operation of a milder system of policy on the affections of the Irish people, than in any experiment of theory and nominal union of governments.

5. Because, at a time when the danger of innovation has been deemed a sufficient pretext for the continuation of abuses, the suspension of improvement, and the preservation of a defective representation of the people, we cannot regard without jealousy and alarm an innovation of direct contrary tendency, viz. the introduction of a number of members into the British parliament, from a legislature, one branch of which has acknowledged the imperfection of its own constitution; and against the other branch of which the sale of peerages has been publicly alleged, and as publicly offered to be proved.

And, however invidious it might be to cite any example in confirmation of such opinion, we are not so blind to matters of notoriety, or so deaf to the lessons of experience, as not to apprehend from a measure of this nature an enormous increase of the influence of the crown; neither could we perceive, either in the present temper of the Irish people, enflamed by civil animosity, and exasperated by recent rebellion, or in the general moderation of his majesty's

majesty's present advisers, any thing to allay our apprehensions or remove our jealousies; and we were unwilling to give our consent, at a period when new burthens are every day imposed, and new sacrifices every day required of the people, to a measure which must supply additional reasons for doubting the adequacy of their representation, and suspecting the independence of parliament.

(Signed) HOLLAND.
THANET.
KING.

Provisional Treaty between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at St. Petersburgh the 29th (18th) of Dec. 1798.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity!

His majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the alliance and friendship subsisting between them, being desirous to enter into a concert of measures, such as may contribute in the most efficacious manner to oppose the successes of the French arms in the extension of the principles of anarchy, and to bring about a solid peace, together with the re-establishment of the balance of Europe, have judged it worthy their most serious consideration and earnest solicitude to endeavour, if possible, to reduce France within its former limits, as they subsisted before the revolution. They have, in consequence, agreed to conclude a provisional treaty; and for this purpose they have named as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of Great Britain, sir Charles Whitworth, K. B. his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Russia; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the chancellor prince Besborodko, a privy counsellor, director-general of the posts, senator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, of St. Anne, and grand cross of those of Saint John of Jerusalem and of St. Vladamir, of the first class; the sieur Kotschoubey, vice chancellor, privy counsellor and chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, and grand cross of that of St. Vladamir, of the second class; the sieur Kostopschin, a privy counsellor, member of the college for foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, and of that of St. Anne, of the first class; who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have concluded and agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. The two contracting powers, in the intention of inducing the king of Prussia to take an active part in the war against the common enemy, propose to employ all their endeavours to obtain that end. Immediately on his Prussian majesty's consenting to this measure, his imperial majesty of all the Russias is ready to afford him a succour of land forces, and he destines for that purpose 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, with the necessary artillery, upon the following conditions:

2. This body of troops shall be put in motion as soon as the high contracting parties shall be assured of the determination of his Prussian majesty being conformable to what has been before stated.

With regard to the further movements of this corps, and its combined operations with the Prussian troops, his majesty, the emperor of

all the Russias will arrange them with his majesty the king of Prussia, and communication shall also be made of them to his Britannic majesty, in order that, by such a concert between the high allies, the military operations against the enemy may be made with the greater success, and that the object which is proposed may the more easily be attained.

3. In order to facilitate to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias the means to take such an active part in the present war against the French, his Britannic majesty engages to furnish the pecuniary succours hereinafter specified; his imperial majesty of all the Russias nevertheless reserving to himself the right to recall the aforesaid body of troops into his own territories, if, by an unforeseen event, the whole of this pecuniary succour should not be furnished him.

4. The amount and the nature of these pecuniary succours have been fixed and regulated upon the following footing: 1st. In order to enable his imperial majesty of all the Russias to expedite, as soon as possible, and in the most convenient manner, the troops destined to be employed in favour of the good cause, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the Russian troops, in consequence of the determination of his majesty the king of Prussia, are to march, in order to co-operate with those of his said majesty, to pay for the first and the most urgent expenses, 225,000l. sterling, dividing the payments in such manner as that 75,000l. sterling should be paid as soon as those troops shall have passed the Russian frontiers; that the second payment, amounting to the said sum, should be made on the expiration of the first three months, and on the commencement of the fourth; and that the third payment, completing the sum total, should be made in like manner after three months, and on the beginning of the seventh. 2d. His majesty the king of Great Britain engages also to furnish to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias a subsidy of 75,000l. sterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the corps of troops above mentioned shall pass the Russian frontiers. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month; but being destined for the appointments and maintenance of the troops, it shall be continued during the space of twelve months, unless peace should be made sooner. 3d. The two high contracting parties, besides, shall come to an understanding before the expiration of the term of a year above specified, whether, in case the war should not be terminated, the subsidy above-mentioned shall be continued.

5. The two high contracting parties engage not to make either peace or armistice without including each other, and without concerting with each other: but if, through any unforeseen events, his Britannic majesty should be under the necessity of terminating the war, and thereby of discontinuing the payment of the subsidy, before the expiration of the twelve months above stipulated, he engages, in that case, to pay three months advance of the subsidy agreed upon of seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, reckoning from the day on which the information shall be received by the general commanding the Russian troops.

6. In like manner, if any aggression on Russia should take place, by which his majesty the emperor

emperor should be obliged to recall his army into his own dominions, the above-mentioned subsidy shall, in such case only, be paid up to the day on which the army shall re-enter the Russian frontiers.

7. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall come to an understanding with his ally his majesty the king of Prussia, respecting all the other expenses which this corps of troops and its operations may require. His Britannic majesty shall take no further share in those expenses than the sum of 37,500l sterling per month, during all the time the above mentioned troops shall be employed, by virtue of this treaty, for the common cause. That sum shall be advanced by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; but his Britannic majesty acknowledges it as a debt due by Great Britain to Russia, which he will discharge after the conclusion of a peace made by mutual agreement.

The mode and dates of the payment shall then be settled by mutual concert, according to the reciprocal convenience of the two allied powers.

8. The above-mentioned subsidies shall in this manner be considered as a sufficient succour for all expenses, including those which may be necessary for the return of the Russian army.

9. This treaty shall be considered as provisional; and its execution, as it has been stated as above, shall not take place until his majesty the king of Prussia shall be determined to turn his forces against the common enemy; but in case he should not do so, the two high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right and power to take, for the good of their affairs, and the success of the salutary end they may have in view, other measures analagous to the times and circumstances, and to agree then upon those which in such a case they shall judge to be most necessary, adopting always as a basis (in as much as it shall be compatible) the stipulations of the present treaty. His imperial majesty of all the Russias, in order nevertheless to give a still more striking proof of his sincere dispositions, and of his desire to be as much as possible useful to his allies, promises to put, during the course of the negotiation with his Prussian majesty, and even previous to its termination, the above mentioned corps of 45,000 men upon such a footing, that they may immediately be employed wherever, according to a previous concert amongst the allies, the utility of the common cause shall require.

10. The present provisional treaty shall be ratified by his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of the signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present treaty, and have affixed the seals of our arms thereto.

Done at St Petersburgh, the 29th (18th) of Dec. 1798.

(L. S.) A. P. de Bezberodko.
(L. S.) Kotschoubey.
(L. S.) Rostopsin.

(L. S) Charles Whitworth.

DECLARATION.

By the provisional treaty concluded between his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the 29th (18th) Dec. 1798, it is stipulated, that the body of 45,000 men, furnished by his said imperial majesty for the support of the common cause, should be employed in co-operating with the troops of his Prussian majesty, if that sovereign should be induced to join his forces to those of their majesties; but the endeavours which their royal and imperial majesties have employed for this purpose having been unsuccessful, and that prince persisting in his adherence to his system of neutrality; the two high contracting parties, in order to neglect nothing on their part which may contribute to the success of the good cause, have resolved that the said body of 45,000 men, originally destined to second the hostile demonstrations of Prussia against France, shall be equally employed against the common enemy in whatever other quarter their majesties may judge it to be most advantageous to their common operations.

For this purpose the plenipotentiaries of their said royal and imperial majesties have signed the present declaration, which is to be considered as forming a part of the provisional treaty above-mentioned, concluded between the two courts the 29th (18th) of December, 1798.

Done at St. Petersburgh this 29th (18th) June 1799.

(L. S.) Le Compte de KOTSCHOUBEY.

(L. S. Le Compte de ROSTOPSIN.

(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

The Convention between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. Signed at St. Petersburgh, the 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity!

His majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the friendship and the ties of intimate alliance which exist between them, and of their common and sincere co-operation in the present war against the French, having constantly in their view to use every means in their power most effectually to distress the enemy; have judged, that the expulsion of the French from the Seven United Provinces, and the deliverance of the latter from the yoke under which they have so long groaned, were objects worthy their particular consideration; and wishing at the same time to give effect, as far as possible, to a design of that importance, their said majesties have resolved to conclude with each other a convention, relative to this plan, and to the most proper means of carrying it into the most speedy execution. For this purpose they have named as their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his majesty the king of Great Britain, sir C. Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the imperial court of Russia, knight of the order of the Bath; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the count of Kotschoubey, his vice chancellor, actual privy counsellor, actual chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem, and great cross of the order of St. Vladimir of the second class; and the count of Rostopsin,

his

his actual privy counsellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, director general of the posts, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class, great chancellor and great cross of that of St. John of Jerusalem; who, after having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. 1. His majesty the king of Great Britain, thinking that the object above announced cannot be better attained than by the aid of a body of Russian troops, his imperial majesty, notwithstanding the efforts which he has already made, and the difficulties of his employing an additional body of forces to act at a distance from his dominions, has nevertheless, in consequence of his constant solicitude in favour of the good cause, consented to furnish seventeen battalions of infantry, two companies of artillery, one company of pioneers, and one squadron of hussars, making in all 17,593 men, to be destined for the said expedition to Holland. But as that number of troops, according to the plan proposed by his Britannic majesty, is not sufficient, and as it has been judged that 30,000 men would be necessary for that purpose, his said majesty will, on his side, furnish 13,000 men of English troops, or at least 8000 men, if that smaller number should be deemed sufficient, and amongst whom there shall be a proportion of cavalry sufficient for the services of such an army.

2. This corps of troops of 17,593 men, together with the necessary artillery, shall assemble at Revel, in order that they may be from thence conveyed to their destination, either in English or other vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

3. In order to enable his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to afford to the common cause this additional and efficacious succour, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages to furnish the undermentioned subsidies upon the condition that his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall have a right to recall into his dominions the above-mentioned corps of troops, if, through any unforeseen event, such subsidies should not be regularly furnished to him.

4. The amount and the nature of those pecuniary succours have been settled and regulated in the following manner: 1st. In order to enable his imperial majesty to assemble and expedite this corps as soon and as well equipped as possible, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the above-mentioned troops have reached the place of their rendezvous, that is to say, at Revel, and that it shall be declared that they are ready to embark (whether the transports be arrived or not), to pay for the first and most urgent expenses the sum of 88,000l. sterling, dividing the payments into two parts, to wit, 44,000l. sterling to be paid immediately after it shall have been declared either by the commander in chief of that corps to the English commissary, or by the minister of his imperial majesty to the minister of his Britannic majesty resident at St. Petersburgh, that the said corps is ready; and that the second payment completing the sum total of 88,000l. sterling, shall take place three months afterwards and at the commencement of the fourth. Secondly, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages,

engages, in like manner, to furnish to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias a subsidy of 44,000l. sterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the abbvementioned corps of troops shall be ready. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month, and destined for the appointments and the entertainment of the troops. It shall be continued until they shall return into Russian ports in English or other vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

5. If this corps of Russian troops should meet with difficulties in procuring, during the expedition to which it is destined, or in case of its wintering, as shall be hereafter mentioned, in England, or during the voyages it shall have to make, its necessary subsistence, by means of the measures which the Russian commanders or commissaries may take for that purpose, his Britannic majesty, upon the requisition of the minister of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, residing at his court shall furnish whatever may be necessary to the Russian troops; and an exact account shall be kept of all the provisions and other articles so delivered, in order that their value may be afterwards deducted from the subsidy, such provisions and other articles being valued at the price paid for them by his majesty for his own troops.

6. As the transport of the horses necessary for the officers, the artillery, and the baggage, would require a great many vessels, and as that arrangement would lead to many other inconveniences, and more particularly to that of a delay, prejudicial to the above-mentioned expedition, his Britannic majesty engages to furnish, at his own expense, the necessary number of horses, according to the statement which shall be delivered, and to have them conveyed to the place where the Rusian troops are to act; his said majesty will, in like manner, maintain them at his own expense during the whole time these troops shall be employed, and until they shall be re-embarked, in order to return to the ports of Russia. His Britannic majesty will then dispose of them in such a manner as he shall judge proper.

7. In case that the Russian troops, after having terminated in Holland the projected expedition, or in consequence of its being deferred through any unforeseen circumstances, should not be able to return into the ports of his imperial majesty during the favourable season, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages to receive them into his dominions, to provide them there with good quarters, and all other advantages, until the troops shall be able to return on the opening of the navigation, or shall be employed upon some other destination, which shall be previously settled between their royal and imperial majesties.

As the principal object of the employment of this corps of troops is a sudden attack to be made on Holland, by means of which his Britannic majesty hopes to produce there a favourable change; as, besides no fixed term for the continuance of the subsidies is stipulated, whilst on the other hand the said troops after their return to Russia, must be re-conducted to their ordinary quarters, mostly at a great distance; and as the marches which they will have to make will require considerable expenses, his majesty the king of Great Britain hereby engages to make good this charge by a payment of subsidies for two months, to be computed from

from the day of the arrival of those troops in Russian ports. In like manner his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, without fixing any term, reserves to himself the right of causing the said corps of troops to return into his dominions, in the spring of the next year, 1800; or if any hostile aggression upon Russia, or any other important event should render it necessary: in these two cases, the above-mentioned engagement of his Britannic majesty, concerning the payment of two months' subsidy, shall equally take place.

9. As it is understood that the expedition to Holland, which has given rise to the present convention, is to be effected in common by Russian and English troops, each party shall follow, relative to the employment and to the command of the troops, literally the treaty of defensive alliance concluded between the two high contracting parties the 7th (18th) of February, in the year 1795. In like manner, if any difficulties should arise either between the commanders of the respective forces or otherwise, which may regard the above-mentioned troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the solution of such difficulties shall be looked for in the stipulations of the said treaty of the year 1795, or likewise in that concluded with the court of Vienna the 3d (10th) of July 1792.

10. The present convention shall be ratified by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with full powers by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their names, signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 22d (11th) of June 1799.

(L. S.) Le Compte de Kotschoubey.

(L.S.) Le Compte de Rastapsin.

(L.S.) Charles Whitworth.

Separate Article.

1. Although it be stated in art. 2. of the convention concluded this day, that the corps of Russian troops forming 17,593 men, destined for the expedition to Holland, shall be conveyed to its destination in English or other vessels freighted by his majesty the king of Great Britain; nevertheless, in order so much the more to facilitate this important enterprise, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents to furnish six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, which, being armed *en flute*, will receive on board as many troops, as they shall be able to contain, whilst the remainder of the said corps shall be embarked on board of English or other transport vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

2. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias will lend these ships and frigates upon the following conditions: 1st, There shall be paid by England, upon their quitting the port of Cronstadt, in order to go to the place of rendezvous, which is Revel, the sum of 58,927l. 10s. sterling, as a subsidy for the expenses of equipment, &c. for three months, to be computed from the day, as it is above stated, of their departure from Cronstadt. 2dly, After the expiration of these three months,

month, his Britannic majesty shall continue the same subsidies, that is to say, of 19,642*l.* 10*s.* sterling a month, which shall be paid at the commencement of each month. 3dly, Independently of this pecuniary succour, his Britannic majesty shall provide for the subsistence of the crews; and the officers and sailors shall be treated on the same footing as are the English officers and sailors in time of war, and as are the Russian officers and sailors, who are at present in the squadron of his imperial majesty, which is united to the English squadron. 4thly, all these stipulations shall have full and entire effect until the return of the above-mentioned ships and frigates into Russian ports.

3. If it should happen, contrary to all expectation, that those six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, should not be able, through some unforeseen event, to return to Russia before the close of the present campaign, his Britannic majesty engages to admit them into the ports of England, where they shall receive every possible assistance, both for necessary repairs, and for the accommodation of the crews and officers.

4. As the six ships, five frigates, and two transports, above-mentioned, have been originally intended for another destination, were furnished with provisions for three months, his Britannic majesty, instead of furnishing them in kind, as it is stated in the second article, engages to pay, according to an estimate which shall be made, the value of these provisions. With regard to the officers, his majesty the king of Great Britain will adopt the same principle as has been followed until the present time, respecting the officers of the Russian squadron which is joined to the naval forces of England. That shall serve as a rule for indemnifying them for the preparations which they may have made for the campaign, such as it had been originally intended to take place.

This separate article shall be considered as forming part of the convention above-mentioned, as being inserted therein word for word; and it shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in the same manner. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their name, signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, this 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

Le Compte de KOTSCHOUBEY.
Le Compte de ROSTOPSIN.
CHARLES WHITWORTH.

Declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the Members of the German Empire.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to dispatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the United Netherlands and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire,

pire, and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe.—Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity. Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally ground him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheathe his sword before he has seen the downfal of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause, so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph. *Gatschina, Sept.* 15. (O. S.) 1799.

TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO.

Secret Articles and additional Convention of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 20th of Vendemiaire, 6th Year (Oct. 17, 1797). Published at Rastadt, April 18, 1799.

Article 1. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the under-mentioned line; and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branches off of the Nette, above Andernach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its source near Brugh. From thence the line passes by Shenscherade and Borley to Kerpen, and thence to Ludersdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of these places, along both the banks of the Olff, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer, including Heimbach, Nideggen, Duren, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as also the places on the banks, with their circles, to Limig included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern and Kylensdalen, Papelemod, Lutersforst, Rodenberg, Haversloo, Anderscheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Grosberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish to the empire no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and friendship which is restored between his majesty and the republic.

2. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire to obtain—1st. That the navigation of the Rhine from Huningen to the territory of Holland shall be free

free both to the French republic and the states of the empire, on the right bank. 2d. That the possessors of territory near the mouth of the Moselle shall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels from the Moselle into the Rhine. 3d. The French republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse, and the tolls and other imposts from Venloo to Holland shall be abolished.

3. His imperial majesty renounces for himself and his successors the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

4. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty this day signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article. This renunciation shall only be in force when the troops of his imperial majesty shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

5. The French republic will employ its influence that his imperial majesty shall receive the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the archbishopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza and Tyrol, including the town of Wasserburg on the right bank of the Inn, with an *arrondissement* of 3000 toises.

6. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basle, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without further interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

7. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent: and if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall in like manner receive an equivalent.

8. The prince of Nassau Dietz, late stadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

9. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall, however, be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

10. Should the king of Prussia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics some small parts of his territory on the left bank of the Meuse, as Sevenaer, and other possessions towards the Yessel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions shall be accepted and rendered valid by the empire.

11. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that

that the German empire will renounce all feodal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Lanigniana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Lucchese republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Cisalpine republic.

12. His imperial majesty and the French republic will in concert employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that such princes and states of the empire who, in consequence of the stipulations of the present treaty of peace, or in consequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights, particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologn, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the Duke of Wurtemberg and Teck, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Saarbruck, Salm, Korburg, Lowenstein, Westheim, and Wied-Runckel, and the count de Leyn, shall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

13. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Phillipsburg, Manheim Konigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

14. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified at the same time by the two contracting powers, which ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October 1797; 26th of Vendémiaire, in the 6th year of the French republic one and indivisible.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTÉ.
Marquis DE GALLO,
LOUIS Count COBENZEL,
Count MEERFELDT, Maj. Gen.
Count DEGELMANN.

New Constitution of the French Republic.

[An official Copy.]

CHAPTER I.

Article 1. The French republic is one and indivisible.

Its European territory is distributed into departments and communal districts.

2. Every man born and resident in France, and of the age of twenty-one years, who has inscribed his name in the civic register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the territory of the French republic, is a French citizen.

3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen, who, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and declared his intention of fixing his residence in France, has resided there for ten successive years.

4. The title of French citizen is forfeited—

By naturalisation in a foreign country.

By accepting any office or pension from a foreign government.

By affiliation with any foreign corporation,

corporation, which supposes distinctions of birth.

By condemnation to corporal or infamous punishments.

5. The exercise of the rights of a French citizen is suspended by bankruptcy, or by a total or partial succession to the property of an insolvent.

By a state of hired servitude, either attached to the service of the person or the family.

By a state of judicial interdiction, accusation, or contumacy.

6. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship, they must have been acquired by being domiciliated by a year's residence, and not forfeited by a year's absence.

7. The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting the public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the right of suffrage. From this first communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be taken.

8. The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall appoint a tenth of their number. These shall constitute a second list, called the department list, from which the public functionaries of each department shall be taken.

9. The citizens included in the departmental list shall also appoint a tenth of their number; this third list shall consist of the citizens of each department, eligible to public national functions.

10. The citizens who shall have a right of co-operating in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles shall every third year be called upon to exercise the power of replacing those who shall have died, or absented themselves for any other cause than the exercise of a public function.

11. They may also withdraw from the lists those whom they shall not judge proper to continue, and replace them by other citizens in whom they may have greater confidence.

12. No one shall be erased from the lists, otherwise than by the votes of the decisive majority of the citizens having the right of co-operating in their formation.

13. No one shall be erased from the list of those eligible to public national functions, merely because his name may have been struck out of a list of an inferior or superior degree.

14. The appointment to the list of eligibles is only necessary with regard to public functions, for which that condition is expressly required by the constitution or by the law. All the lists of the eligibles shall be formed in the course of the ninth year.

CHAPTER II.

15. The conservatory senate shall be composed of twenty-four members, of forty years of age at least, to be immoveable during life.

For the formation of the senate, there shall be nominated in the first instance sixty members; this number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the 8th year, to sixty-four in the 9th year, and shall be gradually increased to eighty by the addition of two members in each of the ten first years.

16. The nomination to the office of senator shall be by the senate, who shall make choice out of three candidates presented to them; the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

They shall only choose from two candidates,

candidates, if one of them is proposed by two of the three authorities presenting them.

17. The chief consul, upon quitting his office, either by the expiration of his functions, or by resignation, necessarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a senator.

The two other consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their seats in the senate, but are not obliged to exercise that privilege.

They lose it altogether, if they quit their consular functions by resignation.

18. A senator is always ineligible to any other public function.

19. All the lists made in the departments, by virtue of the 9th article, shall be addressed to the senate. They shall compose the national list.

20. From this list shall be elected the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, the judges of cessation, and the commissaries à la responsibilité.

21. They shall confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government; the lists of the eligibles shall be included among these acts.

22. The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, shall be liable to the expenses of the senate. The annual salary of each of its members shall be paid out of those revenues. It shall be equal to a 20th of that of the chief consul.

23. The sittings of the senate are not public.

24. Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the two consuls who are to go out of office, shall be nominated members of the conservatory senate; they shall unite with the second and third consuls nominated by the present one. These four cititizens shall appoint the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself, and proceed to the elections entrusted to its direction.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

25. No new law shall be promulgated, unless the plan shall have been proposed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body.

26. That plans which the government may repose shall be drawn up under different heads. In every case in which such plans shall be discussed, the government may withdraw them, and present them again in a modified state.

27. The tribunate is to be composed of one hundred members, of twenty-five years of age at the least; they shall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list.

28. The tribunate shall discuss the plans of every law that may be proposed: it shall vote for the adoption or rejection of them.

It shall send three orators taken from its body, by whom the motives of its vote, with respect to each of the plans, shall be stated and supported before the legislative body.

It shall refer to the senate, but for the cause of unconstitutionality only, the list of eligibles, the acts of the legislative body, and those of the government.

29. It shall express its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuses to be corrected, the ameliorations to be attempted, in every part of the public administration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunal.

The opinions it shall give, by virtue of the present article, are to be followed by no necessary conse-

quence; they compel no constituted authority to come to any deliberation.

30. When the tribunate adjourns, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, charged to convoke it, if it shall be deemed necessary.

31. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred members, of thirty years of age at the least; they shall be renewed by fifths every year. There ought always to be one citizen, at least, of each department of the republic, present.

32. A member who goes out of the legislative body cannot re-enter till after the interval of a year; but he may be immediately elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, provided he is in other respects eligible.

33. The sitting of the legislative body shall commence every year on the 1st Frimaire, and shall continue only four months; it may be extraordinarily convoked during the other eight by the government.

34. The legislative body enacts the law by determining by secret scrutiny, and without any discussion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the tribunate and the government.

35. The sittings of the tribunate, and of the legislative body, shall be public; the number of strangers in either of them not to exceed two hundred.

36. The annual salary of a tribune shall be 15,000 francs, that of a legislator 10,000 francs.

37. Every decree of the legislative body shall, on the 10th day after it shall be made, be promulgated by the chief consul, unless in the mean time it is referred to the senate, on the ground of unconstitutionality. Such reference cannot be made with regard to laws that have been promulgated.

38. The first renewal of the legislative body and of the tribunate shall not take place till the 10th year

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE GOVERNMENT.

39. The government is entrusted to three consuls appointed for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible. Each of them is to be elected individually with the distinct quality of chief, second, or third consul. The first time the third consul shall only be named for five years.

For the present time gen. Buonaparté is appointed chief consul; citizen Cambaceres, now minister of justice, second consul; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of ancients, third consul.

40. The chief consul has particular functions and attributes, which, when he is exercising, he may be temporarily supplied by one of his colleagues.

41. The chief consul is to promulgate the laws; he is to name and revoke at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, embassadors, and other foreign agents, the officers of the army by land and sea, the members of local administration and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges criminal and civil, as well as justices of peace, and the judges of cessation, without the power of afterwards revoking them.

42. In the other acts of the government, the second and third consuls are to have a consulative voice; they are to sign the register of the acts, in order to manifest that they were present; and, if they please, they may countersign their opinions; after which the determination of the chief consul shall follow.

43. The

43. The salary of the chief consul shall be 500,000 francs, for the 8th year. The salary of the other two consuls shall be equal to three-tenths of that of the first.

44. The government is to propose the laws, and to make the necessary regulations to ensure their execution.

45. The government is to direct the receipts and expenses of the state, conformable to the annual law which determines the amount of each; it shall superintend the coinage of money, of which the law alone shall order the issue, fix the value, the weight, and the impression.

46. When the government is informed of any conspiracies against the state, it may issue orders to arrest and bring before them the persons who are suspected as the authors or accomplices; but if, within ten days after such arrest, they are not set at liberty, or brought to trial, it shall be considered, on the part of the minister signing the order, as an act of arbitrary detention.

47. The government is to superintend the internal safety and external defence of the state; it is to distribute the forces by sea and land, and regulate the direction of them.

48. The national guard on duty is subject to the regulations of the public administration — The national guard not on duty is only subject to the law.

49. The government is to manage political relations abroad, to conduct negociations, to make preliminary stipulations, to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, are to be proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws.

Only the discussions and deliberations relative to these objects, as well in the tribunate as in the legislative body, are to be in a secret committee, if the government desires it.

51. The secret articles of a treaty cannot be destructive of the public articles.

52 Under the direction of the consuls, the council of the state is charged with drawing up the plans of the laws and regulations of the public administration, and to resolve such difficulties as may occur in all administrative matters.

53. It is from among the members of the council of state that the orators are to be selected, who shall be appointed to appear in the name of the government before the legislative body.

There are never to be any more than three of these orators sent to support the same plan of a law.

54. The ministers are to procure the execution of the laws, and the regulations of the public administration.

55. No act of the government can have effect till it is signed by a minister.

56. One of the ministers is specially charged with the administration of the public treasury. He is to verify the receipts, direct the application of the funds, and the payments authorised by law. He is not at liberty to pay any thing, except by virtue, first of a law, and only to the extent of the funds for defraying those expenses such law has determined upon. Secondly, by a decree of the government. Thirdly, by an order signed by a minister.

57. The detailed accounts of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public.

58. The government can only

elect or retain, as counsellors of state or ministers, such citizens whose names are inscribed in the national list.

59. The local administrations established, whether for each communal district, or for the more extended portions of territory, are subordinate to the ministers. No one can become or remain a member of these administrations, unless he is entered in one of the national lists mentioned in the 7th or 8th articles.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE TRIBUNAL.

60. Every communal arrondissement shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by citizens, for three years.

Their principal duty consists in reconciling the parties applying to them, and, in case of non-conciliation, to decide their dispute by arbitrators.

61. In civil matters there are tribunals of first instance, and tribunals of appeal. The law determines the organisation of the one and the other: their competence and territory forming the jurisdiction of each.

62. In cases of crimes, to which are annexed a corporeal or infamous punishment, a first jury admits or rejects the charge. If it be admitted, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges composing a criminal tribunal apply the punishment. The judgment is without appeal.

63. The function of public accuser to a criminal tribunal is filled by the commissioner of government.

64. The crimes which do not amount to corporeal or infamous punishment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, saving an appeal to the criminal tribunals.

65. There is for the whole republic a tribunal of cassation which pronounces on appeals against judgments in the last resort, given by the tribunals in cases referred from one tribunal to another on account of lawful suspicion, or the public safety, upon exceptions taken by the party against the whole tribunal.

66. The tribunal of cassation does not inquire into the merits, but it reverses the judgments given on proceedings in which form is violated, or which contain something contrary to the expressed law, but sends the case back to be tried on the merits by the tribunal, which has cognizance of them.

67. The judges who constitute the tribunals of first instance, and the commissioners of government established at the tribunals, are taken from the communal or departmental list.

The judges forming the tribunals of appeal, and the commissioners placed with them, are taken from the departmental list.

The judges composing the tribunal of cassation, and the commissioners belonging to that tribunal, are taken from the national list.

68. The justices, except the justices of the peace, remain in office for life, unless they should be condemned to forfeit their places, or should not be continued on the list of eligibles corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.

69. The functions of members, whether of the senate or of the legislative body, or of the tribunate, and also those of the consuls or counsellors of state, do not discharge them from responsibility.

70. Personal crimes, to which are annexed

annexed corporeal or infamous punishment, committed by a member, either of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or of the council of state, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person charged belongs has authorised such prosecution.

71. The ministers arraigned, in their private capacity, of crimes to which are annexed corporeal or infamous punishment, are considered as members of the council of state.

72. The ministers are responsible 1st, for every act of government signed by them, and declared unconstitutional by the senate; 2d, for the non-execution of the laws, and of the regulations of the public administration; 3d, for the particular orders which they have given, if these orders are contrary to the constitution, the laws, and ordinances.

73. In the several cases of the preceding article, the tribunate denounces the minister by an act on which the legislative body deliberates in ordinary form, after having heard or summoned the person denounced. The minister placed in a course of judgment is tried by a high court without appeal, or resource for a reversal.

The high court is composed of judges and jurors. The judges are chosen by the tribunal of cassation and from its bosom. The jurors are chosen from the national list; the whole according to the forms prescribed by the laws.

74. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, are prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation sends them, after having annulled their acts.

75. The agents of government, other than the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts relating to their functions, but by virtue of a decision of the council of state; in this case the prosecution is carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.

76. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum.

During the night no person has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation, or the request of the persons within.

In the day one may enter it for a special purpose, determined either by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority.

77. In order that the act which ordains the arrest of a person may be executed, it is necessary, 1st, that it express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in execution of which it is ordered; 2dly, that it issues from a functionary to whom the law has formally given that power; 3dly, that it be notified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left with him.

78. No keeper or gaoler can receive or detain any person without having first transcribed on his register the act ordering his arrest. This act must be a mandate, given in the forms prescribed by the preceding article, or a warrant for taking the body, or a decree of accusation, or a judgment.

79. Every keeper or gaoler is bound, without any order being able to dispense with it, to represent the person in his custody to the civil officer having the police of the house of detention, whenever this officer shall demand such account.

80. A representation of a person in custody shall not be refused to his parents and friends, carrying an order from the civil officer, who shall always be obliged to grant it, unless

unless the keeper or gaoler produces an order of a judge to keep the prisoner secret.

81. All those who, not being invested by the law with the power of arresting, shall give, sign, or execute the arrest of any person whatever; all those who, even in the case of arrest authorised by law, shall receive or detain the person so arrested in a place of confinement, not publicly and legally designated as such; and all keepers or gaolers who shall act contrary to the dispositions of the three preceding articles, shall be guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention.

82. All severities used in arrest, detentions, or executions, other than those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

83. Every person has a right of addressing private petitions to every constituted authority, and particularly to the tribunate.

84. The public force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate.

85. Military crimes are subjected to special tribunals, and particular forms of judgment.

86. The French nation declares, that it will grant pensions to all the military wounded in defence of their country, and also to the widows and children of such military as have died on the field of battle, or in consequence of their wounds.

87. It shall decree national rewards to the warriors who shall have rendered distinguished services in fighting for the republic.

88. A constituted body cannot deliberate except in a sitting, at which two-thirds of its members, at least, are present.

89. A national institute is charged with receiving discoveries, and perfecting the arts and sciences.

90. A committee of national compatibilité regulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts and expenses of the republic. This committee is composed of seven members, chosen by the senate from the national list.

91. The régime of the French colonies is determined by special laws.

92. In case of the revolt of an armed body, or of troubles which menace the safety of the state, the law may suspend in the places, and for the time it determines, the empire of the constitution.

This suspension may be provisionally declared in the same cases, by an arrêté of government, the legislative body not being sitting, provided this body be convened at a very short time by an article of the same arrêté.

93. The French nation declares, that in no case will it suffer the return of the French who, having abandoned their country since 1789, are not comprised in the exceptions contained in the laws against emigrants. It interdicts every new exception on this point.

The property of emigrants irrevocably belongs to the republic.

94. The French nation declares, that after a sale legally completed of national property, whatever may be its origin, the lawful purchaser cannot be dispossessed, saving the right of third persons, if such there should be, claiming to be indemnified out of the public treasury.

95. The present constitution shall be offered forthwith for the acceptance of the French people.

Done at Paris the 22d Frimaire (Dec. 13), in the 8th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

The signatures of the members of the legislative committees and consuls follow.

Public

Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 17, 1798.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for 1799.

For a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff.

To continue the act for preventing and punishing attempts to seduce persons serving in the navy or army from their allegiance.

December 20.

To continue the act enabling his majesty to accept the services of such part of the militia as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland.

December 22.

An act for raising the sum of three millions by way of annuities.

To enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the former act.

January 4, 1799.

An act for extending the time allowed for taking out certificates for using armorial bearings.

To amend the acts respecting promissory notes and bills of exchange.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act respecting merchandize on board of neutral ships, and for regulating the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

January 9.

An act to repeal the duties imposed by an act for granting aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war, and to grant certain duties upon income in lieu thereof.

To continue the act empowering his majesty to secure and detain suspected persons.

For exempting the volunteer corps from being balloted for the supplementary militia, under certain conditions.

For indemnifying those who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

To revive and continue the act for establishing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

March 7.

An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

March 21.

An act to amend the income act.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

To continue the bounties on British and Irish linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns.

Mutiny act.

For the regulation of the marines on shore.

To continue the act for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act for disallowing the bounty on sail-cloth or canvas exported to Ireland.

To revive and continue the act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns, except warehoused for exportation.

To repeal part of the provisional cavalry act.

April 10.

An act to continue the Scotch distillery act.

To

To permit ships to sail from Newfoundland without convoy.

April 19.

An act for raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For amending the game act respecting partridges.

May 10.

An act for raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For enlarging the time for the redemption of the land-tax.

For extending the time of the income-tax.

For amending three acts relative to the redemption of the land-tax.

To amend the act imposing stamp duties on attornies' indentures.

For exempting the volunteer corps and associations from being balloted for the militia, under certain conditions.

To continue the importation of rape-seed, and seal-skins, and the duties on glass.

For remedying certain defects in the law respecting offences committed upon the high seas.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers.

May 20.

An act to continue the act for securing and detaining suspected persons, until March, 1800.

For making perpetual the act to explain and amend the laws relating to the punishment of felons, as far as relates to the burning in the hand.

For making perpetual such part of the same act as relates to the lodgings of judges at country assizes.

June 13.

An act for permitting certain East-India goods to be warehoused, and for repealing the duties, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

To continue the promissory note act.

To continue the small Scotch note act.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. of the West-India islands for permitting the importation and exportation of goods in foreign bottoms.

To extend the bail given in cases of criminal information in Scotland.

To make perpetual the act for the relief of debtors.

For continuing the act for the transportation of felons, and the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

For continuing the act relating to penitentiary houses.

To continue the act for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

To explain the act relating to colliers in Scotland.

For encouraging the improvement of lands subject to the servitude of thirlage in Scotland.

To grant indemnity for penalties incurred under the tanners' act, and to repeal certain parts of the said act relating to the buying of hides.

June 21.

An act for raising 15,500,000*l.* by annuities.

To repeal the duty on Prussian yarns.

For regulating the rates of porterage in London, Westminster, and Southwark.

To amend the Scoth militia act.

July 1.

Act to grant additional duties on sugar and coffee.

For granting to his majesty 200,000*l.*

200,000 *l.* to be placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

For allowing a bounty on pilchards, and transferring the salt duties to the excise.

For regulating the salaries of the Scotch sheriffs.

To enable a person appointed to the office of baron of the exchequer to take upon himself the degree of a serjeant at law.

July 12.

Act to raise a sum by lottery.

For raising three millions.

For raising 3,500,000 *l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

For raising 3,000,000 *l.* by the same.

For repealing the salt duties, and granting others.

For postage on ship-letters.

To continue the Scotch distillery act.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer bills on the credit of the income tax.

For altering the time for making up the duties on vellum, parchment, and paper stamped.

To amend the income act.

For exempting certain public bodies from the legacy duty.

For regulating the spirit-licence act.

To repeal so much of the acts of queen Anne, &c. as puts an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the pretender and his sons.

To continue the act for farming the post-horse duty.

To regulate the importation of goods from foreign colonies in America.

For defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia.

To allow the importation of Spanish wool.

For suppressing seditious and treasonable societies.

For regulating the carrying of slaves from the coast of Africa.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen.

For purchasing the duke of Richmond's coal-duty.

An act to regulate the quarantine of the Levant trade.

To continue certain laws respecting the Greenland fishery.

To revive and continue certain laws respecting the British fisheries, and Newfoundland fishery.

For prohibiting the exportation of corn.

To regulate the East-India shipping.

To protect masters against embezzlements by their clerks or servants.

For a grant to his majesty out of the consolidated fund.

For granting certain stamp duties on bills of exchange and promissory notes.

For augmenting the judges salaries in England and Scotland.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

For reducing the militia forces, and augmenting the regulars.

To permit the importation of certain naval stores from Germany.

For recruiting the forces of the East-India company.

To enable his majesty, by order in council, to permit the importation of certain goods in neutral ships.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

CHARACTER OF THE LATE POPE, PIUS VI.

[From the first Volume of HISTORICAL and PHILOSOPHICAL MEMOIRS of PIUS the SIXTH, and his PONTIFICATE.]

"IT is, above all, in the conduct of Pius VI. in regard to the Jesuits, that the principal traits of his character are perceptible. He never cordially acquiesced in their proscription. He was sensible that the Roman pontiff had lost in them the principal support of his power; but, at the same time, that their intriguing ambition might render them formidable. During the greater part of his reign they sometimes excited his regret, and sometimes his fears. He never dared either to protect or to prosecute them openly. They were odious to the crowned heads, whose good will it was so much his interest to conciliate. They increased the irresolution to which he was naturally inclined; and often obliged him to act with duplicity, the usual attendant upon weakness. This situation, which would have been embarrassing even to a mind far more energetic than his, gave birth to such a strange inconsistency of conduct, that those who for more than twenty years had observed him narrowly, could not at the moment of his fall, flatter themselves that they were thoroughly acquainted with his character.

"Heaven forbid, however, that we should wish to paint him in too odious colours. It would be unjust, even were he still in possession of his elevated rank. It would be base, after the catastrophe which has precipitated him from it. No; Pius VI. was neither wicked nor weak; but he had several glaring defects, which could not escape the least discerning eye; and caprices which formed a striking contrast with the majestic gravity of the part he had to play. Nobody denied him several brilliant qualities, considerable capacity, an agreeable turn of mind, manners at once noble and prepossessing, an easy and florid style of elocution, as much information as could be expected in a priest imbrued with the principles of his profession, and a taste for the arts tolerably correct.

Impatient, irascible, obstinate, and susceptible of prejudices, he was, however, neither obstinately rancorous, nor premeditately malevolent. Few instances can be quoted of his sensibility; many may be adduced of his good nature. In less difficult circumstances, and with means proportioned to his views, he would perhaps have passed for a prudent sovereign. But his ruling passion was an excessive love of fame, which was the principal source of his faults and of his misfortunes. It was that love of fame, which, when not joined to a strong mind, often degenerates into puerile vanity. He would have wished to signalise his pontificate in every manner, and to associate his name with the most splendid enterprises. His vanity which was apparent in every thing drew upon him frequent mortifications. Descended from a family scarcely noble, he plumed himself, from the very beginning of his reign, upon his illustrious race. To the modest coat of arms of his ancestors, he added all the vain embellishments of blazonry; and composed an escutcheon which afforded ample room for ridicule. It is well known that the Italian people are more apt, perhaps, than any other, to lay hold of any thing ridiculous with merciless avidity. To two winds, of which the arms of his family consisted, he added an eagle, *fleurs-de-lys*, and stars. These pompous armorial bearings were cruelly criticised in the following distich:

'Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia regi,
Sidera redde polo; cætera, Braschi, tua.'

'Restore your eagle to the empire; his lilies to the king of France; and the stars to the stars, the rest, Braschi, is your own.'

His arms, and his name, were repeated a thousand times over in Rome, and in the rest of the ecclesiastical state. They are to be seen, not only upon the monuments which he erected, and upon such as he repaired, but even upon those in which he made the smallest change; and unless Rome be utterly destroyed, the name of *Pius Sextus*, thanks to his provident vanity! will descend to the latest posterity. While changing the Roman government, the French commissaries expunged it from all the profane monuments; but it still exists upon all the sacred edifices in which Pius VI. had the most remote concern. It was calculated in 1786, that this rage for availing himself of the slightest pretence for immortalising his name had already cost the treasury two hundred thousand crowns. It was this incurable vanity, rather than his piety or taste for the arts, which suggested to him the idea of constructing a sacristy by the side of St. Peter's church. He there displayed a magnificence which may dazzle at first sight, but which cannot conceal its numerous defects from the eye of the connoisseur. Good taste may indeed apply to him the famous sentence pronounced by Apelles upon the Venus of a painter of his time: *you have made her fine, because you could not make her beautiful.* In like manner the sacristy of St. Peter's, which cost more than sixteen hundred thousand Roman crowns, is overloaded with all the most gaudy decorations which architecture, sculpture, gilding, and painting, can afford; but it only appears so much the meaner when compared with the superb edifice by the side of which it stands. It is the design of *Carlo Marchionni*, an architect of inferior talents, and recalls to mind the defective school of Borromini; the style being altogether low and ignoble. Its dimen-

sions are contrary to the rules of art; and it is full of nothing but breaks, niches, and projections. The columns and the altars are, in a manner, concealed in obscure corners; and the whole is surcharged with ornaments of the most tasteless kind.

"In order to erect this monument to his glory, much rather than to that of the God whose vicar he called himself, it was necessary to pull down the temple of Venus, for which Michael Angelo had so much veneration, that he would have considered the mere idea of touching it as sacrilege.

"It may be easily conceived that Pius VI. was not sparing of inscriptions in the sacristy of St. Peter's. Over the principal entrance were inscribed these words:

"*Quod ad templi Vaticani ornamentum publicâ voti flagitabant, Pius VI, pontifex maximus, fecit perfectique anno*, &c.*

"How great must have been his mortification, when under this inscription he found the following insolent lines:

'Publica! mentiris. Non publica vota fuêre,
Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuêre tui.'

'Thou liest! the public voice was not consulted; thou followedst the dictates of thy vanity alone.'

"That motive actuated him in all his enterprizes; before his elevation to the pontificate he had possessed the abbey of Subiaco, at the distance of twenty miles from Rome. There also he displayed, in the most expensive manner, his taste for magnificence. An abbey in which he had resided, a church in which he celebrated the holy mysteries, could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. He spent considerable sums in embellishing Subiaco; and this is not one of the smallest reproaches that may be brought against his prodigality.

"A protector of the arts, more out of ostentation than taste, he connected his name with the famous museum, which constituted one of the most beautiful and most useful ornaments of the Vatican; and the kind of glory, thence resulting to his pontificate, is not altogether usurped. That glory had tempted him when he was as yet only treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber. The famous statue of Apollo Belvedère was, in a manner, exiled, with several others, in one of the court-yards of the Vatican. Braschi suggested to Clement XIV. the idea of forming on that spot a collection of ancient monuments; and, as treasurer, presided over the first rudiments of this establishment. When seated upon the pontifical throne, he added body and consistence to his brilliant project. He built round the court-yard of the Apollo vast apartments, which he ornamented with statues, busts, terms, and *bas-reliefs*; and gave to the rich collection a title which associated his name with that of his predecessor. He called it the *Museum Pium-Clementinum*. That museum gradually became one of the most valuable in Europe; Pius VI. neglecting nothing to enrich it. He claimed the right of pre-emption whenever any antique was discovered; and by thus eluding the greedy interference of the antiquaries, procured monuments of art at the first hand, and at a moderate price. There it was that his vanity provided abundantly for its own gratification. Beneath each piece of sculpture which he had acquired,

* "What the *public vote* demanded for the decoration of the church of the Vatican, Pius VI, sovereign pontiff, began and completed in the year, &c."

These words were engraved in letters of gold: *Munificentiâ Pii P. I. P. M.* Most of these monuments of art stood in a bad light, and could not be seen to advantage without the assistance of a torch, the wavering gleams of which added to their beauty, by giving them life (if it may so be said); the only thing in which some of them were defective. It was thus that connoisseurs went to admire the Ganymede, the Apollo Musagetes, the Torso, the Laocoon, and, above all, the famous Apollo Belvedere, which alone is worth a whole museum.

"Engravings and explanations of the principal works of art, thus collected, began to be published in 1783, under the auspices of Pius VI: who was much flattered by the compliment. Lewis Myris undertook the task; and the learned Visconti, who, in the first moment of the revolution, was elevated to the consulate of Rome, added to the plates a luminous commentary, which at once proves his taste, his sagacity, and his erudition. They were both, it must be confessed, powerfully seconded by the pope. The first six volumes of this work, in *folio*, had already appeared in 1792; and the seventh was ready when the political commotions in Italy began. All lovers of antiquity must regret the suspension of this undertaking; which does double honour to the pontificate of Pius VI.

"Wherever there was any thing more splendid than useful to be done, the zeal of that pontiff, and particularly his name, were sure to appear. Wishing to embellish the entrance of the Quirinal palace, where he resided during the summer season, he raised at great expense, in 1783, the obelisk which was lying upon the ground near the *Scala Santa*, and placed it between those two equestrian statues, that have given to the eminence on which the palace stands the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

"Though the erection of this obelisk was in itself a thing little meritorious, adulation made it serve as a pretence for lavishing upon the holy father, in pompous inscriptions, the most ridiculously bombastic praise. But the Roman people who were suffering a privation of the most necessary articles of life, while the treasury was exhausting itself in embellishing their city, did not partake of the enthusiasm felt by the authors of those inscriptions. A wag, who preferred food to obelisks, gave on this occasion a lesson to his holiness, by applying to him a well-known passage of the gospel. He wrote these words at the bottom of the obelisk:

'*Signore, di a questa pietra che diventi pane.*'

'Lord, command that these stones be made bread.'

"Pius VI. took pattern from him, whose vicar he was, and abstained from the miracle.

"This rage for putting his name every where, and for suffering his *munificence* to be celebrated upon the most trifling occasions, exposed him to more than one sarcasm of a similar kind. It is well known that there was no other bread made at Rome but little round loaves, weighing a few ounces, which were called *pagnotta*, and which cost two *baiocchi*, or about two French sous a piece. The price never varied; but according as corn was more or less dear, the size of the *pagnotta* was diminished or increased. At a moment of scarcity, when the administrators of provisions had been obliged

obliged to make an extraordinary reduction in the weight of the *pagnotta*, one of those innocent malcontents, who exhale all their gall in raillery, thought proper to put an exceedingly small *pagnotta* into the hand of Pasquin, and to write under the statue those pompous words, so often repeated in Rome:—MUNIFICENTIA PII SEXTI.

"Bells had a double title to his predilection. They were connected with that worship, by the pomp of which he was so much flattered; and the greater their size, the farther off did they announce the holy personage by whose orders they were set in motion. Malignity reproached him, in this particular, with more than one grave puerility. There was, in St. Peter's church at Rome, a bell which only weighed 21,244lb. He ordered it to be re-cast in the year 1783, with the addition of 400 quintals of metal. Three years afterwards he had another cast of 280 quintals, and christened it with great solemnity. Barbarous verses were afterwards engraved upon it, which attracted the admiration of the devout, and offended men of taste. It was loaded with valuable pearls, and decorated with eight dolphins, a crown, and a thousand other ornaments; but the founder's art had failed him: the bell had no sound. The wags made themselves merry at the expense of the bell, the founder, and the godfather. They voted that this abortion should be deposited either in the *Museum Pio-Clementinum*, or in the arsenal, after the example of the Abderitan sages, who were of an opinion somewhat similar in regard to a well, which was very skilfully constructed, and which wanted nothing but water.

"In general Pius VI. was not fortunate in the enterprises suggested by his vanity. The sovereigns of Rome, from the time of the emperors down to the present day, have prided themselves upon enlarging, fortifying, and embellishing the port of Ancona. The ruins of the beautiful monument erected there by the senate in honour of Trajan, still attests the beneficence of that emperor. In modern times Clement XII. is the pope who has paid the most attention to the embellishment of that port. A triumphal arch erected in honour of him, opposite to that of Trajan, and his statue in marble, are testimonies of the gratitude of its inhabitants. Pius VI. wished also to give a lustre to his pontificate, by making some addition to the works of his predecessors. The port of Ancona is indebted to him for several improvements; among others, for a light-house: but he was still more anxious to have his statue erected there than to deserve it. In 1789, while the workmen were employed on it, part of the scaffolding gave way, and killed a great number of them. This accident joined to so many others, was considered as a bad omen; and in fact Pius VI. was now approaching the era of his greatest misfortunes.

"But it was in the performance of his pontifical functions, above all, that his taste for ostentation was displayed; and that his vanity found frequent opportunities of gratification. It must be confessed, that, on these occasions, he was as much favoured by nature as by the pompous ceremonies of the Roman catholic church. He was in all respects one of the handsomest men of his time. To a very lofty stature he joined a noble and expressive set of features, and a florid complexion, which the hand of time itself seemed to spare. He contrived to wear

his pontifical habits in such a way, that they deprived him of some of his personal advantages. In every thing he did he displayed them with a self-complacency which gave great scope to ridicule. When elevated to the papacy, he had, in conformity with a custom that had grown into a law, laid aside the peruke, which he wore while cardinal. His forehead was entirely bald; but there remained behind, and on each side of his head, a ring of hair of the most brilliant white, which gave him a look at once noble and venerable. He had also one of the handsomest legs in Italy; and was not a little vain of it. Not wishing that his long pontifical robes should entirely conceal that part of his person, to the adorning of which he was always scrupulously attentive, he took great care to hold them up on one side, so that one of his legs was entirely exposed to view. This affected display of his hair and legs, so unworthy of a grave pontiff, gave occasion to the following distich, which, though bad enough in itself, serves, however, as a proof that no opportunity was lost of turning him into ridicule:

'Aspice, Roma, Pium. Pius! haud est: aspice mimum—
Luxuriante coma, luxuriante pede.

'Rome, look at Pius. He Pius, not indeed:
He is a comedian. Behold the display of his hair;
And see how vain he is of his leg.'

"Nothing, indeed, was more striking than to see him, on days of great parade, crowned with the triple diadem, arrayed in robes of the most dazzling white, which contrasted with the splendor of the Roman purple, soaring in a manner over a crowd of ecclesiastics of every rank, and seeming thereby to announce his sway over the universal church. On these solemn occasions all the members of the clergy came and adored him repeatedly, and each class in a different way. The cardinals were not permitted to kiss his hand till they had bowed down before his throne. The prelates and heads of orders bowed still more humbly, and only rose as high as his knees; while the inferior clergy remained at his feet. The allegory of the statuary, prostrate before the work of his own hands, was never better applied, than to this stupid veneration, particularly of the cardinals for the sovereign pontiff—the creature of their intrigues and of their caprices; in which not one of them, perhaps, seriously thought that he saw the work of the Holy Ghost.

"It is needless to say with what an eye of pity philosophy looks down upon this humiliating homage, paid by a multitude of reasonable beings to one of their fellow-creatures. Many spectators, however,—many even of those who were the most strongly guarded against all these vain illusions, could not help feeling a strong emotion at the sight of the pomp that surrounded St. Peter's chair, especially while it was occupied by Pius VI. The greatest magnificence accompanied him whenever he went out. A carriage, at the back of which he was seated alone in an arm chair richly ornamented, moved forward, escorted by servants on horseback, and in long clothes, driven by a coachman and postillions with their heads uncovered, rolling along majestically slow between two rows of foot soldiers, and followed by detachments of light horse and cuirassiers. It was impossible for any thing to be more striking.

"But, when he officiated in the grand ceremonies of the church, it

was

was difficult even for heretics, for free-thinkers even; to avoid feeling a sort of religious enthusiasm.

"Pius VI. like himself, was endowed with a two-fold nature. Clad in his pontifical habits, surrounded by the pomp of religious ceremonies, and employed in the distribution of celestial treasures, Pius VI. appeared to the Romans to be a god. On his return to the Vatican, he was no more in their eyes, particularly during the last years of his pontificate, than a man exposed to their murmurs, and to their sarcasms. This double sovereignty was so far singular, that the sceptre considered itself as inviolable under shelter of the keys; that the devotion of the subjects seemed to insure their obedience; and that the benedictions, the indulgences, and all the celestial favours, of which the monarchical demi-god had undertaken to be the distributor, had at once for object and result to sanctify, to overawe, and to disarm them. Accordingly nothing less than the violent hurricane of the French revolution was necessary to tear up by the roots that gigantic tree,

'De qui la tête au ciel étoit voisine,
Et dont les pieds touchoient à l'empire des morts.'

"It remains to be observed, that all these pompous mummeries, of which we have just given a few specimens, had long been an appendage of the pontifical throne; but no pope had combined, in the same degree as Pius VI. every thing necessary to insure their effect. His predecessor, much more meritorious than he in a variety of respects, was humane, affable, and generous. He possessed all the domestic virtues; but he retained under the tiara all the modesty of his former situation in life; and felt a sort of philosophical disdain for ostentation. The principal persons about him, sensible how much the parade of ceremonies added to the temporal power of the Roman Catholic church, and increased the illusion of which it stands so much in need, were vexed at Ganganelli's neglecting, with a sort of affectation, that external dignity which imposes so much upon the vulgar. The sacred charm was about to vanish. The pontiff deemed desirous of distinguishing himself only by his simplicity. Braschi, on the contrary, possessed in his manners, in his taste, and in his exterior, every thing that was capable of impressing mankind with respect. The striking contrast that existed, in that particular, between him and his predecessor, gave rise to a belief that the cardinals, in electing Pius VI. had been actuated above all by the hope that the chair of St. Peter, debased by Ganganelli, would rise again, and shine with renovated splendor. An English traveller observed, that in this they imitated the Roman senate, which sometimes chose a dictator in order to restore the ancient discipline.

"The hope of the cardinals was not deceived, at least in that respect. No pope ever displayed more pomp than Pius VI. in the performance of his functions; nor was the prevailing taste of any of his predecessors ever more favoured by circumstances. The rage for visiting Italy was become general; and had reached every country and every rank. Pius VII. had the good fortune, so dear to his vanity, of reviewing a whole crowd of great personages including

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[illegible] who while the head approached the skies, and the feet reached down to the [illegible] of the dead.

including most of the princes of Europe, of receiving their homage, and of doing the honours of his court and church in the presence of the most illustrious visitors.

"The epoch at which he was elected procured him, during the very first year of his pontificate, one of those occasions of unfrequent occurrence, on which the Romish church displays the greatest pomp, and is most lavish of spiritual treasures; we mean the jubilee, which was a real *bonne fortune* to Pius VI. It will soon be forgotten in France; but, perhaps, it is yet remembered, that there were jubilees of two kinds; the one which recurred periodically was properly called the *Holy Year*; the other was the *Jubilee of Exaltation*, and was celebrated at the accession of a new pope to a pontifical throne. The first, as being the most uncommon, was beyond comparison the most solemn.

"It was first established in 1300, by Boniface VIII. who wishing to sanctify the profane institution of the secular games of ancient Rome, conceived the idea of indicating the first year of each century as that in which heaven, more particularly propitious, would in future shower down upon the faithful a larger portion of those blessings, of which the popes called themselves the dispensers. Clement VI. was of opinion, that these periods, so favourable to the faithful, and so glorious to the Holy See, were too distant; and ordered that they should recur every fifty years. The second jubilee was therefore celebrated in 1350. Sextus V. improved still farther upon the liberality of his predecessors; and ordained that the jubilee should take place every five-and-twenty years, which has been the practice ever since.

"Clement XIV. already attacked by the lingering disease of which he died, had, in the month of April, announced the opening of the holy year in full consistory: it was reserved for another to celebrate it. Pius VI. had *that happiness* in the following year; and, but for the catastrophe which precipitated him from his throne, would probably have enjoyed it a second time.

"The jubilee of 1775, in all probability the last, was celebrated with a degree of magnificence, surpassing that of all the preceding ones. It was on this occasion, that Pius VI. gave the first proof of his taste for pompous ceremonies. One of the principal circumstances of the festival, that indeed which may be called the first act of it, is the opening of the famous *porta santa*, or sacred door. This door, which is one of those of St. Peter's church, remained constantly shut, except during the holy year. It was then opened with a parade of which Pius VI. took care not to diminish the effect. It was his office to preside over the demolition of a brick wall, that closed the entrance of the sacred door. Advancing with majestic gravity, he struck the first stroke, and instantly the wall fell to the ground under the redoubled blows of the workmen, to whom the signal had been given. The pious spectators eagerly seized upon the materials; each stone being an object of high veneration. By their contact with that which was laid four-and-twenty years before by the sacred hands of the sovereign pontiff, they had acquired the virtue of curing all sorts of diseases. According to custom, the *porta santa* remained open during all the holy year, and was the scene of the most ridiculous mummery. The pope himself did not

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pass through it without exhibiting marks of the most profound respect; while the pilgrims, disdaining the numerous passages which lead into the church of St. Peter, entered it only by crawling under the sacred door upon their hands and knees. It was shut with great solemnity at the end of the year. The pope approached, sitting upon a kind of throne, and surrounded by the cardinals; and an anthem was sung, accompanied by loud music: it was the lyre of Amphion about to rebuild the walls of Thebes. The pontiff then descended with a gold trowel in his hand; laid the first stone of the wall which was to last twenty-five years; put a little mortar upon it, and re-ascended his throne. Real masons took his place, and completed the blocking up of the sacred door, the ceremony closing with a solemn mass. Thus did the Roman Catholics lavish the august mysteries of their religion, sometimes upon the baptism of a bell, and sometimes upon the rebuilding of a wall.

"The following day the festival was continued, Pius VI. displaying in it all his great talents for acting which were hitherto but little known. He was already near sixty years of age: but his complexion still retained somewhat of the brilliant colouring of youth. The Romans accustomed to see their pontiffs bending under the weight of years, and labouring in the performance of their public functions, which were often long and fatiguing, admired the address and grace with which the new pope acquitted himself of his task. The church seemed to grow young again, and to have a right, as well as Pius VI. to expect prosperous days.

"It was shortly afterwards that the beauty of his person received an homage to which the vicars of Jesus Christ were not accustomed. While Pius VI. was passing through a street of Rome, carried along with a splendour suitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which were crowded with curious spectators. It was that of a young woman: *Quanto è bello! quanto è bello!* cried she in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman in haste to correct any thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up to heaven, *Tanto è bello quanto è santo!* It is said, that such a compliment gave Pius VI. more secret satisfaction than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the sacred college.

"We do not mean, however, that an inclination common to many of the cardinals, was ever included in the charges brought against him during the course of his long pontificate. His very enemies, if not altogether unjust, must confess that he has always been irreproachable as to purity of morals. In the early days which he passed at Rome, ambition made him seek the society of a lady of high rank, and of a very intriguing disposition, who was supposed to possess considerable influence. This was madame Falconieri, mother of the young ladys afterwards duchess of Braschi. He was indebted to her for his first success in his ecclesiastical career. But madame Falconieri, though worthy of attention as a patroness, had nothing that could make her desirable as a mistress. Braschi visited her for a short time; kept away as soon as he had obtained the only favour he expected from her; and was solely indebted for the reputation, which he acquired

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in these latter times, of being mademoiselle Falconieri's father to the ill humour of his subjects, and to his blind partiality for her after she became his niece.

"During the time that he was treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber, that is to say, from 1766 to 1773, he was remarkable for his constant application to business, for his contempt of worldly pleasures, and for the regularity of his conduct; which procured him general esteem. He did not forfeit this character during his cardinalate, which lasted only two years; and when he was seated in St. Peter's chair, excepting indeed the duplicity of which he was suspected, and which the embarrassment of circumstances seemed to render excusable, he was free from all serious reproach. Since his elevation to the papacy, his defects, which he had either concealed, or had no opportunity of developing, have excited a great deal of hatred; but calumny, which has not spared him, has scarcely ever attacked him upon the score of his morals. Gorani, is, perhaps, the only one who treats him as ill in that respect as in every other. He throws suspicions upon the motives of the affection which cardinal Ruffo manifested for him in his youth; he pretends that it was not ambition alone that led to his connexion with madame Falconieri; and he even insinuates, that gallantry was one of the principal means of his elevation to the papal throne. It is in fact of no great consequence whether these charges be founded or not. The salvation of Pius VI. may be much concerned; but his glory is very little interested in his having faithfully practised one of the first Christian virtues. It is a duty, however, that we owe to truth, to affirm, that those who have known him long, and well, never perceived any thing that could give rise to the smallest doubt as to the purity of his morals, at least from the time in which he was appointed treasurer, to the end of his pontificate. If the amorous connexions of a temporal sovereign cannot escape the vigilance of his numerous attendants, how can a pope, all whose steps and movements are counted, conceal himself from the nice observation of the consciencious, or from the keen eye of malignity, and cover his secret intrigues with an impenetrable veil? Pius VI. divided all his time between his religious duties, his closet, and the library of the Vatican. He went out very seldom, and never without company. He had no taste for a country residence, nor even for those innocent amusements which the gravest men allow themselves as a relaxation after their labours. He passed the summer season at the Quirinal palace, and the rest of the year at the Vatican. His only recreation was the visit which he paid almost every year to the Pontine marshes. Constantly taken up with serious occupations, or the duties of his office, he avoided, instead of seeking, the society of women.

"As pope, he could not then lead a more exemplary life; but as a man, and as a sovereign, he no doubt exposed himself to many and serious reproaches. An erroneous opinion had been formed of him in many respects. When rendered more conspicuous by his eminent station, he soon discovered a great ignorance of worldly affairs, particularly of politics; an obstinacy which never yielded to a direct attack; and an invincible attachment to certain prejudices, inseparable perhaps from his profession, but of which he neither suspected the inconvenience

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nor the danger. This we should have frequent opportunity of observing in the course of these memoirs. He entertained the most favourable idea of his own capacity. Rather headstrong than firm, he was constantly undoing what he had done; and this mixture of vanity and weakness was attended with too serious inconveniences. What was no more than inconsistency, and want of resolution, was taken for duplicity. Coldly affable, he never felt a real affection for any one; nor ever knew what it was completely to unbosom himself, unless when fear rendered him communicative.

"Out of the five cardinals, who were successively his secretaries of state, there was not one who could flatter himself with having enjoyed his entire confidence. He granted it, but still under certain restrictions, to Gerdyl and Antonelli, two other cardinals; consulting them solely about matters in which he thought he could derive advantage from their talents.

"Hasty, impetuous, and sometimes even passionate, he required to be curbed by fear, or soothed by affectionate language, which indicated an attachment to his interest, without hurting his pride. Cardinal de Bernis said of him, towards the end of the year 1777, 'I watch over him incessantly, as over a child of an excellent disposition; but too full of spirits, and capable of throwing itself out of the window if left a moment alone'.

"That excellent disposition was afterwards in a great measure spoiled by adulation, the possessor of power, and the want of somebody bold enough to tell him the truth, or inclined to take the trouble. Faults gradually manifested themselves that the most clear-sighted had not even suspected. His long pontificate was, besides a grievance which neither the cardinals nor the people of Rome could pardon him. In short, a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, to which he knew not how to accommodate himself, added to his improvidence and to his vanity, the principal source of his prodigality, and of his taste for brilliant, but expensive enterprises, rendered him in the end more odious than many princes who have been really wicked."

PERSONAL QUALITIES, ANECDOTES, and PRIVATE LIFE of STANISLAUS, late KING of POLAND.

[From the second Volume of MEMOIRS of the COURTS of BERLIN, DRESDEN, WARSAW, &c. by N. W. WRAXALL, Esq.]

THE character of Stanislaus is not one of those hard to penetrate, or difficult to delineate. As a man and an individual, he is certainly more amiable, more an object of attachment and respect, than when contemplated in his kingly capacity. His person, from the concurring testimony of all who knew him in his youth, was handsome, graceful, and elegant. Such, count Poniatowski, doubtless appeared in the eyes of Catharine the Second, when he first arrived at Petersburg. But the graces of that period of his life are fled; and within

within the last three or four years he is become too lusty, though it would be unjust to say even now that he is at all corpulent. He is of a middle stature, well proportioned, and of a manly figure. His face is open, pleasing, and interesting; the features bold and strongly marked, particularly his nose and chin. Stanislaus's complexion is pale, and he wears his own hair, which is of a deep colour, approaching to black. There is said to be in his cast of countenance something pensive and melancholy. At first sight, I confess, this expression did not strike me; but the oftener I have had opportunities of seeing and studying him, the more visible it becomes; in profile it is particularly apparent. I believe, however, that it is more the result of his actual situation, his past calamities, and his future prospects, than natural and congenial to him. In fact, whether he casts his view backwards, or directs it forward to the final destiny that awaits him, how vast a train of awful and painful reflexions must necessarily open upon his mind! I have sometimes seen him stand in a thoughtful attitude, musing, silent, and, as I could fancy, occupied in considering his future fate. It is impossible not to feel for him, at such moments, a more than common interest.

"The king of Poland does not particularly excel in any of the exercises of the body; and though he rides pretty well, he scarcely ever hunts. He still dances the Poloneze dances, but he has left off every other kind, above two years. In music he has no taste, nor does he posses even a moderate ear. A circumstance more singular is, that he never plays at cards. Neither his majesty, nor any of the Poniatowski family were ever able to learn the common games of cards, so as to attain in them a tolerable degree of perfection. He is a lover and a patron of all the fine arts; but in paintings he has great judgment, and has collected some few valuable pieces of the first masters. No prince was ever more gracious, easy, and affable in his manners, and address, which is the result of natural disposition, not the effect of artifice. His conversation is pleasing, and frequently displays, without the smallest affectation, extensive reading. Few individuals speak so fluently or gracefully the principal European languages. Scarcely any sovereign has travelled so much as Stanislaus; those who have known him in the different characters of a private gentleman and a king, are universally attached to him; and his elevation to a throne has not deprived him of the friends, whom he had acquired when count Poniatowski.

"If, after considering him as a man, we view him as a monarch, he appears to sink in our estimation; he is amiable, not great; engaging, but not imposing. Deficient in the strong powers of discernment, as well as in the vigour of mind which his situation demanded, he is not calculated to stem, and still less to direct the storm by which he has been assailed. He may be said rather to posses a lively and pleasing, than a solemn and penetrating understanding. The facility of his nature exposes him to deception; and the flexibility of his temper is abused by favourites, who acquire and retain an ascendency over him. Adulation under every form, finds too easy an access; peculiarly when, aided by female attractions, it assumes the mask of affectation. The persons who surround him, availing themselves of this

this feible, frequently obtain by importunity the recompence due only to merit. One of his Polish majesty's weaknesses, which is flattered with the greatest success, is his supposed resemblance, in the leading features of his mind and body, to Henry the Fourth of France. The personal similarity is much more imaginary than real; but as his forehead, nose and chin, are bold and prominent, like those of the king of Navarre, there is sufficient on which for courtiers to found a likeness. His gallantries, his affability, his clemency, his ascending from a private station to a throne; and lastly, his having, like Henry, escaped from assassination: all these circumstances are enumerated and insisted on as striking proofs of a resemblance between the French and the Polish sovereign. Unfortunately the parallel fails in more essential articles of character; in wisdom, firmness, heroic valour, discernment, and above all in frugality.

"It is believed that Stanislaus is by no means deficient in personal courage, though he has never seen service, nor can be supposed to possess the qualifications of a man educated in military habits. He very frequently wears an uniform, and reviews from time to time, like other princes, his guards and troops. But his talents are more calculated for the calm, than the tempest; for the labour of the cabinet, than the exertions of the field. He passes much of his time, shut up in his apartments, occupied in writing, and engaged in business of various kinds. To these employments he seems adapted; for he dictates, or composes, not only with ease, but with elegance; and his eloquence, when he harangues, is at once touching, copious, and persuasive. So conscious is Stanislaus of his being unequal to, and unfit for his situation, that he has said to Mr. Wroughton, more than once, 'Mon ami, je sens que je ne suis pas à ma place: j'aurois dû être chancelier, et non pas roi.'

"The greatest defect of his character, public and private, is the want of economy. His liberality of disposition, which degenerates into prodigality, involves him in continual pecuniary difficulties, and though his revenues are ample, he is nevertheless poor. As some compensation for the loss of power, and the diminution of prerogative, the Russians after the late dismemberment of Poland, increased his privy salary from the state. His majesty's clear annual receipt, at this time, does not fall short of two hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling. All the great officers of the crown are moreover paid, not by him, but by the republic. Yet, with so princely an income, he has no treasure, no fund for future exigencies; and scarcely can he find wherewithal to maintain his dignity, or to support his household. As there is neither order nor system in his expenses, he is devoured by his family, and impoverished by his mistresses and attendants. Count Rzewuski, 'Maréchal de la Cour,' who has the direction of the privy purse, allows the king about eighteen hundred pounds sterling a month for his ordinary expenditure. This sum, which ought to be adequate to all his wants, is nevertheless insufficient, because it is not managed with prudence, nor superintended by a judicious frugality.

"Stanislaus, at every period of his life, has been remarkable for his gallantry. The graces of his person, which opened him a way to the throne of Poland, rendered him early acceptable to the other sex.

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They continue to retain too great an ascendant over him, and they have completed the destruction of his finances. He still nourishes the wish to be beloved, and women are not wanting to avail themselves of his weakness. Under professions of disinterested passion, they obtain from him more than they could gain by the sale of their beauty. Yet his Polish majesty is approaching fast to the age when men cease to be objects of real attachment, and are usually the dupes of interested love. Perhaps the king does not sufficiently attend to this law of nature, from which he is not more exempt than others.

"On the subject of his amours, which have been numerous and almost indiscriminate, I shall say little: for many reasons they are better consigned to oblivion. But Stanislaus, though naturally inconstant and changeable, is yet capable of a lasting passion. After his election to the crown, he became attached to the princess C — a, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of Poland. Their attachment was so far from being private or mysterious, that on the contrary all Warsaw witnessed it. During a considerable time she reigned in his heart without a rival; till, confiding implicitly in her fondness, he ventured at length to treat her with neglect. Indignant at such usage, in a moment of resentment, when he least expected it, she broke with him, and attached herself to prince Repnin, the Russian embassador. It was in vain that Stanislaus attempted to mollify her, or to awaken her former passion: she shut her door against him, refused to admit him to her presence, and would never listen to any overtures of reconciliation. He was inconsolable for a long time, and even abandoned himself, when in private, to the most immoderate transports of grief or dejection.

"The king has no natural children avowed as such, nor has he any, male or female, since his elevation to the throne; but when count Poniatowski, he had two by a woman of very inferior condition. They are both absolutely disowned, and educated in obscurity. He continues to lead however a life which may be termed libertine and dissolute, more especially at forty-six years of age, when youth can be no longer pleaded in extenuation. Two females divide his time, and occupy his heart at this moment: the first, madam T——s, an Italian, though now in her wane, is extremely beautiful. The other, the countess G——a, is more elegant, feminine, and pleasing. In return for the favours which they bestow on him, they drain his purse; and contribute neither to render him more respectable, nor probably in fact more happy.

"His Polish majesty has two brothers, and as many sisters alive. prince Casimir Poniatowski, the eldest, who is near eleven years older than the king, unfortunately resembles him in the parts of character which are by no means models for imitation. His dissipations and his profusions have reduced him to the necessity of alienating the high post of 'Great Chamberlain of the Crown,' and have rendered him dependent on the king for his principal support. Prince Poniatowski has one son, named Stanislaus, who is at this time near five-and-twenty, and who at least cannot be accused of following the example either of his father or his uncle: extravagance is by no means his fault, or his characteristic. Should the crown of Poland be continued in the family

mily of Poniatowski, it is on him that the empress of Russia will probably cause it to devolve, whenever it may become vacant. He certainly entertains hopes of ascending the throne; and with a view of facilitating so great an object of ambition, he has been not long since in the court of Petersburg. All circumstances considered, it is however very improbable that these visions of royalty will ever be realised, or that the sceptre will be perpetuated in the collateral descendants of the reigning sovereign.

"A dark cloud overspreads the evening of Stanislaus's life and reign; he feels its pressure, and sometimes gives vent to the agitations of his mind, on the tender subject of his future prospects. Many times has he predicted to Mr. Wroughton, that his end will be disastrous and violent. Not long ago, grasping the English envoy's hand, 'Ah, 'mon ami!' said he, 'je suis réservé 'pour des nouveaux et des grands 'malheurs. Je mourrai comme 'Charles Premier d'Angleterre.' Such predictions, it is evident, are merely the apprehensions of a man, who sees the precarious tenure by which he holds his crown; who is surrounded by enemies domestic as well as foreign; and who anticipates as certain dangers which are only contingents. Yet we must confess that there is too much reason to tremble for the fate of Stanislaus. The tempests which at present seem overblown, will probably wake again, and may finally overturn both the sovereign and the republic of Poland."

CHARACTER and ANECDOTES of PRINCE KAUNITZ, First Minister of Maria Theresa.

[From the second Volume of Wraxall's Memoirs.]

"In 1754, at forty-three years of age, prince Kaunitz having supplanted his predecessor count Ulhfeldt, was constituted minister for foreign affairs. The great war, commonly called in Germany, 'the 'War of Seven Years,' broke out soon afterwards. For a century and a half, the house of Bourbon had been the inveterate enemy of every emperor, from Ferdinand the Second, down to Charles the Sixth: while England, from the accession of William the Third, almost invariably sustained the Austrian interests. To the active interposition and assistance of the cabinet of London, aided by the enthusiasm of the people, Maria Theresa herself, when attacked by France and Bavaria, at the beginning of her reign, was not a little indebted for her preservation. Prince Kaunitz, nevertheless, undertook, in defiance of every impediment, to unite the courts of Vienna and Versailles: he succeeded in the attempt, and concluded in 1756 the celebrated treaty, which still continues to connect them. It is not unworthy of remark, that in the lapse of two centuries, no matrimonial alliance had ever taken place between the Imperial branch of the Austrian family, and that of Bourbon; Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second, who was the last instance, having been mar-

ried to Charles the Ninth of France, as long ago as 1570. The archduchess Maria Antonietta, by her union with Louis the Sixteenth, only eight years since, in 1770, formed the cement of this new system, which seems likely to remain unshaken, at least during the life of the present minister. At the moment that I am writing, the French ambassador, who acts openly as mediator on the part of Austria, is about to appear in that character, at the approaching conferences for peace. We may nevertheless reasonably doubt, whether the affected interposition of France in favour of her ancient rival is not more ostensible than real; and whether the cabinet of Versailles, far from wishing to extricate, does not secretly enjoy the embarrassments of its Imperial ally. How can France, in fact, sincerely desire the aggrandisement of the house of Austria? Prince Kaunitz himself, though the original author of the present system of alliance, yet appears to feel how inefficacious it must ever prove, in uniting or blending the interest of the two states. On a variety of occasions, he has manifested far more consideration for the English nation, than for the French.

"It is difficult to conceive any ascendant more confirmed, or any influence more imperious, than prince Kaunitz's over the empress: a circumstance, the singularity of which is increased, when we reflect that she is neither a weak, nor an indolent woman. In order to attain to such a height of power, we are naturally led to suppose, that besides his superior abilities for government, he has not been negligent of the arts which conciliate royal favour. That he does not maintain himself in his present elevation, by any such complisances or attentions, is, however, certain. Never did any minister appear to sacrifice so little either to the prejudices, or even to the wishes and requests of his sovereign. He treats with equal indifference the testimonies of her partiality, or of her resentment. Far from desiring to see her frequently, it is an act of compliance when he visits her. His palace in Vienna is contiguous to that of the empress, and not a hundred paces from her very chamber. He is not ignorant of the pleasure which she would receive from seeing and conversing with him on matters of public business; yet, in defiance, or in neglect of her repeated messages, he rarely visits her except on particular occasions, more than once in twelve days or a fortnight. Every thing is transacted between them by correspondence.

"As if the refusal to gratify her reasonable demands, were not a sufficient proof of his ascendancy over her, he shocks her very prejudices. Nay, in more than one instance, Maria Theresa has descended to acts of complaisance, and almost of personal humiliation, in favour of her minister, which I hardly can venture to mention, from their incredibility. Prince Kaunitz, till within the last few years, was not only attached to women, but gave himself no trouble to conceal his irregularities. On the contrary, it seemed as if he wished to render them public and notorious. Actresses, dancers, and opera-girls of distinguished beauty or accomplishments, lived under his immediate protection. The Gabrielli, who has been so celebrated, from Palermo to Petersburg; the Folazzi, and various other Italians, known either by the charms of their voice or their person, have successively shared the Austrian minister's affection. It is a fact, that when he has gone to wait on the empress, he has

has carried his mistress in the carriage with him to the gate of the palace; and that she has remained in the coach, while he went to transact business with her majesty, from whose presence he immediately returned to her.

"That a dissolute, or a libertine princess should, from considerations of policy, overlook and pardon such trespasses against decorum, would excite no surprise. But, that a sovereign, who, rigidly virtuous in her own conduct, severely represses all infractions of morality in others, should nevertheless permit her first minister with impunity to commit such irregularities, appears a sort of paradox. The greatest subject in rank throughout the Austrian dominions, who, encouraged by the precedent, were to attempt the same thing, would soon repent his temerity. Even prince Kaunitz himself, I am assured, has been many times on the point of receiving his dismission from all his offices; more, however, on account of the obstinacy with which he has refused to obey the empress's commands, than from her resentment at his conduct in other respects. In vain would any future minister attempt a similar experiment: his disgrace and ruin would be the infallible consequence. Not only the present minister's talents and services plead for him. Long prescription and habit have made his very weaknesses respectable in Maria Theresa's eyes. They have grown old together, have shared the same dangers, weathered the same storms, and are now too intimately acquainted with each other's failings, as well as virtues, to separate in the evening of life. These causes sufficiently account for his present power, and probably secure his future authority against all attack. No man here looks forward to a change of administration, except by the death of the actual possessor. In case of such an event, either prince Staremberg, who now governs the Low Countries, or count Cobenzel, lately returned from Berlin, where he was envoy, are regarded as likely to succeed. The latter of those ministers is about to assume an important part, in the approaching negotiations for peace between Austria and Prussia.

"Against the event to which I have alluded, as the only one capable of causing an alteration in the councils of the empress, prince Kaunitz takes every possible precaution. No man ever dreaded dissolution more, and age does not seem to have in any measure reconciled him to its approach. All his exertions systematically tend to prolong his life, and his powers of enjoyment, or of gratification. He neglects no means of protracting the term of his existence, which ingenuity can devise, or wisdom can suggest. At table, though he eats very plentifully, he no longer commits any excess; and in order to maintain his health, while he procures an appetite, he never fails to ride in the manège for a considerable time, every day. A variety of horses brought from all parts of Europe, which he mounts by turns, and manages with no little force as well as address, considering his age, equally contribute to amuse, and to invigorate him. He has long since renounced every other pleasure incompatible with his great object, the preservation of life. These attentions would be laudable, or at least excusable, if he had not the weakness to fear and to deprecate death, more than a wise man, who knows the uncertain tenure of mortality, can be justified in doing. His apprehensions are so puerile,

and so well known, that no person even mentions death in his presence; a circumstance of which strangers are soon apprised, after their arrival at Vienna. Above all, he dreads the small-pox; a disease which he has never had, and against which he is continually on his guard. Unless some unexpected accident should shorten his career, he certainly bids fair to attain the age of cardinal Fleury; and like him, to govern with almost unlimited authority, long after the period when men are usually incapacitated, or indisposed by infirmities, for active exertion.

"Never, perhaps, did a first minister request so few and receive so many favours from his sovereign, as prince Kaunitz. I know from indisputable authority, that the empress confers, absolutely unasked and unsolicited, almost every gratification or emolument, which is possessed by himself and the other branches of his family. The eldest of his four sons, count Ernest, is employed in a civil capacity at home, and has been honoured with the order of the 'Golden Fleece.' Two of the others, Dominick and Joseph, are foreign ministers, one at Madrid, the other at Petersburg. But, the prince their father is not supposed to be rich; an incontestable proof that his administration has been more directed to public objects, than to the accumulation of private wealth. Those persons who most severely criticise, or reprobate his system of policy, (and many such are to be found here), yet admit his superiority to every sordid or mercenary consideration. So inattentive is he even to the interests of his own children, that they have themselves frequently reproached him with indifference, or with want of exertion on that head. It is difficult to ascertain whether this inattention arises most from genuine disinterestedness, from carelessness of temper, or from a high spirit of independence; perhaps from a combination of all those qualities. His appointments, as chancellor of state, and minister for foreign affairs, though considered as ample here, are far inferior to the salary enjoyed by a first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer with us, when those offices are united in the same person. Including the allowance for his table, they do not exceed forty thousand florins, or about four thousand pounds sterling a year. The difference in the value of money, and in the price of the essential articles of ordinary consumption, must, it is true, be allowed greatly in favour of Vienna. But prince Kaunitz sits down regularly to a table of sixteen or eighteen covers, every day; while an English minister is not compelled to any such expence.

"In his person, prince Kaunitz is tall, thin, and well-made, though destitute of elegance or grace. If his face has not been handsome, it is nevertheless a countenance, in which are stamped the strong characters of sense and intelligence. His manners are stiff; yet, there is in them something characteristic and peculiar, which, while it forcibly attracts attention, by no means disgusts or displeases. He usually dresses with simplicity; but, on particular occasions, I have seen him magnificently habited. The 'Toison d'Or,' ornamented with brilliants, he never fails to wear on his breast. He has likewise received the order of 'St. Stephen,' instituted by Maria Theresa in 1764; and he enjoys the particular privilege of wearing the star in diamonds, which the sumptuary laws here forbid to every

every other subject. The letter, or rather note, written to him by the empress, when she conferred on him this mark of distinction, is in a style so different from the ordinary one of princes, and bespeaks so much sensibility, that I cannot resist inserting it here. It was addressed to prince Kaunitz near thirteen years ago, on the marriage of the archduchess Christiana to prince Albert of Saxony, in April, 1766. The person who gave it me, copied it from the original; and I prefer it to any of the brilliant and studied letters of Frederic, which are circulated and read with such admiration all over Germany.

'Ce n'est pas seulement par dispense de Grand Maître, mais par 'distinction, que vous pouvez porter la Croix de l'Ordre de St. Etienne, en diamans. Vous avez 'tant contribué à l'illustrer, que je 'saisis avec avidité cette occasion 'si chère à mon cœur, de vous témoigner ma reconnoissance, qui 'vous est due depuis long-temps, 'et qui ne finira qu'avec ma vie.

'MARIE THERESE.'

"After the careless or independent manner in which prince Kaunitz behaves towards the empress, it cannot excite surprise that he treats his equals and inferiors with still greater marks of contemptuous unconcern. Towards the nobility at large of both sexes, as well as towards the ministers of foreign courts, he hardly observes any measures of decorum. Far from accosting them when they enter his drawing-room, or as they surround his billiard table, he frequently turns his back on them at the moment when they are about to pay him their court, or when they are desirous of entering into conversation with him. If the French ambassador is exempted from so humiliating a treatment, he owes it purely to the necessity that prince Kaunitz feels, of managing in some measure the representative of a powerful court, which has connected itself by ties of marriage and of policy with Austria. But the presence of monsieur de Breteuil imposes on him no restraint whatsoever. In company with the first persons of both sexes, at his own table, he does not hesitate every day after dinner, to pass at least a quarter of an hour in the disgusting occupation of cleaning his teeth, which he performs in all the minute ceremonies of the toilet. Perhaps such an insult to decency and to good breeding never was committed in any civilised country. Certainly it is not known elsewhere; and it would have excited astonishment, mixed with aversion, if it had been practised by Charles the Twelfth himself; who, though he was accustomed to spread his butter with his thumbs, yet never violated wantonly the rules of civility towards ladies. I have been present frequently at the scene to which I allude, in company with the most distinguished men and women in Vienna, Austrians as well as foreigners. It is difficult to push contempt for all the forms of polished society to a greater length.

"The Austrian first minister rises very late, usually at, or nearly about noon; but he transacts public business in bed during the whole morning, where his secretaries attend for that purpose. At one o'clock he takes chocolate. His hour of dinner is uncertain, varying capriciously from four o'clock, to five, six, and seven in the evening; in consequence of which want of punctuality, all who are able have running footmen stationed in the prince's antichamber, to bring them intimation when he is about to appear.

If he accepts an invitation to dine with any person, however high his rank, it is only on condition that the wine, bread, and even the water, be sent from his own house. The principal dishes must likewise be dressed by his cook; stipulations, which, however humiliating, are never refused by those who aspire to the honour of entertaining him. No crowned head in Europe, I believe, exacts similar marks of deference from his courtiers; nor could Louis the Fourteenth have experienced greater proofs of servile respect, when he condescended to visit his favourite ministers or subjects. Naturally chearful, and disposed to the pleasures of society, prince Kaunitz nevertheless unbends at table. He converses well on almost all topics, reasons with accuracy, and has a vast command of expression. Italian, French, and German, he speaks with no less ease than fluency; but French is the language which he usually talks in company, as being most generally understood. It is indeed rare to hear him utter a word in German: for which, like his Prussian Majesty, he does not seem to entertain any predilection. To Italians, of whom there are always many in the court of Vienna, he never fails to address himself in Italian, if they do not possess French in perfection.

"His favourite topics of debate or of conversation, are horses, mechanics, and carriages. It is scarcely possible to be a greater connoisseur than he on these subjects; and whenever any of them are mentioned, he harangues with no less perspicuity than information. On politics he rarely or never touches; but on historical points he is easily led out, and displays, without affectation, a very extensive acquaintance with all the great events of modern Europe. If not a man of shining talents, he is unquestionably possessed of great enlargement of mind, much application, and sound judgment, matured by the most perfect acquaintance with all the financial and military resources of the house of Austria. Endowed with uncommon penetration, he seizes with facility the difficulties of any affair; and never was a head better organised, nor more capable of uniting precision with dispatch, in the transaction of public business.

"The wisdom of his policy in forming an alliance with France, though the feature in his administration, of which, above all others, he is peculiarly vain, may yet be accounted very problematical; and time alone can affix to it the indelible stamp of excellence, or of error. If opinions are divided respecting that measure, they are not so relative to the partition of Poland, in consenting to which he committed an irreparable fault, never to be sufficiently condemned. Quitting the path of justice and of honour, he stooped to divide with two other rival powers the plunder of a defenceless nation, whom in policy he ought to have protected and supported against every invader. Caught in the toils spread for him by Frederic, a dupe to his own vanity, and desirous by whatever means to augment the Austrian dominions, he doubtless already feels, though he may not avow, the pernicious consequences of so short-sighted a policy. Prussia alone was a real gainer by that dark transaction, where the superior genius of Frederic achieved more in the cabinet than he had previously done in the field; in which Austria was completely over-reached; and to which Russia was only a reluctant, as well as an involuntary party. It

constitutes

constitutes the greatest blot in Kaunitz's political character, and will probably be still more reprobated by posterity than by the present age.

"His pleasures, at a period of life so advanced, can neither be very numerous nor extremely varied. He is fond of music, and likes theatrical entertainments, though he seldom attends them. I have seen him delighted with the 'Ombres 'Chinoises,' when exhibited in a private room, before a select company. At cards he never plays; but during the greater part of every evening, he amuses himself at billiards in his own drawing-room. One of his passions through life has been architecture, practical as well as theoretical; and it is pretended, that he has not a little impaired his fortune by indulging this propensity. Certainly he has thrown away immense sums; I am told, near a million of florins, or full a hundred thousand pounds, between his house in the suburbs of Vienna, and his seat at Austerlitz in Moravia. Neither of them are yet completed, and he is perpetually pulling down, altering and repairing. If there is not great exaggeration in these assertions, they will explain the reason, why, after such a long possession of power, he has amassed little wealth for his family. Indeed, it would be difficult otherwise to account for it, since he is not generous; at least not from constitution, though he knows how to affect liberality on proper occasions.

"Prince Kaunitz is a good catholic, but has not any tincture of bigotry or superstition. I believe he rarely, if ever confesses: I know that he never attends, nor hears mass performed, except on Sundays; and, then only for ten minutes, not publicly, but in his own house. Superior to the temptation or love of gold, he is not less exempt from any spirit of vengeance. The natural elevation of his mind raises him above court-cabal, and little ministerial intrigue. An enemy to every species of constraint, the freedom which he exercises himself he extends to those about him; yet the consciousness of his dignity never forsakes him for a moment. I have seen him in his own drawing room as unconcerned, and as attentive to every point of his game at billiards, while the emperor stood on one side of him, and the archduke Maximilian on the other, as though they had been both private individuals of no consequence. He is an actor, and he never appeared to me to play his part so well as on those occasions. Towards men of genius, artists, and persons distinguished in every line of letters or of science, he is affable and polite to a high degree. Gluck not only dines frequently at his table, but I have known the prince address his discourse to him during the whole repast, in a manner the most flattering, while he has not condescended to notice the first nobility of Vienna seated near him. In this part of his character, he stands widely opposed to the Austrian men of rank, who retain many of the feudal prejudices of their ancestors, and rarely open their houses to men of merit or talents, unconnected with the advantages of birth.

"If flexibility is not to be reckoned among the qualities of prince Kaunitz, as little likewise is dissimulation. It forms an instance, rare in the history of the world, and more peculiarly of courts, that a man of such a cast, though his abilities may be ever so eminent, should have attained to power, and have preserved it for so many years.

Far from concealing his sentiments, even on points the most delicate, as well as personal, he has always expressed himself with boldness. Nothing is better known than his dislike, I might almost say his aversion, for the present emperor, when he was successively archduke and king of the Romans, before his father's death. The prince never mentioned his character, conduct, or understanding, except with marks of disapprobation. Even after Joseph's accession to the imperial dignity, he did not alter his language. 'The 'emperor,' said he more than once, 'fears *me*, and I dislike *him*.' As a protector of the fine arts, and particularly of music, Kaunitz was deeply hurt at the 'Ordonnance' which produced the ruin of the Italian opera. The spirit of innovation and reform, characteristic of all Joseph's regulations, by no means suited the taste of the minister. 'Je 'ne vois,' said he, 'que des défenses 'de tous côtés.' At that time his imperial majesty never visited nor conversed with him: on the contrary, he held prince Kaunitz in detestation.

"Insensibly, however, their mutual alienation has not only ceased, but has been succeeded by apparent attachment, esteem, and confidence. Those sentiments can scarcely be carried to a higher pitch of reciprocal deference and respect, than at the present moment. How far views of policy or interests on either side have conduced to operate so total a change, it is impossible to ascertain. Joseph, who is unquestionably a master of dissimulation, may only wait for the proper moment in which to manifest his real sentiments; but people here are universally convinced, that no reconciliation was ever more complete. He seems to be never satisfied with giving the prince the most flattering testimonies of consideration and personal regard. During the course of the two last winters, not content with presenting himself at the drawing-room of the first minister, as one of the company, Joseph has often visited him in his bedchamber, in order to converse with him at more ease, on every subject of public import. These interviews have been conducted without ceremony or attendants, and frequently without any previous intimation on the part of the emperor."

PRINCIPAL FEATURES of the EARL of SANDWICH, as a PEER of PARLIAMENT, and in his private CHARACTER.

[From the MEMOIRS of the Noble AUTHOR'S LIFE, prefixed to a Voyage performed by the late EARL of SANDWICH, round the Mediterranean, in the Years 1738, and 1739, written by Himself.]

"THE earl of Sandwich was rather to be considered as an able and intelligent speaker, than a brilliant and eloquent orator. In his early parliamentary career, he displayed uncommon knowledge of the sort of composition adapted to make an impression on a popular assembly; and from a happy choice of words, and a judicious arrangement of his argument, he seldom spoke without producing a sensible effect on the mind of every impartial auditor. In the latter part of his political

litical life, and especially during the American war, his harangues were less remarkable for their grace and ornament, than for sound sense, and the valuable and appropriate information which they communicated. His speeches therefore were regarded as the lessons of experience and wisdom. He was never ambitious of obtruding himself upon the house. He had a peculiar delicacy of forbearance, arising from a sense of propriety; which, if more generally practised, would tend very much to expedite the public business by compressing the debates, now usually drawn out to an immeasureable and tiresome length, within more reasonable bounds. If, after having prepared himself on any important question, when he rose in the house any other lord, first caught the chancellor's eye, he sat down with the most accommodating patience; and, if the lord, who spoke before him, anticipated the sentiments which he meant to offer, he either did not speak at all, or only spoke to such points as had not been adverted to by the preceding speaker. Whenever therefore he rose, the house was assured that he had something material to communicate: he was accordingly listened to with attention, and seldom sat down without furnishing their lordships with facts at once important and interesting; of which no other peer was so perfectly master as himself. During the period of the American war he was frequently attacked in both houses for his official conduct or imputed malversation. When any such attempts were made in the house of peers, he heard his accusers with patience, and with equal temper as firmness refuted their allegations, exposing their fallacy or their falsehood. On all such occasions, he met his opponents fairly and openly, in some instances concurring in their motions for papers, which his adversaries imagined would prove him a negligent minister; in others resisting their object, by showing the inexpediency or the impolicy of complying with their requests. In the parliamentary contest, to which the unfortunate events of the American war gave rise, he is to be found more than once rising in reply to the late earl of Chatham, whose extraordinary powers of eloquence inspired sufficient awe to silence and intimidate even lords of acknowledged ability. Lord Sandwich in such cases never suffered himself to be dazzled by the splendour of oratorical talents; or ever spoke without affording proof that his reply was necessary and adequate. In fact, his lordship never rose without first satisfying himself that the speaker he meant to reply to was in error; and that a plain statement of the facts in question would dissipate the delusion, and afford conviction to the house. By this judicious conduct his lordship secured the respect of those whom he addressed, and commanded at all times an attentive hearing.

"It now only remains to give some traits of lord Sandwich's private character. The editor could dwell with fondness and enlarge with pleasure on this part of his subject; but he must content himself with delineating some of the principal features; and he writes with the greater ease and freedom, as he can from his own personal knowledge vouch for the truth of every thing which he asserts.

"The earl of Sandwich was one of the few noblemen who spend a considerable portion of their time at their country seats; where he usually resided whenever he could gain a re-

a vacation from the duties of office, and attendance on parliament. His house was at all times open for the reception of his friends and neighbours, and distinguished for the generous, truly hospitable, and liberal entertainment which it afforded; the noble host himself always making the most pleasing part of it, inspiring, by the easy politeness of his address, his affability and engaging manners, and the charms of his conversation, universal cheerfulness and good humour amongst his guests, equally endearing himself to all ranks and conditions. The mind of lord Sandwich was uncommonly active, and never rested from exertion. In the intervals therefore of his political engagements he was ever planning rational and elegant amusements at Hinchinbrook; which were the delight and admiration of the numerous company who resorted thither, from all parts, to partake of them.

"Theatrical exhibitions at times made a part, performed by his relatives, friends, and neighbours, in a very superior style, with great taste and splendor. They were attended by crowded audiences; and many of those, who composed them, were admitted to a gratification, which they valued more highly, at his lordship's social board. What very much recommended these entertainments, and rendered them peculiarly grateful to all visitants, were the perfect regularity and decorum very scrupulously preserved throughout.

"But the most remarkable, and attractive of public notice, were the musical performances, conducted with extraordinary magnificence. A very respectable friend, a scientific master of the art, who bore a distinguished part in the direction and execution of them, has favoured me with an account of their rise, progress, and perfection; which cannot but be acceptable to the reader. It is, therefore, by permission, here transcribed in his own words.

"Among other qualifications for which the earl of Sandwich was eminently distinguished, his love for music deserves to be particularly mentioned. It may with truth be asserted, that though he set up no pretensions to reputation, either as a theorist, or as a performer, yet very few persons have ever existed to whom the cause of sound and sublime harmony has been so much indebted. Without being a bigot to any particular style of music, and capable of receiving pleasure from all, yet his natural discernment enabled him instantly to distinguish real excellence from mere ostentation and trick; and his good sense never suffered him to encourage a sacrifice of the head to the hand.

"It was his custom, when he was in the country, to devote one evening in the week to music; which was chiefly of the vocal kind, occasionally improved by the aid of a few instruments, the best that could be collected in the neighbourhood. Twice in the year, (at Christmas, and at the Cambridge Commencement,) he used to avail himself of the assistance of a few academical friends; by which means he was enabled to furnish out a tolerable concerto. On these occasions he sometimes introduced a selection from the music in Macbeth and the Tempest with good effect. From such a small beginning did his active genius, by methods peculiarly his own, in the short space of about a year and a half, contrive to assemble, principally from the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, an orchestra of between 60 and 70 performers,

performers, disciplined with the most rigid exactness, and equal to the execution of the most difficult of Handel's oratorios. The entertainment now began to assume a more magnificent appearance. The performances, which were rendered complete by the addition of a few principal hands from London, were extended throughout the week. Their reputation began to excite general curiosity. Most of the principal families in the neighbourhood resorted with eagerness to so splendid a celebrity; and Hinchingbrook became a scene of hospitality worthy of our best times. I do not believe there ever was an instance, either before or since, of six oratorios being performed for six successive nights by the same band*. In other places the performers stand in need of a little intermission and rest; but here nothing of this kind was ever hinted at in the slightest degree. Indeed the bodily fatigue suffered by the greater part of the band used to be a subject of mirth among themselves; and the accounts of it would hardly be believed, if many persons still living could not bear testimony to their truth. Every oratorio, which was performed in the evening, was rehearsed throughout in the morning. After dinner catches and glees went round with a spirit and effect never felt before, till every body was summoned by a signal to the opening of the performance. This always lasted till supper was on the table: after which catches and glees were renewed with the same hilarity as in the earlier part of the day; and the principal singers generally retired to rest after a laborious exertion of about twelve hours. His lordship constantly animated the whole by his own personal assistance, keeping every body in the best order, and in the best humour; submitting himself at the same time to the discipline of the orchestra, with the most scrupulous obedience.

"These meetings were continued for several years with unrivalled splendor and festivity. But the situation of public affairs at length calling his lordship's entire attention to the great department over which he then presided with so much honour to himself and advantage to the nation; it became impossible for him to devote so much time to the entertainment of his friends in the country as would have been necessary for carrying on the performances with their usual perfection. They were therefore discontinued: but the memory of them is still cherished with enthusiasm by all who ever had the happiness of assisting at them, and will expire only with life itself.

"I cannot conclude this article without observing, that though his lordship's discharge of the public duty necessarily abridged his residence in the country, yet it did not in any degree diminish his zeal for his favourite art. As a proof of which, he soon afterwards took a leading part in laying the foundation of the Concert of Ancient Music, which was framed, as nearly as circumstances would admit, after the model

* "About this time Randall of Catharine-street in the Strand, was engaged in publishing several of the oratorios in score; and whenever any made its appearance that was not much known, it was of course put into a state of preparation for the next meeting. By which means one or two of the sublimest of Handel's works were brought into notice, which had been in danger of falling into oblivion for want of being heard; and one of them in particular became the favourite performance of the week, in preference even to the Messiah."

del of the Hinchingbrook meeting. And it is but justice to his memory to acknowledge, that the celebrated performances at Westminster-abbey owe much of their splendor, and the order with which they were conducted, to the unremitted exertions of his indefatigable mind; whose powers on this, as well as on other occasions, seemed to enlarge themselves in proportion to the magnitude and difficulty of the enterprises in which he was engaged.

"Such were the elegant embellishments of his domestic plan. If we contemplate his lordship in a higher point of view, we see in him an useful, able, and upright justice of the peace. He possessed in an eminent degree those qualifications*, which have been justly considered as requisites for the due discharge of this important office: 'a 'quick, clear, and good understanding; a perfect knowledge of the 'world; a competent acquaintance 'with the laws and constitution of 'his country; a love of justice; and 'a spirit of moderation:' above all, a perfect indifference to either party brought before him—a quality indispensable in the administration of justice. To these he added, what indeed is inseparably connected with the last-mentioned qualification, 'an entire and rigid abstinence from every thing which 'bore even the most distant appearance of profit to himself.' He seldom failed to attend the quarterly sessions, and the judges at the assizes, by whom he was always received with the greatest respect. He never spared himself, or thought any trouble too great, where the good of society and the service of the country were concerned. By this liberality of spirit, and purity of sentiment, which commanded the respect and confidence of the people, he was enabled to execute the trust reposed in him more effectually for the benefit of the community.

"The further we proceed, the more will our esteem for the noble earl be excited. His constant attendance with his family and domestics on divine worship, in his parish church at Huntingdon, was truly exemplary. He was scrupulously punctual in observing the stated times of service: 'it being 'an invariable maxim with him,' as he expresses himself to one of his friends, 'never to suffer an individual, much less a congregation, to 'wait for him.'

"It has been reported by some, who were certainly very little acquainted with his lordship's way of thinking, that he held the clergy in little or no estimation. Let him speak for himself, and the editor is assured he speaks the real feelings of his heart. 'I hold the interests of 'the clergy to be sacred; as sacred 'as any of those of your lordships: 'and I shall always think it one of 'my first duties to do every thing 'in my power to support those interests, and to contribute to the 'honour and welfare of the ministers of that religion, in which I 'was born and bred.' Many calumnies equally unjust were thrown upon the noble earl: but they have all died away; and his name will descend to posterity in its true colours; never failing to raise, wherever it is received, the warmest sentiments of love, esteem, and admiration.

"Lord Sandwich was in every relation of life truly amiable. He

* "Justice of the Peace's Manual, by a Gentleman of the Commission; Leicester, 1771."

was

was a good and affectionate father, a kind master to his servants, most of whom were known to live in his service many years; and some at this day remain in the family, maintained under the protection of the present earl. They, who were in the habit of living with him, had every day occasion to observe and admire the sweetness of his temper which showed itself in continual acts of kindness and benevolent attention to all around him. His lordship's heart was ever open to the exigences of the distressed; and at all times most ready and willing to administer relief; which he was the more enabled to do by his influence and interest, when in power, than in his individual capacity; his patrimonial estate, particularly in his early days, being too narrow to allow the exertion of his benevolence in the extent which he wished. He was, however, as it were, instinctively disposed to relieve the miseries of life, in whatever shape they presented themselves to his notice. Numberless instances crowd upon the editor's recollection of the happy consequences produced by the habitual exercise of these social virtues. No man was ever more beloved by his acquaintance, friends, and relatives, than lord Sandwich.

"But his benevolence was not confined to persons of this description only; it extended to others, who, on the various contests in which he was engaged, opposed him with much vehemence, in the pursuit of objects which he had most at heart. So placable was his disposition, that, when the contest was over, he rendered to many of them essential services; so open to reconciliation, that on the slightest overtures he forgave even those, who, after having received from him the highest obligations, were most forward to assist his enemies, in the virulent attacks so repeatedly made on him while in office.

"Ingratitude, though too common, it is feared, amidst the conflicts of contending parties, must be considered as at all times odious and unpardonable. It appears with aggravated deformity when exercised towards a man so far from deserving such treatment as lord Sandwich, who was remarkably steady and constant in his friendships, and ever kept his promise inviolate. The editor is happy to relate that his lordship was in a high degree compensated for the ill behaviour of too many, whom he served, by the liberal sentiments of others, who acknowledged with gratitude the obligations which they were under, and were well disposed to make every return in their power. Some, it is well known, were even magnificent in their retribution.

"Lord Sandwich, after his retirement, at times attended parliament, and, as has been observed, occasionally spoke. At Hinchingbrook, his favourite residence, he lived in his usual habits of elegant hospitality; kept up an agreeable intercourse with his neighbours; and was frequently honoured by the company of respectable and noble friends from a distance. He still continued to act as a magistrate, with his accustomed vigilance and ability, with the same advantage to the country.

"We are now drawing near to that bourn, which terminates all human action and pursuits. After an interval of little more than seven years, thus spent in the calm satisfactions of a private station, and in the regular exercise of those useful duties belonging to it, a complaint in the bowels, to which his lordship had at times been subject, became

came more than usually troublesome. From about the middle of August to December 1791 the disorder seemed to be gaining ground, and he appeared visibly weakened and wasted by its continuance. At this time he went, by the advice of Dr. Hallifax, who had for some time past attended him, to Bath, to try the efficacy of the waters. Having resided there a few weeks without receiving the expected benefit, he returned to his house in town the latter end of February, 1792. He was not sensible of his danger till within a few days before his death; when some very alarming symptoms convinced his mind, not yet impaired, that his recovery was no longer to be hoped for. He received the intimation with firmness. During even the last stages of his illness he frequently conversed on public affairs, with the same reach of thought and perspicuity of expression, as he had at any time been accustomed to do. He often spoke with great pathos upon the alarming revolutions then commencing: and once, in so affecting a manner, that his listening friend emphatically exclaimed: 'You speak, my lord, 'more like a philosopher and a lord 'in parliament, than one on the bed 'of sickness.' This seems to have been the last effort of his exertion. From which, after languishing a few days, he expired 30th April, 1792, with perfect composure and resignation.

"Thus closed the scene upon this great and amiable man. The editor has to lament that he has been so little qualified to give a finished portrait of so illustrious a character. If however the outline, which he has been able to sketch, avail in any degree to preserve though but a faint resemblance of the original, his design will be so far answered; and he has the satisfaction of having performed a duty, to which he felt himself bound by the strongest obligations of gratitude and affectionate respect."

SKETCH of the LITERARY CHARACTER and ATTAINMENTS of SIR WILLIAM JONES.

[From SIR JOHN SHORE'S DISCOURSE delivered at a Meeting of the ASIATIC SOCIETY, in CALCUTTA, and inserted in the first Volume of the WORKS of SIR WILLIAM JONES.]

"TO define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to possess, and I am therefore to solicit your indulgence for an imperfect sketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete description of the talents and knowledge of your late and lamented president.

"I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In Greek and Roman literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause; and knowledge of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of modern Europe, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian, he spoke

and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision; and the German and Portuguese were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to oriental literature commenced; he studied the Hebrew with ease and success, and many of the most learned Asiatics have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of Arabic and Persian was as accurate and extensive as their own: he was also conversant in the Turkish idiom, and the Chinese had even attracted his notice, so far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in India, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himself master of the Sanscrit; and the most enlightened professors of the doctrines of Brahma confess with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. The Pandits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them after his death, at a public Durbar, could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress he had made in their sciences.

"Before the expiration of his twenty second year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the Asiatics, although a considerable time afterwards elapsed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours existed, would at once furnish proofs of his consummate skill in the oriental dialects, of his proficiency in those of Rome and Greece, of taste and erudition far beyond his yeats, and of talents and application without example.

"But the judgment of Sir William Jones was too discerning to consider language in any other light than as the key of science, and he would have despised the reputation of a mere linguist. Knowledge and truth were the objects of all his studies, and his ambition was to be useful to mankind: with these views he extended his researches to all languages, nations, and times.

"Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the government of this country, what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digest of Hindu and Mahommedan law, from Sanscrit and Arabic originals, with an offer of his services to superintend the compilation, and with a promise to translate it. He had foreseen previous to his departure from Europe, that without the aid of such a work, the wise and benevolent intentions of the legislature of Great Britain, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated, that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongst the natives must too often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation of their laws.

"To the superintendance of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his suggestion, he assiduously devoted those hours which he could spare from his professional duties. After tracing the plan of the digest, he prescribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and selected from the most learned Hindus and Mahommedans fit persons for the task of compiling it: flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applause, the Pandits prosecuted

prosecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a satisfactory conclusion. The Molavees have also nearly finished their portion of the work; but we must ever regret, that the promised translation, as well as the meditated preliminary dissertation, have been frustrated by that decree, which so often intercepts the performance of human purposes.

"During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of Menu, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldest and holiest of legislatures; and finding them to comprise a system of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered as the institutes of Hindu law, he presented a translation of them to the government of Bengal. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended in any respect, to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an English version of the Arabic text of the Sirajiyah, or Mahommedan law of inheritance, with a commentary. He had already published, in England, a translation of a tract on the same subject, by another Mahommedan lawyer, containing, as his own words express, 'a lively and elegant epitome of the law of inheritance, according to Zaid.'

"To these learned and important works, so far out of the road of amusement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that desire which he ever professed, of rendering his knowledge useful to his nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of these provinces.

"Without attending to the chronological order of their publication I shall briefly recapitulate his other performances in Asiatic literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

"The vanity and petulance of Anquetil du Perron, with his illiberal reflexions on some of the learned members of the university of Oxford, extorted from him a letter, in the French language, which has been admired for accurate criticism, just satire, and elegant composition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to translate, from a Persian original into French, the life of Nadir Shah, that it might not be carried out of England, with a reflection, that no person had been found in the British dominions capable of translating it. The students of Persian literature must ever be grateful to him for a grammar of that language, in which he has shewn the possibility of combining taste and elegance with the precision of a grammarian; and every admirer of Arabic poetry must acknowledge his obligations to him for an English version of the seven celebrated poems, so well known by the name of Moalakat, from the distinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being suspended in the temple of Mecca: I should scarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not disdain the office of editor of a Sanscrit and Persian work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was published at his own expense, and was sold for the benefit of insolvent debtors. A similar application was made of the produce of the Sirajiyah.

"Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending hymns on the Hindu mythology, poems consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatic languages, and the version of Sacontala, an ancient Indian

drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance which he did not himself annex to them. They show the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taste. Nor shall I particularly dwell on the discourses addressed to this society, which we have all perused or heard, or on the other learned and interesting dissertations, which form so large and valuable a portion of the records of our researches; let us lament, that the spirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which we listened with improvement and rapture will be heard by us no more.

"But I cannot pass over a paper, which has fallen into my possession since his demise, in the hand writing of Sir William Jones himself, entitled Desiderata, as more explanatory than any thing I can say, of the comprehensive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a perusal of it will show, whatever is most curious, important, and attainable in the sciences and histories of India, Arabia, China, and Tartary; subjects, which he had already most amply discussed in the disquisitions which he laid before the society.

"DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

1. The ancient geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.

2. A botanical description of Indian plants, from the Coshas, &c.

3. A grammar of the Sanscrit language, from Panini, &c.

4. A dictionary of the Sanscrit language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.

5. On the ancient music of the Indians.

6. On the medical substances of India, and the Indian art of medicine.

7. On the philosophy of the ancient Indians.

8. A translation of the Veda.

9. On ancient Indian geometry, astronomy, and algebra.

10. A translation of the Puranas

11. A translation of the Mahabharat and Ramayan.

12. On the Indian theatre, &c. &c. &c.

13. On the Indian constellations, with their mythology, from the Puranas.

14. The history of India before the Mahommedan conquest, from the Sanscrit-Cashmir histories.

ARABIA.

15. The history of Arabia before Mahommed.

16. A translation of the Hamasa.

17. A translation of Hairi.

18. A translation of the Facahatul Khulafa.

Of the Cafiah.

PERSIA.

19. The history of Persia from authorities in Sanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, ancient and modern.

Firdausi's Khosrau nama.

20 The five poems of Nizami, translated in prose.

A dictionary of pure Persian, Jehangire.

CHINA.

21. A translation of the Shi-king.

22. The text of Can-fu-tsu verbally translated.

TARTARY.

23. A history of the Tartar nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkish and Persian.

"We are not authorised to conclude, that he had himself formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus sketched; the task seems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human

man life; but we, who had the happiness to know Sir William Jones, who were witnesses of his indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accomplish whatever he deemed important; who saw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and science, and the facility with which all his compositions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleased Providence to protract the date of his existence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had so extensively planned.

"I have hitherto principally confined my discourse to the pursuits of our late president in oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time; but they neither precluded his attention to professional studies, nor to science in general: amongst his publications in Europe, in polite literature, exclusive of various compositions in prose and verse, I find a translation of the speeches of Isæus, with a learned comment; and, in law, an Essay on the Law of Bailments: upon the subject of this last work, I cannot deny myself the gratification of quoting the sentiments of a celebrated historian: 'Sir William Jones has given an 'ingenious and rational essay on the 'law of bailments. He is perhaps 'the only lawyer equally conversant 'with the year books of Westminster, the commentaries of Ulpian, 'the Attic pleadings of Isæus, and 'the sentences of Arabian and Persian cadhis.'

"His professional studies did not commence before his twenty-second year, and I have his own authority for asserting, that the first book of English jurisprudence which he ever studied was Fortescue's essay in praise of the laws of England.

"Of the ability and conscientious integrity with which he discharged the functions of a magistrate, and the duties of a judge of the supreme court of judicature in this settlement, the public voice and public regret bear ample and merited testimony. The same penetration which marked his scientific researches distinguished his legal investigations and decisions; and he deemed no inquiries burthensome, which had for their object substantial justice under the rules of law.

"His addresses to the jurors are not less distinguished for philanthropy, and liberality of sentiment, than for just expositions of the law, perspicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

"In an epilogue to his commentaries on Asiatic poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquishing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to study law, expressed in a wish, which we now know to have been prophetic.

'Mihi, sit, oro, non inutilis tuga,
'Nec indiserta Musa, nec turpis manus.'

"I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diversity and extent, seem far beyond the capacity of the most enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he added the knowledge of the philosophy of those countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the Academy, the Lyceum, or the Portico, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the Vedas, the mysticism of the Sufis, or the religion of the ancient Persians; and whilst with a kindred genius he perused with rapture the heroic, lyric

lyric, or moral compositions, of the most renowned poets of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he could turn, with equal delight and knowledge, to the sublime speculations, or mathematical calculations, of Barrow and Newton. With them, also, he professed his conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage, that his researches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the Mosaic account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following sentiments in his eighth anniversary discourse.

'Theological inquiries are no 'part of my present subject; but I 'cannot refrain from adding, that 'the collection of tracts, which we 'call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain, independently of a 'divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer 'morality, more important history, 'and finer strains both of poetry 'and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass 'from all other books, that were 'ever composed in any age, or in 'any idiom. The two parts, of 'which the scriptures consist, are 'connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance 'in form or style to any that can 'be produced from the stores of 'Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even 'Arabian learning; the antiquity 'of those compositions no man 'doubts, and the unrestrained application of them to events long 'subsequent to their publication, is 'a solid ground of belief, that they 'were genuine predictions, and 'consequently inspired.'

"There were in truth few sciences, in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency; in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry; and I have heard him assert, that his admiration of the structure of the human frame had induced him to attend for a season to a course of anatomical lectures, delivered by his friend the celebrated Hunter.

"His last and favourite pursuit was the study of botany, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which, with most minds, would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangements of Linnæus he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progress in botany, we may conclude that he would have extended the discoveries in that science. The last composition which he read in this society, was a description of select Indian plants, and I hope his executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publishing it, as a number in our Researches.

"It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire, by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almost universal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-seven years.

"The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it,

which subdued all obstacles; his studies began with the dawn, and, during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

"But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed; hence, all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your observation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatsoever quality, talents, or education; he justly concluded, that curious or important information might be gained even from the illiterate; and, wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

"Of the private and social virtues of our lamented president, our hearts are the best records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be necessary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his conversation and manners, or his modest, unassuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

"To him, as the founder of our institution, and, whilst he lived, its firmest support, our reverence is more particularly due: instructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modest merit was excited to distinguish itself. Anxious for the reputation of the society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilst he cheerfully assisted those of others. In losing him, we have not only been deprived of our brightest ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whose instructions, judgment, and candour, we could implicitly rely.

"But it will, I trust, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, lose that influence over the members of this society, which his living example had maintained; and if, previous to his demise he had been asked, by what posthumous honours or attentions we could best show our respect for his memory? I may venture to assert, he would have replied, 'By exerting yourselves to support the credit of the society;' applying to it, perhaps, the dying wish of father Paul, 'Esto perpetua!'

Short Account of the Life and Writings of DESAUSSURE, by A. P. Decandole.

[From the Decade Philosophique, and inserted in the 31st Number of Nicholson's Chemical Journal.]

"HORACE Benedict Desaussure was born at Geneva in the year 1740; his father an enlightened cultivator, to whom the public is indebted for some memoirs concerning rural œconomy, resided at Conches, a country house situated on the banks of the river Arve, half a league from Geneva. This habitual residence in the country, together with an active education, was undoubtedly the cause which developed in Desaussure that natural strength of constitution so necessary to the practical cultivator of natural history. He went every day to the town, in order to profit by the advantage of public education. Residing at the foot of the Salève, a mountain he has since rendered famous by his researches, it was an entertainment to him to climb its rugged paths. Living thus surrounded by the phenomena of nature, and possessing the advantage of study, he became attached to natural history, without imitating those learned men who form theories without leaving their cabinets, or those men of mere practice, who, being continually surrounded by natural scenes, become incapable of admiring their beauty.

"His first passion was for botany. A varied soil, producing numerous different plants, invited the inhabitant of the borders of the Leman lake to cultivate this agreeable science. This taste of Desaussure led him to form a connection with the great Haller. He paid him a visit in 1764, during his retirement at Bex, and gives an account in his travels of his admiration for this surprising man, who excelled in all the natural sciences. Desaussure was still more excited to study the vegetable kingdom by his connections with Charles Bonnet, who had married his aunt, and who soon perceived the value of his nephew's increasing talents. Bonnet was then employed on the leaves. Desaussure also studied these organs of vegetables, and published the result of his inquiries under the title of 'Observations on the Bark of Leaves.' This little work, which appeared soon after the year 1760, contains some new observations on the epidermis of leaves, and, in particular, on the miliary glands which cover them*.

"About this time the place of professor of philosophy became vacant. Desaussure, then just in his twenty-first year, obtained it. Experience proves, that if very early recompenses extinguish the zeal of those who exert themselves merely for the sake of reward, on the contrary they increase the industry of those who are in search of truth. At that time the two professors of philosophy taught by turns natural philosophy and logic. Desaussure filled these two offices with equal success. He gave a practical, we may say an experimental, turn to the science of logic. His course,

"* He resumed this subject eighteen months before his death."

which began with the study of the senses, in order to arrive at those general laws of the understanding, showed that he was even then a close observer of nature.

"Natural philosophy being the object of his attachment, led him to study chemistry and mineralogy; and soon afterwards he recommenced his travels in the mountains, not only to examine the plants, but to observe the mountains themselves, whether he considered their composition or the disposition of their masses. Geology, a science then scarcely known, gave a charm to his numerous walks in the Alps. Here it was that he discovered himself to be a truly great philosopher. During the fifteen or twenty first years of his professorship he was employed in performing the duties of his office, and in surveying the mountains in the neighbourhood of Geneva. He extended his excursions on one side as far as the banks of the Rhine, and on the other to Piedmont. About this time he made a journey into Auvergne, to examine the extinct volcanoes; and another to Paris, Holland, and England, and afterwards to Sicily. These voyages were not merely excursions from one place to another. They had only one object, namely, the study of nature. He never travelled without being provided with every instrument that might be useful to him; and always before he set out, he sketched the plan of the experiments and observations he intended to make. He often mentions in his works, that he found this method of great utility to him.

"In 1799 he published the first volume of his travels in the Alps. We there find a complete description of the environs of Geneva, and an excursion to Chamouni, a village at the foot of Mont Blanc. Natural philosophers will read with pleasure the description of his magnetometer. The more he observed the mountains, the more he perceived the importance of mineralogy. In order to study it to greater advantage, he learned the German language; and in the last volumes of his Travels, we may easily perceive how much new mineralogical knowledge he had acquired.

"During his numerous excursions among the Alps, and even in the midst of the political troubles of Geneva in 1782, he found opportunities to make his experiments on hygrometry, which he published in 1783 under the title of 'An Essay on Hygrometry.' This work, the best he ever wrote, completed his reputation as a natural philosopher. We are indebted to him for the invention of an hygrometer. Deluc had already invented an hygrometer of whalebone, on which subject a dispute was maintained between him and Desaussure, which was even attended with a considerable degree of earnestness.

"In 1786 Desaussure resigned the place of professor, which he had held for nearly 25 years, to Pictet, his disciple and colleague, who performed with reputation to himself the difficult task of succeeding this great philosopher.

"Desaussure being called upon by his office to attend to public education, made it a particular object of his attention. He presented a plan for reforming the course of education at Geneva. He proposed to teach children very early the natural sciences and mathematics; he was even attentive to their physical education; and, that it might not be neglected, proposed the adoption of gymnastic exercises. This plan excited great attention in a

town

town where every one is aware of the importance of education. It found both admirers and censurers. The insufficiency of their pecuniary resources was a great obstacle to every important innovation. They were apprehensive that in changing the form they might lose sight of the principle, and that an alteration, even for the better, might destroy the good they possessed. The Genevese were attached to their form of education, and they had cause, for it had not only introduced general information among them, but had given the first spring to the talents of several distinguished mathematicians *, and natural philosophers †.

"Public education did not alone claim the attention of Desaussure. He attended himself to the education of his two sons and his daughter, who have shown themselves worthy of such an instructor. His daughter unites to the accomplishments of her sex an extensive knowledge in the natural sciences. His eldest son is already known by his works in natural philosophy and chemistry.

"The second volume of his Travels was published in 1786. It contains a description of the Alps which surround Mont Blanc. The author considers them as a mineralogist, geologist, and natural philosopher. It contains, in particular, some very interesting experiments on electricity, and a description of his electrometers, which is one of the most complete we possess. We are likewise indebted to him for several instruments of measurements; his cyanometer, designed to measure the intensity of the blue of the heavens, which varies according to its elevation; his diaphanometer, or his method of measuring the diaphaneity of the air; and his anemometer, in which, by means of a kind of balance, he weighs the power of the wind.

"Some years after the publication of his second volume, Desaussure was received as a foreign associate of the academy of sciences, and Geneva could boast of having two of its citizens in these seven eminent situations. Desaussure not only honoured, but was desirous of serving his country. He founded the society of arts, to which Geneva is indebted for that prosperity it has gained through its industry within the last thirty years. He presided in this society to the very last; and it was one of his principal object to support that useful establishment.

"He also showed his zeal to serve his country while he was member of the council of five hundred, and of the national assembly. It was from his assiduous labour in that assembly that his health first began to fail; and in 1794 a paralytic stroke deprived him of the use of one side of his body. However painful his situation might then be, he lost nothing of the activity of his mind; for it was after this accident that he drew up the two last volumes of his Travels, which appeared in 1796. They contain an account of his travels in the mountains of Piedmont, Switzerland, and in particular of his ascent to the summit of Mont Blanc. These two last volumes, so far from appearing to partake of the weakness of his condition, offer a considerable mass of important facts and observations in natural philosophy.

"He gave the last proof of his

"* Ahansia, Cramer, J. Muller, F. Tremley, &c.,

"† Jalabert, A. Tremley, Bonnet, Lesage, Deluc, Senebier, Prevost, Pictet, and Desaussure himself."

attachment to science in publishing the Agenda, which completes the fourth volume. Here this great man has surpassed himself. He conducts the young naturalist amidst the mountains, and teaches him to observe them to advantage. This Agenda is a proof of his genius, and the strength of mind he preserved amidst all his sufferings. During his illness, he also published his observations "on the fusibility of stones with the blowpipe;" and he directed the "experiments on the height of the bed of the Arve." When he was at the baths of Plombieres for his health, he observed the mountains at a distance, and procured specimens of the strata he perceived in the most steep rocks. He had announced to the public, that he intended to complete his Travels by his ideas on the primitive state of the earth; but the more new facts he required, and the more he meditated on this subject, the less could he determine with regard to those great revolutions which have preceded the present epoch. In general, his was a Neptunian, that is to say, he attributed to water the revolutions of this globe. He admitted it to be possible that elastic fluids, in disengaging themselves from the cavities, might raise mountains.

"Though his health was gradually impaired by degrees, he still retained the hope of re establishing it. The French government having appointed him possessor of natural philosophy in the school of Paris, he did not despair of possessing that honourable office at some future day; but his strength failed him, and a general want of energy succeeded the activity he had formerly enjoyed. His slow and embarrassed pronunciation no longer displayed the activity of his mind, but formed a striking contrast with the agreeable vivacity which formerly distinguished him. It was an affecting sight to behold this great man so worn out at a time of life when the mind is most active in meditation, or at least when he should have enjoyed the fame and knowledge he had acquired.

"It was in vain he tried all the remedies which medicine, assisted by the natural sciences, could offer. Life and strength abandoned him by slow and painful degrees, and towards the end of the 6th (republican) year, his decay became more evident; his memory failed; and at length, on the 3d of Pluviose, in the 7th year, at the age of 59, he completed his brilliant career, much regretted by a family who loved him, a country to which he was an honour, and Europe, whose knowledge he had increased.

"By his side and at the same moment, a violent death robbed the sciences of a young man whose industry and talents had afforded the most flattering hopes. (Qu. ?)

"I must here conclude this short account; and it may easily be perceived that I am very far from making the éloge of my illustrious countryman. I had neither the necessary materials, nor sufficient means; that interesting task is reserved for one who has been the companion of his travels and labours, and who, by living habitually with him, has had the advantage of observing his manner of acting and thinking."

ACCOUNT

Account of SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT, and his Improvements in Machinery for the Cotton Manufacture.

[From the first Volume of General Biography, &c. chiefly composed by John Aikin, M. D. and the late William Enfield, LL. D.]

"SIR Richard Arkwright, a manufacturer of great celebrity for carding and spinning cotton by machines; by which inventions he made a rapid and immense fortune, after having been originally in very low circumstances as a country barber. The usual proces of invention in manufactures is this. An enterprising man in narrow circumstances (for the rich will seldom risk in this kind of adventure until the probability of success is rendered in some measure considerable);—a poor man conceives a project by which he hopes to alter his circumstances, and considers the means mechanical as well as commercial, that is to say, how the thing is to be done, and how he shall acquire the means of paying the expense of doing it. For the former he must depend upon his own ingenuity, and for the latter he can seldom, at first, have any greater dependence than the spare time he can afford from those exertions of industry which are necessary to procure him bread. After much incessant labour, too often attended with severe distress from borrowing too much of the indispensable time required for his subsistence, the projector either finds himself reduced to beggary, or his plan becomes so far probable in respect to its result, that he can apply to some other man of greater capital than himself for assistance. This second projector is usually a man of small fortune, and disposed to adventure from motives somewhat of the same kind as those which impelled the original contriver. He engages part of his little property in the scheme, with the hopes of speedily becoming independent. Difficulties still present themselves; more money is wanted; and as long as the monied man can supply the necessities of the invention and of the inventor, he is in all probability tempted by the sanguine expectations of the latter to go on. Embarrassment, contention, legal processes, ruin to the man who risked his property, and a prison to the inventor, are too frequently the result of this first combination, even in cases where the invention may itself have been of value; and still more frequently, when, as it commonly happens, the invention is the mere speculation of an uninformed, and, perhaps, unprincipled man. For it is the nature of these undertakings, as soon as the mind becomes habituated to them, that they mislead the operator into a notion of their probable success in spite of every intervening impediment; and the inventor must possess more fortitude than usually falls to the lot of a poor man, if he does not go on to flatter himself and his partner as long as any money is to be by such means obtained. When the inventor has acted uprightly, or the first supporter proves a candid man, and not of a vindictive disposition, it commonly happens that he withdraws out of the concern with the loss of the whole or a part of his capital, and retains no share whatever in it, lest the legal consequences of a partnership should at some future period deprive him of the remainder

mainder of his property. The inventor must then apply to some other capitalist, himself possessing tools and machinery and his former friend being left to the chance of that remuneration which the gratitude or the justice of the speculator may afford him; a chance which, upon the whole, as the future labours of the inventor will probably be considerable, is not likely to realise itself in any beneficial form. A second and a third supporter may in this way be tried or exhausted. The inventor necessarily learns much at their expense, and either becomes an unprincipled speculator, or contriver of schemes to raise money in this express way; or else he goes on to perfect his invention, and the last partner either shares it with him, or by some quirk of law deprives him of the whole.

"From this crude outline of a process which is every day going forward in this kingdom; a process which, like the lottery, enriches a few, while multitudes become the losers; it may be seen how little, upon the whole, it is likely that inventors should pass through all the difficulties of their progress, from poverty to opulence, by the extreme labour of bringing a new scheme to perfection, subject to an endless struggle with partners, whose natural interest and prudential motives ought to lead them to proceed with slowness and caution.

"Sir Richard Arkwright certainly experienced much of these difficulties, and he has been spoken of by the various descriptions of men, with whom he has had intercourse or connection, either as a great man, an indefatigable inventor and superior genius, or as the cunning schemer and collector of other men's inventions, supporting them by borrowed capital, and never afterwards feeling or showing any emotion of gratitude or the one or the other. After much private inquiry, and having repeated promises of assistance from various quarters, it still remains uncertain in what light this eminent man ought in truth to be placed. Fully aware of the incalculable difficulties to which inventors are exposed, whether we consider their labours with regard to the scheme they follow, the private connections they form, or the public commercial difficulties they have to overcome, we may easily believe that every successful inventor must necessarily become the object of calumny. Many inventors are certainly deserving of reprehension, but whether this be the case or not in the present instance requires a trial founded upon evidence, without which no decisive opinion can be presented to the public. We have not been able to obtain a statement of the several money connections which Sir Richard had during the course of time he was employed in bringing this scheme to perfection. What is here related will in a great measure consist of such evidence as was presented before the Court of King's Bench upon the 25th of June, 1785, where his patent was set aside by *scire facias*, together with some other facts obtained by private correspondence.

"The preparation of vegetable and animal fibres, to form them into garments by weaving, is very well known. The fibres themselves must first be properly disposed by combing or carding, after which treatment they are in a state ready to be spun. The card is a kind of brush, made with wires, instead of hair, the wires not being perpendicular to the plane, but all inclined one way, in a certain angle. From this description

ion, such as are totally unacted with the subject may conthat cotton wool, being struck one of these cards or brushes, be scraped with another card at direction, that the inclinaof the wires may tend to throw hole inwards rather than suffer come out. The consequence e repeated strokes of the empty against the full one must be a ibution of the whole more ly on the surface; and if one be then drawn in the opposite tion across the other, it will, virtue of the inclination of its s, take the whole of the wool of that card whose inclination e contrary way. Without enng more fully upon the descripof a process so common, we make a few similar observations n regard to spinning. This is of kinds; in the one the carded l is suddenly drawn out during rapid rotation of a spindle, and ns a loose yarn. In the other cess the material is spun by a l-known small engine or wheel, ich requires the spinner to draw material out between the finger l thumb of each hand. If we pose the machine itself to be left liberty, and turned without the istance of the spinner, the twistthread being drawn inwards by e bobbin, would naturally gather ore of the material, and form an regular thread, thicker and thicker, l at length the difficulty of drawg out so large a portion of materias had acquired the twist would come greater than that of snapng the smaller part of the thread, hich would accordingly break. it the business of the spinner to event this by drawing out the material with one hand, if the operator be skilful, but if not, with two, that is to say, by holding the mule- and longer when it comes to be delivered rial between the finger and thumb of each hand, the intermediate part may be drawn out to requisite fineness previous to the twist, by separating the hands during the act of pinching. Every rational process of invention must consist, in the first place, in a careful analysis of the operations meant to be performed. The object of Arkwright's improvements were carding and spinning. To do this by by machinery, it was required either that the usual manœuvre of the carder should be performed with square cards, or that cylinders, covered with the kind of metallic brush-work before described, should be made to revolve in contact with each other, either to card or to strip, accordingly as their respective velocities, directions, and inclinations of their wires might be adjusted. With regard to spinning, it would become an indispensable condition, not only that the raw material should be very nicely prepared, in order that it might require none of that intellectual skill which is capable of separating the knotty or imperfect parts as they offer themselves, but also that it should be regularly drawn out by certain parts representing the fingers and thumbs of the spinner. The contrivances by which this last means was represented consisted in a certain number of pairs of cylinders, each two revolving in contact with each other. Suppose a very loose thread or slightly twisted carding of cotton to pass between one pair of cylinders, clothed with a proper facing, to enable them to hold it, and let it be imagined to proceed from thence to another pair, whose surfaces revolve much quicker. It is evident that the quicker revolution of the second pair will draw out the cotton, rendering it thinner

delivered at the other side. This is precisely the operation which the spinner performs with her fingers and thumb; and if the cotton be then delivered to a spinning apparatus it will be converted into thread. Simple as these notions of a rotatory carding engine and spinning engine, of which the chief organ consists of two pair of cylinders, may appear, they are subject in the practical detail to all the difficulties which usually present themselves to be overcome by inventors. An account of this would certainly form an interesting narrative in the history of the arts; but in this place it is neither practicable nor consistent with our plan. Sir Richard Arkwright succeeded in making these engines go by horse, by water, and by steam, as first movers; and the saving of labour, together with the advantages of a patent monopoly, were sufficient to render him one of the most opulent of our manufacturers.

"The historical facts appear to be the following: about the year 1767, Arkwright came to Warrington, at which time he had quitted the profession of a barber, and went up and down the country buying hair. He had at that time a scheme of some mechanical contrivance, of the nature, as it is said, of a perpetual motion. A clockmaker of that place, whose name was John Kay, became acquainted with him, and dissuaded him from it; but remarked that much money might be gained by spinning cotton, which Kay said he would describe to Arkwright. Arkwright objected, that many gentlemen had ruined themselves by that scheme: but the next morning he came to Kay's bedside, and asked if he could make a small engine at a small expense. This John Kay had been employed as a workman to make a cotton spinning engine for a Mr. Hayes, who was brought in evidence on the trial for setting aside Arkwright's patent, and proved that he had invented an engine of this kind, but not that he had brought it to perfection. Kay and Arkwright applied to Peter Atherton, esquire, now of Liverpool, to make such an engine; but from the poverty of the appearance of the latter, Mr. Atherton refused to undertake it, though afterwards, on the evening of the same day, he agreed to lend Kay a smith and watch-tool maker, to make the heavier part of the engine, and Kay undertook to make the clock maker's part of it, and to instruct the workman. In this way Mr. Arkwright's first engine, for which he afterwards took out a patent, was made. Mr. Arkwright soon afterwards joined in partnership with Mr. Smalley of Preston in Lancashire, but their property falling short, they went to Nottingham, and there met with rich individuals, by the help of whom they erected a considerable cotton-mill turned by horses. The same Hayes had also employed himself in making cylindrical carding engines.

"This is an outline of some of the facts stated on the behalf of Mr. Arkwright's opponents, who set his patent aside. The story current in the manufacturing counties is, that he stole these inventions, and enriched himself at the expense, and by the ingenuity of other men. Upon the face of the thing, however, without attending to other evidence which might perhaps be brought, it appears that the cotton spinning was no new attempt when Mr. Arkwright took it up, but an object much laboured at; and as it had not succeeded, it should of course follow that there were difficulties

ies to be overcome, and matters subordinate invention (which ally cause the failure of new eme:) to be matured, digested, l brought into effect. In the ids of Mr. Arkwright the carding l cotton spinning became a great ional manufacture. Before he lertook it, it appears to have n nothing. In his Case, as wn by himself, he states, that out 40 or 50 years before his e, one Paul and others of Lon-, invented an engine for spin-g cotton, and obtained a patent their invention, after which they oved to Nottingham and other ces, expending much money and e in the undertaking, and that ny families who had engaged h them were reduced to poverty l distress by the failure of the eme; that about 20 or 30 years k, various engines had been structed by different persons for ning cotton, flax, wool, &c. into ny threads at once, but they pro-ed no real advantage;—and that 1767 one Hargrave, of Blackwell Lancashire, constructed an en-e that would at once spin 20 or threads of cotton into yarn for fustian manufacture; but that, r suffering the destruction of his ines by popular tumults in Lan-hire, and removing to Notting-n, where he practised for a time ler a patent, an association was ned against him, by which his ent right was overthrown, and he died in obscurity and great distress—that he, Arkwright, had invented engines for carding and spinning, in the advancing of which more than five years, with an expense of 12,000l. had been consumed, before any profit accrued to himself and partners. And as it must be admitted he did not bring his project to bear at once, as a pirate might have done, he must of right be considered as the man who, after embarking in a great national undertaking, where many others had failed, did exhibit enough of perseverance, skill, and activity, to render it of value to himself and the public.

"After this statement of the case, which is the best that could under the present circumstances be procured, it seems that the merits of Sir Richard Arkwright may be summed up by observing, that the object in which he was engaged is of the highest public value; that though his family is enriched, the benefits which have accrued to the nation have been incalculably greater; and that upon the whole he is entitled to the respect and admiration of the world.

"He was knighted by his present majesty at St. James's on the 22d of December 1786, on presenting an address from the high sheriff and hundred of Wirksworth; and died at his works at Crumford, in Derbyshire, Aug. 3, 1792."

ANECDOTES OF JEMIMA WILKINSON.

[om the first Volume of TRAVELS through the UNITED STATES of NORTH AMERICA, &c. by the DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT LIANCOURT.]

ONE Jemima Wilkinson, a quaker, and a native of Rhode Island, manifested so fervent a zeal in her religion, that at the age

age of twenty she was admitted to all the meetings of the society, which were held weekly, monthly, and quarterly, for settling the general concerns and watching over the conduct of the brethren. She at length fancied that she was called to act some great and extraordinary part, and in this persuasion formed the project of becoming the leader of a sect. In the course of a long and dangerous illness, she was suddenly seized, or gave it out that she was seized, with a lethargy, so that to her friends she appeared as really dead. She continued several hours in this situation; and preparations were actually making for her interment, when she suddenly started up, called for her cloaths, declaring 'that she had risen from the dead, 'and that she had cast off all her 'material substance, and retained 'only the spiritual.' She went, accordingly, to the next meeting, as if with the authority of some celestial being, spoke there as one inspired, and gained some followers. She, ere long, expressed her displeasure at some religious observances of the quakers, and was, on this account, reprimanded by the meeting; which appears to have been precisely the thing she wished for and expected. In the opinion of others, she met with this reproof, because at the beginning of the revolutionary war she had been much attached to the tories, and favoured the English party by declaiming against the war, according to the principles of the doctrines she professed. She continued preaching and proceeding in this manner, till she was excluded from the meetings, which indeed all along appeared to be her particular wish. Being now a persecuted person, at least by her own account, she began to gain some partisans. She preached publicly on the necessity of the abolition of all meetings convened to censure, of a reform of the church-establishment, of granting to the friends universal liberty to preach what they pleased, without first asking leave to do so, &c. She soon made some proselytes, and at the same time drew on herself the displeasure of all who adhered to the old forms of the religion of the quakers. She experienced, therefore, a very unfavourable reception for herself and doctrines, both in Philadelphia and New York. Wherever she came, every quaker turned away from her with abhorrence, as the enemy of his religion; and all other persons deemed her a fool or an enthusiast. This disposition of the public she again called a persecution, it being favourable to her ultimate views. The number of her followers was now daily increasing; and as she confidently trusted it would become still more considerable, she thought they might perhaps be willing to follow her. Accordingly she proposed to a number of them to flee from these regions of intolerance, and to settle in a place where they might worship God undisturbed, and free from that bitter spirit of persecution which men had introduced in opposition to the divine will.

"Soon after, the country about Lake Seneca and Crooked Lake was fixed upon as the place of their settlement. The company of New York, which had purchased this land from the Indians, entered into a treaty for the sale of it with these reformed quakers. They were promised three tracts of land, containing each six thousand square acres, which were to form three districts, and to which Jemima instantly gave the name of Jerusalem. Thirty families removed hither with her;

her; but she had confidently expected three or four hundred more, of whom, however, not above twenty at last arrived. This society soon spread over the three districts, which it was to occupy; but was not sufficiently numerous to replenish the fourth part of each. The enchantment, however, had already been broken by Jemima's absence, and with it had also vanished their zeal for peopling this new land of promise.

"We saw Jemima, and attended her meeting, which is held in her own house. We found there about thirty persons, men, women, and children. Jemima stood at the door of her bed chamber on a carpet, with an arm-chair behind her. She had on a white morning-gown, and a waistcoat, such as men wear, and a petticoat of the same colour. Her black hair was cut short, carefully combed, and divided behind into three ringlets; she wore a stock, and a white silk cravat, which was tied about her neck with affected negligence. In point of delivery, she preached with more ease than any other quaker I have yet heard; but the subject matter of her discourse was an eternal repetition of the same topics—death, sin, and repentance. She is said to be about forty years of age, but she did not appear to be more than thirty. She is of middle stature, well-made, of a florid countenance, and has fine teeth, and beautiful eyes. Her action is studied; she aims at simplicity, but there is somewhat pedantic in her manner. In her chamber we found her friend, Rachel Miller, a young woman of about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, her follower and admirer, who is entirely devoted to her. All the land which Jemima possesses is purchased in the name of Rachel Miller, an advantage which she owes to her influence over her adherents, and to her dexterity in captivating their affections.

"Jemima, or *the Friend* (as she is called by way of eminence), inculcates, as her leading tenet, poverty, and resignation of all earthly possessions. If you talk to her of her house, she always calls it 'the house which I inhabit.' This house, however, though built only of the trunks of trees, is extremely pretty and commodious. Her room is exquisitely neat; and resembles more the *boudoir* of a fine lady, than the cell of a nun. It contains a looking-glass, a clock, an arm-chair, a good bed, a warming-pan, and a silver saucer. Her garden is kept in good order; her spring-house * is full of milk, cheese, butter, butcher's-meat and game. Her hypocrisy may be traced in all her discourses, actions, and conduct, and even in the very manner in which she manages her countenance. She seldom speaks, without quoting the Bible, or introducing a serious sentence about death, and the necessity of making our peace with God. Whatever does not belong to her own sect, is with her an object of distaste and stedfast aversion. She sows dissension in families, to deprive the lawful heir of his right of inheritance, in order to appropriate it to herself; and all this she does under the name and by the agency of her companion, who receives all the presents brought by the faithful, and preserves them for her reverend friend, who, being wholly absorbed in her communion with Christ, whose prophetess she is, would ab-

* These are small offices or detached houses in America, in which butter, milk, and fresh meat are generally kept. They are called spring-houses, because a stream of fresh water is always running through them.

solutely

solutely forget the supply of her bodily wants, if she were not well taken care of. The number of her votaries has, of late, much decreased. Many of the families, who followed her to Jerusalem, are no longer the dupes of her self-interested policy. Some still keep up the outward appearance of attachment to her; while others have openly disclaimed their connexion with Jemima. Such however as still continue her adherents appear to be entirely devoted to her. With these she passes for a prophetess, an indescribable being; she is not Jemima Wilkinson, but a spirit of a peculiar name, which remains a profound secret to all, who are not true believers; she is the friend, the all-friend. Six or seven girls of different ages, but all young and handsome, wait upon her, with surprising emulation, to enjoy the peculiar satisfaction of being permitted to approach this celestial being. Her fields and her garden, are ploughed and dug by the friends, who neglect their own business to take care of her's; and the all friend is so condescending, as not to refuse their services; she comforts them with a kind word now and then, makes inquiries after and provides for their health and welfare, and has the art of effectually captivating their affections, the more perhaps because she knows how to keep her votaries at a respectful distance.

"When the service was over, Jemima invited us to dinner. The hope of watching her more narrowly induced us to accept the invitation; but we did not then know, that it forms a part of the character she acts, never to eat with any one. She soon left us; and locking herself up with her female friend, sat down, without other company, to an excellent dinner; we did not get ours till after she had dined. When our dinner was over, and also another, which was served up after ours, the sanctuary opened again. And now Jemima appeared once more at the door of her room, and conversed with us, seated in an arm-chair. When strangers are with her, she never comes over the threshold of her bed-room; and when by herself, she is constantly engaged in deliberation how to improve the demesne of her friend. The house was, this day, very full. Our company consisted of exactly ten persons; after us dined another company of the same number; and as many dined in the kitchen. Our plates, as well as the table-linen, were perfectly clean and neat; our repast, although frugal, was yet better in quality than any, of which we had partaken, since our departure from Philadelphia; it consisted of good fresh meat, with pudding, an excellent sallad, and a beverage of a peculiar yet charming flavour, with which we were plentifully supplied out of Jemima's apartment, where it was prepared. The devout guests observed, all this while, a profound silence; they either cast down their eyes, or lifted them up to heaven with a rapturous sigh; to me they appeared not unlike a party of the faithful, in the primitive ages, dining in a church.

"The all-friend had by this time exchanged her former dress for that of a fine Indian lady, which, however, was cut out in the same fashion as the former. Her hair and eyebrows had again been combed. She did not utter a syllable respecting our dinner; nor did she offer to make any apology for her absence. Constantly engaged in personating the part she has assumed, she descanted in a sanctimonious, mystic tone,

tone, on death, and on the happiness of having been an useful instrument to others in the way of their salvation. She afterwards gave us a rhapsody of prophecies to read, ascribed to one Dr. Love, who was beheaded in Cromwell's times, wherein she clearly discerned, according to her accounts, the French revolution, the decline and downfall of popery, and the impending end of the world. Finding, however, that this conversation was but ill adapted to engage our attention, she cut short her harangue at once. We had indeed already seen more than enough to estimate the character of this bad actress, whose pretended sanctity only inspired us with contempt and disgust, and who is altogether incapable of imposing upon any person of common understanding, unless those of the most simple minds, or downright enthusiasts. Her speeches are so strongly contradicted by the tenor of her actions; her whole conduct, her expense, compared with that of other families within a circumference of fifty miles; her way of living, and her dress, form such a striking contrast with her harangues on the subject of contemning earthly enjoyments; and the extreme assiduity, with which she is continually endeavouring to induce children, over whom she has any influence, to leave their parents, and form a part of her community; all those particulars so strongly militate against the doctrine of peace and universal love, which she is incessantly preaching, that we were actually struck with abhorrence of her duplicity and hypocrisy, as soon as the first emotions of our curiosity subsided.

"Her fraudulent conduct, indeed, has been discovered by so many persons, and so much has been said against it, that it is difficult to account for her having had any adherents at all, even for a short time. And yet she will probably retain a sufficient number, to increase still further her fortune, which is already considerable for the country in which she resides, and fully adequate to the only end which she now seems anxious to attain; namely, to live independent, in a decent, plentiful, and even elegant manner. There are so many weak-minded religionists, and Jemima is so particularly careful to select her disciples among persons who are either very old or very young, that her imposture, however gross and palpable to the discerning, may yet be carried on for some time with success, sufficient to answer her ultimate purpose. If her credit should sink too low, she would find herself constrained to transplant her holiness to some other region; and, in fact, she had, last year, harboured the design of removing her family and establishment, and of settling in Carlton Island, on the Lake of Ontario, where she would enjoy the satisfaction of living under the English government, which, by her account, has proffered her a grant of land."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

DISPOSITION, MORAL CHARACTER, MANNERS and HABITS of LIFE, OPINIONS, &c. of the MANDINGOES.

[From TRAVELS in the Interior Districts of AFRICA, &c. by MUNGO PARK, Surgeon.]

"THE Mandingoes, in particular, are a very gentle race; cheerful in their dispositions, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps, the most prominent defect in their character, was that insurmountable propensity, which the reader must have observed to prevail in all classes of them, to steal from me the few effects I was possessed of. For this part of their conduct, no complete justification can be offered, because theft is a crime in their own estimation: and it must be observed, that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. This, however, is an important circumstance in mitigation; and, before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider whether the lower order of people in any part of Europe would have acted, under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger, than the negroes acted towards me. It must not be forgotten, that the laws of the country afforded me no protection; that every one was at liberty to rob me with impunity; and finally, that some part of my effects were of as great value, in the estimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us suppose, a black merchant of Hindostan to have found his way into the centre of England, with a box of jewels at his back; and that the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security; in such a case, the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second depredator. Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo negroes towards myself. Notwithstanding I was so great a sufferer by it, I do not consider that their natural sense of justice was perverted or extinguished; it was overpowered only, for the moment, by the strength of a temptation which it required no common virtue to resist.

"On the other hand, as some counterbalance to this depravity in their nature, allowing it to be such, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity, and tender solicitude, with which many of these poor heathens (from the sovereign

vereign of Sego, to the poor women who received me at different times into their cottages, when I was perishing of hunger) sympathised with me in my sufferings; relieved my distresses; and contributed to my safety. This acknowledgment, however, is perhaps more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the various tempers of those to whom I made application. The hardness of avarice in some, and the blindness of bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion: but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as my predecessor, Mr. Ledyard, has eloquently said before me: 'To a 'woman I never addressed myself 'in the language of decency and 'friendship, without receiving a 'decent and friendly answer. If 'I was hungry, or thirsty, wet, 'or sick, they did not hesitate, 'like the men, to perform a ge'nerous action. In so free, and 'so kind a manner did they contri'bute to my relief; that if I was 'dry, I drank the sweetest draught, 'and if hungry, I eat the coarsest 'morsel with a double relish.'

"It is surely reasonable to suppose, that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature, which was thus spontaneously manifested towards me, in my distress, is displayed by these poor people as occasion requires, much more strongly towards persons of their own nation and neighbourhood, and especially when the objects of their compassion are endeared to them by the ties of consanguinity. Accordingly, the maternal affection (neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solicitudes of civilised life) is every where conspicuous among them; and creates a correspondent return of tenderness in the child. An illustration of this has been given in p. 47. 'Strike me,' said my attendant, 'but do not curse my 'mother.' The same sentiment I found universally to prevail, and observed in all parts of Africa, that the greatest affront which could be offered to a negro, was to reflect on her who gave him birth.

"It is not strange, that this sense of filial duty and affection among the negroes should be less ardent towards the father than the mother. The system of polygamy, while it weakens the father's attachment, by dividing it among the children of different wives, concentrates all the mother's jealous tenderness to one point, the protection of her own offspring. I perceived, with great satisfaction, too, that the maternal solicitude extended not only to the growth and security of the person, but also, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the mind of the infant; for one of the first lessons, in which the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth. The reader will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti, at Funingkedy, p. 102.—Her only consolation, in her uttermost distress, was the reflection that the poor boy, in the course of his blameless life, had never told a lie. Such testimony, from a fond mother, on such an occasion, must have operated powerfully on the youthful part of the surrounding spectators. It was at once a tribute of praise to the deceased, and a lesson to the living.

"The negro women suckle their children until they are able to walk of themselves. Three years' nursing is not uncommon, and during this period the husband devotes his whole attention to his other wives. To this practice it is owing, I presume, that the family of each wife is seldom very numerous. Few women have more than five or six children. As soon as an infant is able to walk, it is permitted to run about with great freedom. The mother is not over solicitous to preserve it from slight falls, and other trifling accidents. A little practice soon enables a child to take care of itself, and experience acts the part of a nurse. As they advance in life, the girls are taught to spin cotton, and to beat corn, and are instructed in other domestic duties; and the boys are employed in the labours of the field. Both sexes, whether Bushreens or Kafirs, on attaining the age of puberty, are circumcised. This painful operation is not considered by the Kafirs, so much in the light of a religious ceremony, as a matter of convenience and utility. They have, indeed, a superstitious notion that it contributes to render the marriage state prolific. The operation is performed upon several young people at the same time; all of whom are exempted from every sort of labour, for two months afterwards. During this period they form a society called *Solimana*. They visit the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, where they dance and sing, and are well treated by the inhabitants. I had frequently, in the course of my journey, observed parties of this description, but they were all males. I had, however, an opportunity of seeing a female Solimana at Kamalia.

"In the course of this celebration it frequently happens that some of the young women get married. If a man takes a fancy to any one of them, it is not considered as absolutely necessary he should make an overture to the girl herself. The first object is to agree with the parents, concerning the recompense to be given them, for the loss of the company and services of their daughter. The value of two slaves is a common price, unless the girl is thought very handsome; in which case, the parents will raise their demand very considerably. If the lover is rich enough, and willing to give the sum demanded, he then communicates his wishes to the damsel; but her consent is by no means necessary to the match; for if the parents agree to it, and eat a few kolla-nuts, which are presented by the suitor as an earnest of the bargain, the young lady must either have the man of their choice, or continue unmarried, for she cannot afterwards be given to another. If the parents should attempt it, the lover is then authorised, by the laws of the country, to seize upon the girl as his slave. When the day for celebrating the nuptials is fixed on, a select number of people are invited to be present at the wedding: a bullock or goat is killed, and great plenty of victuals dressed for the occasion. As soon as it is dark, the bride is conducted into a hut, where a company of matrons assist in arranging the wedding dress, which is always white cotton, and is put on in such a manner as to conceal the bride from head to foot. Thus arrayed, she is seated upon a mat, in the middle of the floor, and the old women place themselves in a circle round her. They then give her a series of instructions, and point out, with great propriety, what ought to be her future conduct in life. This scene of instruction,

instruction, however, is frequently interrupted by girls, who amuse the company with songs and dances, which are rather more remarkable for their gaiety than their delicacy. While the bride remains within the hut with the women, the bridegroom devotes his attention to the guests of both sexes, who assemble without doors, and by distributing among them small presents of kollanuts, and seeing that every one partakes of the good cheer which is provided, he contributes much to the general hilarity of the evening. When supper is ended, the company spend the remainder of the night in singing and dancing, and seldom separate until daybreak. About midnight, the bride is privately conducted by the women into the hut which is to be her future residence; and the bridegroom, upon a signal given, retires from his company. The new-married couple, however, are always disturbed towards morning by the women, who assemble to inspect the nuptial sheet, (according to the manners of the ancient Hebrews, as recorded in scripture,) and dance round it. This ceremony is thought indispensably necessary; nor is the marriage considered as valid without it.

"The negroes, as hath been frequenty observed, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, allow a plurality of wives. The Mahomedans alone are by their religion confined to four, and, as the husband commonly pays a great price for each, he requires from all of them the utmost deference and submission, and treats them more like hired servants than companions. They have, however, the management of domestic affairs, and each in rotation is mistress of the household, and has the care of dressing the victuals, overlooking the female slaves, &c. But though the African husbands are possessed of great authority over their wives, I did not observe, that in general they treat them with cruelty; neither did I perceive that mean jealousy in their dispositions, which is so prevalent among the Moors. They permit their wives to partake of all public diversions, and this indulgence is seldom abused; for though the negro women are very cheerful and frank in their behaviour, they are by no means given to intrigue: I believe that instances of conjugal infidelity are not common. When the wives quarrel among themselves, a circumstance which, from the nature of their situation, must frequently happen, the husband decides between them; and sometimes finds it necessary to administer a little corporeal chastisement, before tranquillity can be restored. But if any one of the ladies complains to the chief of the town, that her husband has unjustly punished her, and shown an undue partiality to some other of his wives, the affair is brought to a public trial. In these palavers, however, which are conducted chiefly by married men, I was informed that the complaint of the wife is not always considered in a very serious light; and the complainant herself is sometimes convicted of strife and contention, and left without remedy. If she murmurs at the decision of the court, the magic rod of Mumbo Jumbo soon puts an end to the business.

"The children of the Mandingoes are not always named after their relations; but frequently in consequence of some remarkable occurrence. Thus, my landlord at Kamalia was called *Karfa*, a word signifying to replace; because he was born shortly after the death of one of his brothers. Other names are

descriptive of good or bad qualities; as *Modi*, 'a good man;' *Fadibba*, 'father of the town,' &c.: indeed, the very names of their towns have something descriptive in them; as *Sibidooloo*, 'the town of ciboa trees;' *Kennyeto*, 'victuals here;' *Dosita*, 'lift your spoon.' Others appear to be given by way of reproach, as *Bammakoo*, 'wash a crocodile;' *Kartankalla*, 'no cup to drink from;' &c. A child is named when it is seven or eight days old. The ceremony commences by shaving the infant's head; and a dish called *dega*, made of pounded corn and sour milk, is prepared for the guests. If the parents are rich, a sheep or a goat is commonly added. This feast is called *ding koon lee*, 'the child's head shaving.' During my stay at Kamalia, I was present at four different feasts of this kind, and the ceremony was the same in each, whether the child belonged to a Bushreen or a Kafir. The schoolmastef, who officiated as priest on those occasions, and who is necessarily a Bushreen, first said a long prayer over the *dega*; during which every person present took hold of the brim of the calabash with his right hand. After this, the schoolmaster took the child in his arms, and said a second prayer; in which he repeatedly solicited the blessing of God upon the child, and upon all the company. When this prayer was ended, he whispered a few sentences in the child's ear, and spit three times in its face; after which he pronounced its name aloud, and returned the infant to the mother. This part of the ceremony being ended, the father of the child divided the *dega* into a number of balls, one of which he distributed to every person present. And inquiry was then made if any person in the town was dangerously sick, it being usual in such cases to send the party a large portion of the *dega*, which is thought to possess great medical virtues.*

"Among the negroes every individual, besides his own proper name, has likewise a *kontong*, or surname, to denote the family or clan to which he belongs. Some of these families are very numerous and powerful. It is impossible to enumerate the various *kontongs* which are found in different parts of the country; though the knowledge of many of them is of great service to the traveller; for as every negro plumes himself upon the importance, or the antiquity of his clan, he is much flattered when he is addressed by his *kontong*.

"Salutations, among the negroes to each other, when they meet, are always observed; but those in most general use among the Kafirs are, *Abbe hacretto*,—*Ening seni*,—*Anewari*, &c. all of which have nearly the same meaning, and signify, *are you well*, or to that effect. There are likewise salutations which are used at different times of the day, as, *Ening semo*, good morning, &c. The general answer to all salutations, is to repeat the *kontong* of the person who salutes, or else to repeat the salutation itself, first pronouncing the word *marhaba*, my friend.

"The Mandingoes, and I believe the negroes in general, have no artificial method of dividing time. They calculate the years by the number of rainy seasons. they portion the year into moons, and reckon the days by so many suns. The day they divide into

* "Soon after baptism, the children are marked in different parts of the skin in a manner resembling what is called *tatowing* in the South-sea islands."

morning, mid-day, and evening; and further sub-divide it, when necessary, by pointing to the sun's place in the heavens. I frequently inquired of some of them, what became of the sun during the night, and whether we should see the same sun, or a different one, in the morning? but I found that they considered the question as very childish. The subject appeared to them as placed beyond the reach of human investigation; they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any hypothesis about the matter. The moon, by varying her form, has more attracted their attention. On the first appearance of the new moon, which they look upon to be newly created, the Pagan natives, as well as Mahomedans, say a short prayer; and this seems to be the only visible adoration which the Kafirs offer up to the Supreme Being. This prayer is pronounced in a whisper; the party holding up his hands before his face; its purport (as I have been assured by many different people) is to return thanks to God for his kindness through the existence of the past moon, and to solicit a continuation of his favour during that of the new one. At the conclusion, they spit upon their hands, and rub them over their faces. This seems to be nearly the same ceremony which prevailed among the heathens in the days of Job *.

"Great attention, however, is paid to the changes of this luminary, in its monthly course; and it is thought very unlucky to begin a journey, or any other work of consequence, in the last quarter. An eclipse, whether of the sun or the moon, is supposed to be effected by witchcraft. The stars are very little regarded; and the whole study of astronomy appears to them as a useless pursuit, and attended to by such persons only as deal in magic.

"Their notions of geography are equally puerile. They imagine that the world is an extended plain, the termination of which no eye has discovered; it being, they say, overhung with clouds and darkness. They describe the sea as a large river of salt water, on the farther shore of which is situated a country called *Tobaubo doo*, 'the land of the white people.' At a distance from Tobaubo doo, they describe another country, which they allege is inhabited by cannibals of gigantic size, called *Komi*. This country they call *Jong sang doo*, 'the land 'where the slaves are sold.' But of all countries in the world, their own appears to them as the best, and their own people as the happiest; and they pity the fate of other nations, who have been placed by Providence in less fertile and less fortunate districts.

"Some of the religious opinions of the negroes, though blended with the weakest credulity and superstition, are not unworthy attention. I have conversed with all ranks and conditions, upon the subject of their faith; and can pronounce, without the smallest shadow of doubt, that the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment, is entire and universal among them. It is remarkable, however, that except on the appearance of a new moon, as before related, the pagan natives do not think it necessary to offer up prayers and supplications to the Almighty. They represent the Deity, indeed, as the creator and preserver of all things; but in general they consider him as a being

* "Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27, 28."

so remote and of so exalted a nature, that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom. If they are asked, for what reason then do they offer up a prayer on the appearance of the new moon? the answer is, that custom has made it necessary: they do it because their fathers did it before them. Such is the blindness of unassisted nature! The concerns of this world, they believe, are committed by the Almighty to the superintendence and direction of subordinate spirits, over whom they suppose that certain magical ceremonies have great influence. A white fowl, suspended to the branch of a particular tree, a snake's head, or a few handfuls of fruit, are offerings which ignorance and superstition frequently present, to deprecate the wrath, or to conciliate the favour of these tutelary agents. But it is not often that the negroes make their religious opinions the subject of conversation: when interrogated, in particular, concerning their ideas of a future state, they express themselves with great reverence, but endeavour to shorten the discussion by observing—*mo ẹ mo inta alla*, 'no man knows any thing about it.' They are content, they say, to follow the precepts and examples of their forefathers, through the various vicissitudes of life; and when this world presents no objects of enjoyment or of comfort, they seem to look with anxiety towards another, which they believe will be better suited to their natures; but concerning which they are far from indulging vain and delusive conjectures.

"The Mandingoes seldom attain extreme old age. At forty, most of them become grey haired, and covered with wrinkles; and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five, or sixty. They calculate the years of their lives, as I have already observed, by the number of rainy seasons (there being but one such in the year); and distinguish each year by a particular name, founded on some remarkable occurrence which happened in that year. Thus they say, the year of the *Farbanna war*; the year of the *Kaarta war*; the year on which *Gadou was plundered*, &c. &c. and I have no doubt that the year 1796 will in many places be distinguished by the name of *Tobanbo tambi sang*, 'the year which the white man passed'; as such an occurrence would naturally form an epoch in their traditional history.

"But notwithstanding that longevity is uncommon among them, it appeared to me that their diseases are but few in number. Their simple diet, and active way of life, preserve them from many of those disorders which embitter the days of luxury and idleness. Fevers and fluxes are the most common and the most fatal. For these, they generally apply saphies to different parts of the body, and perform a great many other superstitious ceremonies; some of which are, indeed, well calculated to inspire the patient with the hope of recovery, and divert his mind from brooding over his own danger. But I have sometimes observed among them a more systematic mode of treatment. On the first attack of a fever, when the patient complains of cold, he is frequently placed in a sort of vapour bath: this is done by spreading branches of the *nauclea orientalis* upon hot wood embers, and laying the patient upon them, wrapped up in a large cotton cloth. Water is then sprinkled upon the branches, which descending to the hot embers,

bers, soon covers the patient with a cloud of vapour, in which he is allowed to remain until the embers are almost extinguished. This practice commonly produces a profuse perspiration, and wonderfully relieves the sufferer.

"For the dysentery, they use the bark of different trees reduced to powder, and mixed with the patient's food; but this practice is in general very unsuccessful.

"The other diseases which prevail among the negroes, are the *yaws*; the *elephantiasis*; and a *leprosy* of the very worst kind. This last mentioned complaint appears, at the beginning, in scurvy spots upon different parts of the body; which finally settle upon the hands or feet, where the skin becomes withered, and cracks in many places. At length, the ends of the fingers swell and ulcerate; the discharge is acrid and fetid; the nails drop off, and the bones of the fingers become carious, and separate at the joints. In this manner the disease continues to spread, frequently until the patient loses all his fingers and toes. Even the hands and feet are sometimes destroyed by this inveterate malady, to which the negroes give the name of *balla jou*, 'incurable.'

"The Guinea-worm is likewise very common in certain places, especially at the commencement of the rainy season. The negroes attribute this disease, which has been described by many writers, to bad water; and allege that the people who drink from wells, are more subject to it than those who drink from streams. To the same cause, they attribute the swelling of the glands of the neck (goitres), which are very common in some parts of Bambarra. I observed also, in the interior countries, a few instances of simple gonorrhœa; but never the confirmed lues. On the whole, it appeared to me that the negroes are better surgeons than physicians. I found them very successful in their management of fractures and dislocations, and their splints and bandages are simple, and easily removed. The patient is laid upon a soft mat, and the fractured limb is frequently bathed with cold water. All abscesses they open with the actual cautery; and the dressings are composed of either soft leaves, shea butter, or cow's dung, as the case seems, in their judgment to require. Towards the coast, where a supply of European lancets can be procured, they sometimes perform phlebotomy; and in cases of local inflammation, a curious sort of cupping is practised. This operation is performed by making incisions in the part, and applying to it a bullock's horn, with a small hole in the end. The operator then takes a piece of bees-wax in his mouth, and putting his lips to the hole, extracts the air from the horn; and by a dexterous use of his tongue, stops up the hole with the wax. This method is found to answer the purpose, and in general produces a plentiful discharge.

"When a person of consequence dies, the relations and neighbours meet together, and manifest their sorrow by loud and dismal howlings. A bullock or goat is killed for such persons as come to assist at the funeral; which generally takes place in the evening of the same day on which the party died. The negroes have no appropriate burial places, and frequently dig the grave in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree. The body is dressed in white cotton, and wrapped up in a mat. It is carried to the grave, in the dusk of the evening, by the relations. If the grave is without the walls of the

the town, a number of prickly bushes are laid upon it, to prevent the wolves from digging up the body; but I never observed that any stone was placed over the grave, as a monument or memorial."

CEREMONIES of the COURT, GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY, and MANNERS in the KINGDOM of DAR-FUR.

[From TRAVELS in AFRICA, &c. by W. G. BROWNE.]

"ON my first audience I was too ill to make much observation; I was seated at a distance from the sultan; the visit was short, and I had no opportunity of opening a conversation. He was placed on his seat (*ôrsi*) at the door of his tent. Some person had mentioned to him my watch, and a copy of Erpenius's Grammar, which I had with me. He asked to see both; but after casting his eyes on each he returned them. The present I had brought was shown him, for which he thanked me, and rose to retire.

"During the following summer, the first time I got admission to him, he was holding a diwan in the outer court. He was then mounted on a white mule, clothed with a scarlet *benish*, and had on his head a white turban; which however, together with part of his face, was covered with a thick muslin. On his feet were yellow boots, and the saddle on which he was seated was of crimson velvet, without any ornament of gold or silver. His sword, which was broad and straight, and adorned with an hilt of massy gold, was held horizontally in his right hand. A small canopy of muslin was supported over his head. Amid the noise and hurry of above a thousand persons who were there assembled, I was unable to make myself heard, which the nature of my situation obliged me to attempt, though not exactly conformable to the etiquette of the court, that, almost to the exclusion of strangers, had appropriated the diwan to the troops, the Arabs, and others connected with the government.

"On another occasion I contrived to gain admittance to the interior court by a bribe. The sultan was hearing a cause of a private nature, the proceedings on which were only in the Fûrian language. He was seated on a kind of chair, which was covered with a Turkey carpet, and wore a red silk turban; his face was then uncovered: the imperial sword was placed across his knees, and his hands were engaged with a chaplet of red coral. Being near him, I fixed my eyes on him, in order to have a perfect idea of his countenance, which, being short-sighted, and not thinking it very decent to use a glass in his presence, I had hitherto scarcely found an opportunity of acquiring. He seemed evidently discomposed at my having observed him thus, and the moment the cause was at an end, he retired very abruptly. Some persons to whom I afterwards remarked the circumstance seemed to think that his attendants had taught him to fear the magic of the Franks, to the operation of which their habit of taking likenesses is imagined by some of the Orientals to conduce. He is a man rather under the

the middle size, of a complexion adust or dry, with eyes full of fire, and features abounding in expression. His beard is short but full, and his countenance, though perfectly black, materially differing from the negro; though fifty or fifty-five years of age, he possesses much alertness and activity.

"At another of my visits I found him in the interior court, standing, with a long staff tipped with silver in his right hand, on which he leaned, and the sword in his left. He then had chosen to adorn his head with the folds of a red silk turban, composed of the same materials as the western Arabs use for a cincture. The Melek Ibrahim presented him, in my name, with a small piece of silk and cotton, of the manufacture of Damascus. He returned answer, *Barak ulla fi!*—'May the blessing of God be on him!'—a phrase in general use on receiving any favour,—and instantly retired, without giving me time to urge the request of which I intended the offering should be the precursor. It is expected of all persons that, on coming to El Fasher, they should bring with them a present of greater or less value, according to the nature of the business in hand. It is no less usual, before leaving the royal residence, to ask permission of the sultan for that purpose. With this latter form, which was to me unpleasant, I sometimes complied, but more frequently omitted it. But on this occasion, having been long resident there, I thought fit to make a last effort to promote my design. The day preceding that which I had fixed for my return happened to be a great public audience. I found the monarch seated on his throne (*cursi*), under a lofty canopy, composed not of one material, but of various stuffs of Syrian and even of Indian fabric, hung loosely on a light frame of wood, no two pieces of the same pattern. The place he sat in was spread with small Turkey carpets. The Meleks were seated at some distance on the right and left, and behind them a line of guards, with caps, ornamented in front with a small piece of copper and a black ostrich feather. Each bore a spear in his hand, and a target of the hide of the hippopotamus on the opposite arm. Their dress consisted only of a cotton shirt, of the manufacture of the country. Behind the throne were fourteen or fifteen eunuchs, clothed indeed splendidly in habiliments of cloth or silk, but clumsily adjusted, without any regard to size or colour. The space in front was filled with suitors and spectators, to the number of more than fifteen hundred. A kind of hired encomiast stood on the monarch's left hand, crying out, *à plein gorge*, during the whole ceremony, 'See the buffaloe, the 'offspring of a buffaloe, a bull of 'bulls, the elephant of superior 'strength, the powerful Sultan, 'Abd-el-rachmân el-rashid! May 'God prolong thy life!—O Master '—May God assist thee, and ren-'der thee victorious!'

"From this audience, as from those which had preceded it, I was obliged to retire as I had come, without effecting any purpose. I was told there were occasions when the sultan wears a kind of crown, as it is common with other African monarchs; but of this practice I had no opportunity to bear testimony. When he appeared in public, a number of troops armed with light spears usually attended him, and several of his slaves were employed to bear a kind of umbrella over his head, which concealed his face from the multitude. When he passes, all the spectators

spectators are obliged to appear barefooted, and commonly to kneel. —His subjects bow to the earth, but this compliance is not expected from foreigners. Even the Meleks, when they approach the throne, creep on their hands and knees, which gave occasion to an Egyptian to remark, that the *Jarea** in Fûr was a Melek, and the Melek a *Jarea*—alluding to the servile behaviour of the ministers, and the publicity of women in the domestic offices of the palace.

"The magistracy of one, which seems tacitly, if it be not expressly favoured by the dispensation of Mohammed, as in most other countries professing that religion, prevails in Dar-Fûr. The monarch indeed can do nothing contrary to the korân, but he may do more than the laws established thereon will authorise: and as there is no council to control or even to assist him, his power may well be termed despotic. He speaks in public of the soil and its productions as his personal property, and of the people as little else than his slaves.

"When manifest injustice appears in his decisions, the *Fukkara*, or ecclesiastics, express their sentiments with some boldness, but their opposition is without any appropriate object, and consequently its effects are inconsiderable. All the monarch fears is a general alienation of the minds of the troops, who may at their will raise another, as enterprising and unprincipled as himself to the same envied superiority.

"His power in the provinces is delegated to officers who possess an authority equally arbitrary. In those districts, which have always or for a long time formed an integral part of the empire, these officers are generally called *Meleks*. In such as have been lately conquered, or perhaps, more properly, have been annexed to the dominion of the sultan, under certain stipulations, the chief is suffered to retain the title of Sultan, yet is tributary to and receives his appointment from the sultan of Fûr.

"In this country, on the death of the monarch, the title descends of right to the oldest of his sons; and in default of heirs male, as well as during the minority of those heirs, to his brother. But under various pretences this received rule of succession is frequently infringed. The son is said to be too young, or the late monarch to have obtained the government by unjust means; and, at length, the pretensions of those who have any apparent claim to the regal authority are to be decided by war, and become the prize of the strongest.

"It was in this manner that the present sultan gained possession of the imperial dignity. A preceding monarch, named *Bokar*, had three sons, *Mohammed*, surnamed *Teraub, el-Chalîfe*, and *Abd-el-rachmân*. Teraub the eldest (which cognomen was acquired by the habit of rolling in the dust when a child) first obtained the government. He is said to have ruled thirty-two lunar years, one of the longest reigns remembered in the history of the country. The sons he left at his death being all young, the second brother, under pretence that none of them was old enough to reign, which was far from being the fact, and in some degree favoured by the troops for the generosity by which he was eminently distinguished, under the title of *Chalîfe*, vicegerent of the

"* A female slave."

realm,

realm, assumed the reins of government. His reign was of short duration, and characterised by nothing but violence and rapine. He had been only a short time seated on the throne, when a discontented party joining with the people of Kordofân, in a war with whom his brother Teraub had perished, found employment for him in that quarter. Abd el-rachmân, who, during the life of his brother, had assumed the title of *Faquîr*, and apparently devoted himself to religion, was then in Kordofân. He took advantage of the situation of the chalîfe, and the increasing discontent of the soldiery, to get himself appointed their leader. Returning towards Fûr, he met his brother in the field, and they came to an engagement, which, whether by the prowess of Abd-el-rachmân, or the perfidy of the other's adherents, is unknown, was decided in favour of the former. The chalîfe was wounded; and while one of his sons parried the blows that were aimed at his life, they perished together covered with wounds. The children of Teraub, the rightful heirs, were in the mean-time forgotten, and are now wandering about, scraping a miserable subsistence from the parsimonious alms of their usurping uncle. Abd-el-rachmân thought fit to sacrifice but one of them, who being of mature age, and, according to general report, endowed with talents greater than the rest, was the chief object of his suspicion and his fears.

"The usurper, after the victory, found himself in peaceable possession of the throne; yet judging it right to maintain for a time the show of moderation and self-denial, he employed that dissimulation for which his countrymen are famous, in persuading them that his affections were fixed on the blessings of futurity, and that he was indifferent to the splendour of empire. He refused even to see the treasures of his deceased brother, in gold, slaves, &c. and, as he entered the interior of the palace, drew the folds of the turban over his eyes, saying the temptation was too great for him, and invocating the Supreme Being to preserve him from its effects. For a certain time too he confined himself to the possession of four wives (free women) allowed by the law of the prophet. At length finding his claim unquestioned, and his authority firmly established, the veil of sanctity, now no longer necessary, was thrown aside, and ambition and avarice appeared without disguise. He now wastes whole days in misanthropic solitude, gazing in stupid admiration on heaps of costly apparel, and an endless train of slaves and camels, and revels in the submissive charms of near two hundred free women. Abd-el rachmân assumed the imperial dignity in the year of the Hejira 1202, of the Christian æra 1787. The discontent of the people however, and particularly of the soldiery, in consequence of the severity of his regulations, and his personal avarice, were (1795) very much increasing, which made me imagine his reign would not be long.

"In that part of the country where I resided are found neither lakes, rivers, marshes, nor any other appearance of water but the wells which are dug for domestic consumption, except during the rainy season. At that period torrents, of greater or less dimensions, intersect the country in all directions. The rainy season lasts from before the middle of June to the middle or end

end of September. This season is called Harif.*

"I have observed that the rain, which is generally very heavy and accompanied with lightning, falls, most frequently from 3 P. M. till midnight.

"The changes of the wind are not periodical but instantaneous. It is with a southerly wind that the greatest heat prevails; and with a south east that the greatest quantity of rain falls. When the breeze is from the north or north-west it is most refreshing, but does not generally continue long in that quarter. The hot and oppressive winds which fill the air with thick dust blow constantly from the south.

"One day, while I was sitting in the market-place at Cobbé, I observed a singular appearance in the air, which soon discovered itself to be a column of sand, raised from the desert by a whirlwind. It was apparently about a mile and a half distant, and continued about eight minutes; this phenomenon had nothing of the tremendous appearance of the columns of sand described by Bruce as rising between Assuân and Chendi, being merely a light cloud of sand.

"The harvest is conducted in a very simple manner. The women and slaves of the proprietor are employed to break off the ears with their hands, leaving the straw standing, which is afterwards applied to buildings and various other useful purposes. They then accumulate them in baskets, and carry them away on their heads. When threshed, which is awkwardly and incompletely performed, they expose the grain to the sun till it becomes quite dry; after this an hole in the earth is prepared, the bottom and sides of which are covered with chaff to exclude the vermin. This cavity or magazine is filled with grain, which is then covered with chaff, and afterwards with earth. In this way the maize is preserved tolerably well. In using it for food, they grind it, and boil it in the form of polenta, which is eaten either with fresh or sour milk, or still more frequently with a sauce made of dried meat pounded in a mortar, and boiled with onions, &c. The Fûrians use little butter; with the Egyptians and Arabs it is an article in great request. There is also another sauce which the poorer people use and highly relish; it is composed of an herb called *cowel* or *cawel*, of a taste in part acescent and in part bitter, and generally disagreeable to strangers.

"As a substitute for bread, cakes of the same material are also baked on a smooth substance prepared for the purpose, which are extremely thin, and, if dexterously prepared, not unpalatable. These are called *kissery* (fragments or sections); they are also eaten with the sauce abovementioned, or with milk, or simply water; and in whatever form the grain be used, the rich cause it to be fermented before it be reduced to flour, which gives it a very agreeable taste. They also make no hesitation in eating the dokn raw, but moistened with water, without either grinding or the operation of fire.

"The sultan here does not seem wholly inattentive to that important object, agriculture. Nevertheless, it may be esteemed rather a blind compliance with ancient custom, than individual public spirit, in which has originated a practice adopted

* "If but a small quantity of rain fall, the agricultors are reduced to great distress; and it happened, about seven years before my arrival, that many people were obliged to eat the young branches of trees pounded in a mortar."

adopted by him, in itself sufficiently laudable, since other of his regulations by no means conduce to the same end.

"At the beginning of the *Harif*, or wet season, which is also the moment for sowing the corn, the king goes out with his Meleks and the rest of his train; and while the people are employed in turning up the ground and sowing the seed, he also makes several holes with his own hand. The same custom, it is said, obtains in Bornou, and other countries in this part of Africa. It calls to the mind a practice of the Egyptian kings, mentioned by Herodotus. Whether this usage be antecedent to the introduction of Mohammedism into the country, I know not; but, as it is attended with no superstitious observance, it would rather seem to belong to that creed.

"The troops of the country are not famed for skill, courage, or perseverance. In their campaigns much reliance is placed on the Arabs who accompany them, and who are properly tributaries rather than subjects of the sultan. One energy of barbarism they indeed possess, in common with other savages, that of being able to endure hunger and thirst; but in this particular they have no advantage over their neighbours. On the journey, a man whom I had observed travelling on foot with the caravan, but unconnected with any person, asked me for bread—'How long have you been without it?' said I.—'Two days,' was the reply.—'And how long without water?'—'I drank water last night.'—This was at sun-set, after we had been marching all day in the heat of the sun, and we had yet six hours to reach the well. In their persons the Fûrians are not remarkable for cleanliness. Though observing, as Mohammedans, all the superstitious formalities of prayer, their hair is rarely combed, or their bodies completely washed. The hair of the pubes and axillæ it is usual to exterminate; but they know not the use of soap; so that with them polishing the skin with unguents holds the place of perfect ablutions and real purity. A kind of farinaceous paste is however prepared, which, being applied with butter to the skin and rubbed continually till it becomes dry, not only improves its appearance, but removes from it accidental sordes, and still more the effect of continued transpiration, which, as there are no baths in the country, is a consideration of some importance. The female slaves are dexterous in the application of it, and to undergo this operation is one of the refinements of African sensuality. Their intervals of labour and rest are fixed by no established rule, but governed by inclination or personal convenience. Their fatigues are often renewed under the oppressive influence of the meridian sun, and in some districts their nightly slumbers are interrupted by the dread of robbers, in others by the musquitoes and other inconveniences of the climate.

"An inveterate animosity seems to exist between the natives of Fûr and those of Kordofân. From conversations with both parties I have understood that there have been almost continual wars between the two countries as far as the memory of individuals extends. One of the causes of this hostility appears to be their relative position; the latter lying in the road between Dar-Fûr and Sennaar, which is considered as the most practicable, though not the direct communication between the former and Mekka. Nor can caravans pass from Suakem to Fûr, as appears, but by the permission of the

the governors of Kordofân. The jealousy of trade therefore is in part the origin of their unvaried and implacable animosity.

"Nothing resembling current coin is found in Soudân, unless it be certain small tin rings, the value of which is in some degree arbitrary, and which alone obtains at El Fasher. In that place they serve as the medium of exchange for small articles, for which in others are received beads, salt, &c. These rings are made of so many various sizes, that I have known sometimes twelve, sometimes one hundred and forty of them, pass for a given quantity and quality of cotton cloth. The Austrian dollars, and other silver coins, brought from Egypt, are all sold for ornaments for the women, and some little profit attends the sale of them, but the use of them in dress is far from general."

"Gold not being found within the limits of Fûr, is seldom seen in the market; when it appears there, it is in the form of rings of about one-fourth of an ounce weight each, in which state it comes from Sennaar. The Egyptian *mahhûb*, or other stamped money, none will receive but the people of that country. The other articles chiefly current, are such as belong to their dress, as cotton cloths, beads, amber, kohhel, rhéa, and, on the other hand, oxen, camels, and slaves.

"The disposition of the people of Fûr has appeared to me more cheerful than that of the Egyptians; and that gravity and reserve which the precepts of Mohammedism inspire, and the practice of the greater number of its professors countenances and even requires, seems by no means as yet to sit easy on them. A government perfectly despotic, and at this time not ill administered, as far as relates to the manners of the people, yet forms no adequate restraint to their violent passions.* Prone to inebriation, but unprovided with materials or ingenuity to prepare any other fermented liquor than *bûza*, with this alone their convivial excesses are committed. But though the sultan had just published an ordinance (March 1795) forbidding the use of that liquor under pain of death, the plurality, though less publicly than before, still indulge themselves in it. A company often sits from sun-rise to sun-set drinking and conversing, till a single man sometimes carries off near two gallons of that liquor. The bûza has however a diuretic and diaphoretic tendency, which precludes any danger from these excesses.

"In this country dancing is practised by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiscuously. Each tribe seems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called *secondari*, that of Bukkara, *bendala*. Some are grave, others lascivious, but consisting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondness for this amusement, that the slaves dance in fetters to the music of a little drum; and, what I have rarely seen in Africa or the East, the time is marked by means of a long stick held by two, while others beat the cadence with short batons.

"They use the games of *tab-uduk*, and *dris-wa-talaité*, described by Nieuhohr, which however appear not indigenous, but to have been borrowed of the Arabs.

"The vices of thieving, lying, and

* "The inhabitants of a village called *Bamoo* having quarrelled with those of another hamlet, and some having been killed on both sides, all the property of both villages was forfeited to the king, the inhabitants being abandoned to poverty."

and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, as often happen among a people under the same circumstances, are here almost universal. No property, whether considerable or trifling, is safe out of the sight of the owner, nor indeed scarcely in it, unless he be stronger than the thief. In buying and selling the parent glories in deceiving the son, and the son the parent; and God and the Prophet are hourly invocated, to give colour to the most palpable frauds and falsehoods.

"The privilege of polygamy, which, as is well known, belongs to their religion, the people of Soudân push to the extreme. At this circumstance the Musselmans of Egypt, with whom I have conversed on the subject, affect to be much scandalised: for whereas, by their law they are allowed four free women, and as many slaves as they can conveniently maintain, the Fûrians take both free women and slaves without any limitation. The sultan has more than an hundred free women, and many of the Meleks have from twenty to thirty. Teraub, a late king, contented himself with about five hundred females as a light travelling equipage in his wars in Kordofân, and left as many more in his palace. This may seem ridiculous; but when it is recollected that they had corn to grind, water to fetch, food to dress, and all menial offices to perform for several hundred individuals, and that these females (excepting those who are reputed *Serrari*, concubines of the monarch) travel on foot, and even carry utensils, &c. on their heads, employment for this immense retinue may be imagined, without attributing to the sultan more libidinous propensities than belong to others of the same rank and station.

"This people exceeds in indulgences with women, and pays little regard to restraint or decency. The form of the houses already described secures no great secrecy to what is carried on within them, yet even the concealment which is thus offered is not always sought. The shade of a tree, or long grass, is the sole temple required for the sacrifices to the primæval deity. In the course of licentious indulgence father and daughter, son and mother, are sometimes mingled. The relations of brother and sister are exchanged for closer intercourse; and in the adjoining state, (Bergoo,) the example of the monarch countenances the infraction of a positive precept, as well of Islamism, as of the other rules of faith, which have taken their tincture from the Mosaic dispensation.

"But however unbridled their appetites in other respects may be, pæderasty, so common in Asia and the north of Africa, is in Soudân little known or practised. The situation, character, and treatment of women is not exactly similar, either to that which marks the manners of Asia, and other parts of Africa, or to that which is established in Europe. In contradistinction to the women of Egypt, in Soudân, when a stranger enters the house, one of the more modest indeed retires, but she is contented to retire to a small distance, and passes and repasses executing the business of the house in the presence of the men. In Egypt, a veil is invariably the guardian of real or affected modesty. In Dar-Fûr none attempt to conceal their faces but the wives of the great, whose rank demands some affectation of decency—who from satiety of in-

dulgence become coquets, or whose vanity induces them to expect that concealment will ensnare the inexperienced with the hope of youth which has ceased to recommend them, or beauty by which they could never boast to be adorned. The middle and inferior rank are always contented with the slight covering of a cotton cloth, wrapped round the waist, and occasionally another of the same form, materials, and size, and equally loose, artlessly thrown over the shoulders. They never eat with the men, but show no hesitation at being present when the men eat and drink. The most modest of them will enter the house, not only of a man and a stranger, but of the traders of Egypt, and make their bargains at leisure. On such occasions, any indelicate freedom on the part of the merchant is treated with peculiar indulgence. The husband is by no means remarkable for jealousy, and provided he has reason to suppose that his complaisance will be attended with any solid avantage, will readily yield his place to a stranger. Nothing can shock the feelings of an Egyptian more than to see his wife in conversation with another man in public. For similar conduct, individuals of that nation have been known to inflict the last punishment. A liberty of this kind has no such effect on a Fûrian.

Defendit numerus, junctæque in umbone phalanges.

"The universality of the practice prevents its being esteemed either criminal or shameful.

"Some of the most laborious domestic offices in this country are executed by women. They not only prepare the soil and sow the corn, but assist in gathering it. They alone too are engaged in the business of grinding and converting it into bread. They not only prepare the food, in which (contrary to the practice of the Arabs) it is esteemed disgraceful for a man to occupy himself, but fetch water, wash the apparel, and cleanse the apartments. Even the clay buildings, which have been mentioned, are constructed chiefly by women. It is not uncommon to see a man on a journey, mounted idly on an ass, while his wife is pacing many a weary step on foot behind him, and moreover, perhaps, carrying a supply of provisions or culinary utensils. Yet it is not to be supposed that the man is despotic in his house; the voice of the female has its full weight. No question of domestic œconomy is decided without her concurrence, and, far from being wearied with the corporeal exertions of the day, by the time the sun declines, her memory of real or imaginary injuries affords matter for querulous upbraiding and aculeate sarcasms.

"Whoever, impelled by vanity, (for no profit attends it,) receives to his bed the daughter of a king or powerful Melek, (women of this rank are called *Mîram*,) finds her sole moderatrix of his family, and himself reduced to a cipher. Of his real or reputed off-spring he has no voice in the disposal, government, or instruction. The princess, who has honoured him with the limited right over her person, becomes not the partner, but the sole proprietor, of all that he possessed; and her most extravagant caprices must not be thwarted, lest her displeasure should be succeeded by that of the monarch.

"The man cannot take another wife with the same ceremonies or dowry; and if any dispute arise concerning inheritance, the right is always decided in favour of the *Mîram*.

Alkoran. Finally, he is almost a prisoner in the country, which he cannot leave, however distressed, and however he may be inclined to retrieve his fortune by trade, without special permission from the sultan, and the immediate and unqualified forfeiture not only of the dowry he gave, but of all the valuables he received in consequence of the honourable alliance.

"Previously to the establishment of Islamism* and kingship, the people of Fur seem to have formed wandering tribes, in which state many of the neighbouring nations to this day remain. In their persons they differ from the negroes of the coast of Guinea. Their hair is generally short and woolly, though some are seen with it of the length of eight or ten inches, which they esteem a beauty. Their complexion is for the most part perfectly black. The Arabs, who are numerous within the empire, retain their distinction of feature, colour, and language. They most commonly intermarry with each other. The slaves, which are brought from the country they call *Furtit*, (land of idolaters) perfectly resemble those of Guinea, and their language is peculiar to themselves.

"In most of the towns, except Cobbé, which is the chief residence of foreign merchants, and even at court, the vernacular idiom is in more frequent use than the Arabic; yet the latter is pretty generally understood. The judicial proceedings, which are held in the monarch's presence, are conducted in both languages; all that is spoken in the one being immediately translated into the other by an interpreter (*Tergimân*).

"After those who fill the offices of government, the *Fuqui*, or learned man, i. e. priest, holds the highest rank. Some few of these *Faquis* have been educated at Kahira, but the majority of them in schools of the country. They are ignorant of every thing except the Korân. The nation, like most of the north of Africa, except Egypt, is of the sect of the Imâm Malek, which however differs not materially from that of Shafei."

ACCOUNT of the PERSONS, TEMPER, RELIGION, VICES, &c. of the INHABITANTS of AMBOYNA.

[From the second Volume of VOYAGES to the EAST INDIES, by the late JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, Esq.]

"THE inhabitants of Amboyna, and of the adjacent islands belonging to this government, may properly be divided into four classes, viz. the Alforese, the Amboynese, the Europeans, and the Chinese.

"The Alfoers or Alforese, are, in all probability, the first and most ancient inhabitants of these countries; at the present day they still remain separate from the other inhabitants, and dwell in the mountains of Bouro and Ceram, where they live according to their ancient customs, and avoid all intercourse with the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, except when they are in want

* About a century and a half ago.

want of such articles as are not to be met with in the interior parts of the islands, which chiefly consist in iron and salt, against which commodities they give in barter the productions of their mountains.

"The few which I saw of this nation, appeared to me not so dark in colour, and both handsomer and more sinewy than the Amboynese.

"I met with the following account of them, in the description of Amboyna composed by Rumphius, which, having been prohibited by the government at Batavia, has never been printed, but of which a manuscript copy is preserved in the secretary's office at Amboyna.

'Most of the Alfoese inhabit the wild mountains and interior parts of Ceram. They are a large, strong, and savage people, in general taller than the inhabitants of the sea-shores; they go mostly naked, both men and women, and only wear a thick bandage round their waist, which is called *chissoa*, and is made of the milky bark of a tree, called by them *saeka* (being the *sicamorus alba*). They tie their hair upon the head over a cocoa-nut shell, and stick a comb in it; round the neck they wear a string of beads.

'Their arms are, a sword made of bamboo, together with a bow and arrows.

'They are sharp-sighted, and so nimble in running, that they can run down and kill a wild hog at its utmost speed.

'An ancient, but most detestable and criminal custom prevails among them, agreeable to which, no one is allowed to take a wife, before he can show a head of an enemy which he has cut off: in order to obtain this qualification for matrimony, six, eight, or ten of them go together to a strange part, where they stay till they have an opportunity of surprising some one, which they do with great dexterity, springing upon the unwary passenger like tigers; they generally cover themselves with branches of trees and bushes, so that they are rather taken for brakes and thickets than for men; in this posture they lie and wait for their prey, and take the first opportunity that presents itself of darting their *toran* or *sagoe* (a sort of missile lance) into the back of a passenger, or spring upon him at once and cut off his head, with which they instantly decamp, and fly with speed from the scene of their wanton barbarity.

'If they want to build a new house, or a new *balecuer*, which is a kind of council-hall, they must equally first go and fetch some human heads. They are not to be broken of this horrid custom; and it is the only objection they make to embracing the Christian religion, that they must then abandon it; for no one attains a higher degree of fame and respect, than he who has brought in the most heads; and in proof of his prowess, he wears as many little white shells round his neck and arms as he has murdered men.

'The heads thus brought in are shown upon a stone in a village, consecrated to that purpose, and are afterwards heaped together in dark groves, in the recesses of the mountains, where they practise their diabolical rites, for they do not perform the demonolatry they are addicted to, in any temples, but here and there in solitary places, and in dreary woods, where the devil answers their interrogatories, and often carries away some of them, especially children, for three or four months, after which

'time

'time he brings them back again, 'after having presented them with 'painted canes, to which several 'little strings of Chinese copper-'money are attached.

'They subsist upon the wild 'animals which they catch in the 'woods; nor do they even disdain 'snakes.

'Their women are of a tolerably 'fair complexion, well proportion-'ed, and altogether by no means 'disagreeable.

'Among these Alforese, there is 'another kind of savage people, 'who do not dwell in any houses or 'huts, but upon high *waringe*, and 'other trees, which spread their 'branches wide round: they lead 'and intertwine the branches so 'close together, that they form an 'easy resting-place; and each tree 'is the habitation of a whole fami-'ly: they adopt this mode, because 'they dare not trust even those of 'their own nation, as they surprise 'each other during the night, and 'kill whoever they take hold of.'

'Thus far the relation of Mr. Rumphius, who being a man of some experience and much reputation, deserves credit in some instances.

"I could not meet with any other intelligence respecting these people at Amboyna, as they are but seldom visited, and still more rarely by people either able or willing to observe and record what is curious among them.

"The Amboynese are also very ancient inhabitants of these islands; but the difference of their make, and the rather darker shade of their complexion, seem to point out that they are not descended from the same progenitors as the Alforese.

"They are of a middling size, rather thin than otherwise; their colour is nearer approaching to black than to brown; both men and women have regular features, and among the latter there are very many who are handsome: it seemed very probable to me, that the country or the climate contributed much to this, though how or why I cannot tell, for the children of Europeans born here, are almost all pretty, and much more so than in Java, or at Batavia.

"Neither the thick lips, nor the depressed noses, which, according to our ideas of beauty, deform the human face divine in other hot countries, are seen here; but on the contrary, and especially among the females, perfectly symmetrical countenances are the general characteristic of the inhabitants.

"They are indolent and effeminate, and both want and violence prove but feeble motives to incite them to labour. Yet this is no more than is almost universally the case with all nations who bow their necks under a foreign yoke, especially in the Asiatic regions, and other warm countries: and I think it probable, though the heat of the climate is alone sufficient to produce inactivity, and a repugnance to every thing that fatigues the body, that they had been slaves inured to servitude under the dominion of strangers, long before the Europeans came hither. The fervency of the climate, united to the easy mode of procuring subsistence from the sago-tree, and from the copious supply of fish, which was formerly within their reach, in the bay of Amboyna, have been the causes that they have never been obliged to have recourse to the fatiguing labours of agriculture, to administer to the wants of nature. Hence they have easily fallen a prey to the nations who aimed at subduing them, as was manifest in the war with the Ternatese, the Portuguese, and the Dutch.

Neither were they at all the cause that the princes of Celebes have not extended their dominion so far to the eastward, for the three abovementioned nations have always prevented it; although at that time the kings of Noussanivel took the high-sounding and proud title of 'kings of ten thousand swords.'

"The company must not, therefore, ever think that the Amboynese would be of any help to them, in case a foreign power were to endeavour to wrest these possessions from them; for, were there no other reasons to induce them to look upon any change as being for the better, their indifferent, indolent, and timorous disposition would be sufficient to prevent them from joining either side. It is true, that those of Hitoe formerly showed a little more courage in the civil commotions which took place in the last century, when they fought for independence, as they could no longer bear the oppression of their inhuman task-masters; but in the case we have supposed, it would be the same to them, beneath which European yoke they had to bend; as, let the event be as it might, they would always have to wear the chains of the conquerors; besides that, as attached to the Mahomedan religion, they are the sworn enemies of all Christians.

"The women, though they are not so indolent as the men, are, on the other hand, excessively lascivious; they possess no chastity, either in a married, or an unmarried state, and there is nothing that can restrain them from satisfying their passionate desires. It is very usual among them, that a girl gives proofs of her fruitfulness before marriage, which is never the least bar to getting a husband; and, on the contrary, frequently is a reason for being preferred to others, of whom it is not certain that they are capable of becoming mothers.

"The Amboynese were in former times, as the Alforese are at present, idolaters; but the Javanese, who began to trade hither in the latter end of the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, endeavoured to disseminate the doctrines of Mahomet here, and they succeeded so well, that in the year 1515, that religion was generally received.

"The Portuguese arriving here in the mean time, endeavoured likewise to make the Roman catholic religion agreeable to the inhabitants, and to propagate it amongst them; which, in particular, took place, according to Rumphius, in the year 1532, on the peninsula of Leytimor, but those of Hitoe have, to the present day, remained firmly attached to the Mahomedan faith, whence, in contradistinction to the Leytimorese, they are called Moors.

"When our people came to Amboyna, and the Portuguese were expelled from the island, the protestant religion was gradually introduced; yet the unpleasing result of these frequent changes of religion has been, as might naturally be expected, that, from blind idolaters, they have first become bad Roman catholics, and afterwards worse protestants.

"The practice of idolatry cannot yet be wholly eradicated: this, added to the prevalence of the superstitions which disgrace Christianity among the followers of the Roman catholic persuasion, and the almost universal negligence, and want of zeal, of our ecclesiastics in these regions, almost entirely takes away the hope that the salutary doctrines of the gospel will ever be deeply rooted here, and that the Amboy-

nese

nese will ever be cured of their deplorable blindness.

"I cannot either say much good respecting their moral conduct; the men are universally unchaste, and I have before-mentioned that the women are, in this respect, no better. Theft is likewise one of the most prevalent vices among the Amboynese, and they are not a little dexterous in contriving the means of pilfering; I had twice experience of their adroitness in this respect, during my residence among them. Malice and envy are predominant passions in their breasts, and are carried to great excess; they envy each other the least degree of benefit, or prosperity; yet this is seldom productive of public assassination, or private murder, among them; for being a pusillanimous and superstitious race of men, death is to them more than to any other nation, a king of terrors.

"When these Amboynese Christians go in their vessels past a certain hill on the south coast of Ceram, they make an offering to the evil spirit, which they believe resides there, in order that he may not do any harm to them, or to their vessels. This offering is made in the following manner: they lay a few flowers, and a small piece of money, into empty cocoa-nut-shells, which they set a-floating in the water: if it be in the evening, they put oil into them, with little wicks, which they set a-light, and let burn out upon the water: they are persuaded that, by this means, they have appeased the evil spirit, and that he will not raise any storm against them.

"Valentyn has been sufficiently ample in describing their dress, houses, diseases, customs, &c. to preclude the necessity of my saying more about them; I wish only to observe that that writer has placed almost every thing in the most advantageous light.

"The inhabitants of Amboyna seem, from time immemorial, never to have been united under one head; but, as the most ancient accounts and traditions relate, each negree, or village, was governed by its own chief. It is true, there have been, and there are at present, unions of four or five negrees under one chief: but they are the least in number: among these, the principal is Noussanivel, whose rajah, or king, has three other negrees under his dominion.

"These chiefs are distinguished into three classes, or ranks; thus, there are rajahs, or kings; pattis, who may be said to be dukes or earls; and oran cayos, which signifies as much as rich men. Their chiefs, however, do not possess an absolute authority: every negree has given as council to their chief, consisting of the oldest and most respectable men of the village, who are called oran touas, that is elders; and the rajah, patti, or oran cayo, of the negree is bound to consult with them at the caleeuw, or council-hall, on all the concerns of the community.

"Every negree has likewise its marinhos, who do not assist at the councils, but are exalted above the commonalty, and serve for exhorters and encouragers of the people in every public work.

"Besides several little services which the common people are obliged to perform for these chiefs, the last have likewise an income proceeding from the crops of cloves, which the company have bestowed upon them.

"The company pay, for every bhar of five hundred and fifty pounds weight of cloves, fifty-six rixdollars, or one-hundred-and-thirty-four

ty-four gilders, and eight stivers; but of this, the planters receive only fifty-one rixdollars, the remaining five being divided among the village-chiefs, three being allotted to the rajah, patti, or oran cayo, one and a half to the oran touas, or elders, and one-half rixdollar to the marinhos.

"For these and other reasons, the offices above alluded to are eagerly sought after, and are only obtained for a certain sum of money, of which some of the governors, who have ruled here in behalf of the company, have not a little availed; I could enumerate some, who have come here with very little property, and in the course of a few years, by these, and other means, have accumulated considerable wealth, and who, immediately upon their return to Batavia, have, in consequence, solicited leave from the government, to transmit large sums of money to Europe.

"The sale of these rejentships is not, however, an innovation of late date; for, from the beginning, every oran cayo paid fifty rixdollars for his nomination, a patti one hundred, and a rajah still more; so that the rajah of Noussanivel was even once obliged to give a gratification of three thousand rixdollars.

"The Chinese who frequent this island, as well as all the others in the eastern parts of India, where the company have possessions, are not, however, very numerous at Amboyna, because there is very little trade, and scarcely any agriculture, two pursuits, to which, in general, that nation are very averse. If a calculation of their number were to be made from the head-money which they pay, all the Chinese would scarcely be found to amount to one hundred individuals; but the frauds which are practised in the declarations made in this respect, are the cause that this cannot be considered as a proper rule.

"They dwell here in a street, which is called after them, where they keep their shops, with all sorts of provisions, &c. for sale.

"They are under the authority of a chief of their own nation, who is called captain, and who has at present a lieutenant under him, which was not formerly the case; but one of the governors was induced to institute this lieutenant's office, by means of a present of five hundred rixdollars.

"They do not intermarry with the Amboynese, but marry amongst each other; and if it happen that they are in want of women, they take Macasser or Bouginese girls for concubines.

"In the month of April of the year 1775, a Chinese youth came purposely from Batavia to Amboyna, to marry the daughter of one of his countrymen who was settled here, and was a man of property. I went to see the ceremonies that were made use of; I came too late to see the beginning of them, which, I was told, consisted principally in the throwing backwards and forwards of an egg into the wide sleeves of the bridegroom and of the bride. I found them both sitting next to each other in a parlour, with their eyes fixed on the ground, as if meditating on what had been done, without speaking a word to, or looking at each other. An oblong little table stood before them, covered with red silk, which was embroidered with flowers of gold; upon it were set, before each of them, a little cup with tea, and three or four little china dishes with confectionary and boiled birds' nests. The bridal bed was in the same apartment; it was likewise hung round

round with red silk; but there was a partition made in it, separating the place where the bridegroom was to lie, from that of the bride; the former, however, occupied about two thirds of the bed. The bride who was a plump jolly maiden, nearly white, and pretty enough, wore a robe of red silk, with long and wide sleeves; a chain of gold hung round her neck, and down upon her bosom: on her head she wore a black bonnet, tapering upwards to a point, and adorned with three rows of jewels. The bridegroom was dressed in a similar robe of blue silk and cotton. They both kept their arms and hands constantly tucked into the sleeves. When the bridegroom stood up, he did it so slowly and cautiously, and without moving his eyes in the least, that he appeared perfectly like an image of wax, or an automaton moved by invisible mechanism.

"The young couple were forced to endure the repetition of this tedious ceremony for three successive days, and always in sight of their nuptial bed, before they were allowed to perform the essential rites of marriage.

"There are still many descendants of the Portuguese here, who, when their countrymen were forced to give up the dominion of the island to ours, chose to remain under the government of the Dutch.

"The principal Amboynese Christians still bear Portuguese names, which their ancestors received at their baptism; but the Portuguese language is less spoken here than in any other part of India, and the number of the abovementioned descendants of Portuguese is not large."

MODE of LIVING, MANNERS, and DIVERSIONS of the EUROPEANS at BATAVIA.

[From the first Volume of the same Work.]

"EUROPEANS, whether Dutch, or of any other nation, and in whatever station they are, live at Batavia, nearly in the same manner. In the morning, at five o'clock, or earlier, when the day breaks, they get up. Many of them then go and sit at their doors; but others stay in the house, with nothing but a light gown, in which they sleep, thrown over their naked limbs; they then breakfast upon coffee or tea; afterwards they dress, and go out, to attend to the business they may have. Almost all, who have any place or employment, must be at their proper station at, or before, eight o'clock, and they remain at work till eleven, or half past. At twelve they dine; take an afternoon's nap till four, and attend to their business again till six, or take a tour out of the city in a carriage. At six o'clock they assemble in companies, and play, or converse, till nine, when they return home; whoever chooses to stay to supper is welcome; and eleven o'clock is the usual hour of retiring to rest. Convivial gaiety seems to reign among them, and yet it is linked with a kind of suspicious reserve, which

which pervades all stations, and all companies, and is the consequence of an arbitrary and jealous government. The least word that may be wrested to an evil meaning, may bring on very serious consequences, if it reach the ears of the person who is aggrieved, either in fact, or in imagination. I have heard many people assert, that they would not confide in their own brothers, in this country.

"No women are present at these assemblies, they have their own separate companies.

"Married men neither give themselves much concern about their wives nor show them much regard. They seldom converse with them, at least not on useful subjects, or such as concern society. After having been married for years, the ladies are often, therefore, as ignorant of the world and of manners as upon their wedding-day. It is not that they have no capacity to learn, but the men have no inclination to teach.

"The men generally go dressed in the Dutch fashion, and often wear black.

"As soon as you enter a house, where you intend to stop for an hour or more, you are desired by the master, to make yourself comfortable, by taking off some of your clothes, &c. This is done, by laying aside the sword, pulling off the coat, and wig (for most men wear wigs here), and substituting in the room of the last a little white night-cap, which is generally carried in the pocket, for that purpose.

"When they go out, on foot, they are attended by a slave, who carries a sunshade (called here *sambreel* or *payang*) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant, may not have a slave behind him, but must carry a small sunshade himself.

"Most of the white women, who are seen at Batavia, are born in the Indies. Those who come from Europe at a marriageable age are very few in number. I shall, therefore, confine my observations to the former.

"These are either the offspring of European mothers, or of oriental female slaves, who having first been mistresses to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and have been converted to Christianity, or at least have assumed the name of Christians.

"The children produced by these marriages, may be known, to the third and fourth generation, especially by the eyes, which are much smaller than in the unmixed progeny of Europeans.

"There are likewise children, who are the offspring of Portuguese, but these never become entirely white.

"Children born in the Indies are nicknamed *liplaps* by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe.

"Girls are commonly marriageable at twelve or thirteen years of age, and sometimes younger. It seldom happens, if they are but tolerably handsome, have any money, or any to expect, or are related to people in power, that they are unmarried after that age.

"As they marry while they are yet children, it may easily be conceived, that they do not possess those requisites which enable a woman to manage a family with propriety. There are many of them, who can neither read nor write, nor possess any ideas of religion, of morality, or of social intercourse.

"Being married so young, they seldom

seldom get many children, and are old women at thirty years of age. Women of fifty, in Europe, look younger and fresher than those of thirty at Batavia. They are in general of a very delicate make, and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermillion, which embellish our northern ladies, are wholly absent from their cheeks; the skin of their face and hands is of the most deadly pale white. Beauties must not be sought amongst them; the handsomest whom I saw would scarcely be thought middling pretty in Europe.

"They have very supple joints, and can turn their fingers, hands, and arms, in almost every direction; but this they have in common with the women in the West Indies, and in other tropical climates.

"They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper; but this ought chiefly to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of both sexes, that they always have to wait upon them.

"They rise about half past seven, or eight o'clock, in the morning. They spend the forenoon in playing and toying with their female slaves, whom they are never without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments afterwards they will have the poor creatures whipped unmercifully, for the merest trifle. They loll, in a loose and airy dress, upon a sofa, or sit upon a low stool or upon the ground, with their legs crossed under them. In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with which custom all the Indian women are infatuated; they likewise masticate the Java tobacco; this makes their spittle of a crimson colour, and when they have done it long, they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths are very disagreeable, though it is pretended that this use purifies the mouth, and preserves from the tooth-ache.

"As the Indian women are really not deficient in powers of understanding, they would become very useful members of society, endearing wives, and good mothers, if they were but kept from familiarity with the slaves in their infancy, and educated under the immediate eye of their parents, who should be assiduous to inculcate, in their tender minds, the principles of true morality, and polished manners. But, alas! the parents are far from taking such a burthensome task upon themselves. As soon as the child is born, they abandon it to the care of a female slave, who generally suckles it, and by whom it is reared, till it attains the age of nine or ten years. These nurses are often but one remove above a brute, in point of intellect; and the little innocents imbibe, with their milk, all the prejudices and superstitious notions which disgrace the minds of their attendants, and which are never eradicated during the remainder of their lives, but seem to stamp them, rather with the character of the progeny of despicable slaves, than of a civilised race of beings.

"They are remarkably fond of bathing and ablutions, and they make use of a large tub for this purpose, which holds three hogsheads of water, and in which they immerge their whole body, at least twice a week. Some of them do this, in the morning, in one of the running streams out of the city.

"In common with most of the women in India, they cherish a most excessive jealousy of their husbands, and of their female slaves. If they discover the smallest familiarity between them, they set no bounds

bounds to their thirst of revenge against these poor bondswomen, who, in most cases, have not dared to resist the will of their masters, for fear of ill treatment.

"They torture them in various ways; they have them whipped with rods, and beat with rattans, till they sink down before them, nearly exhausted: among other methods of tormenting them, they make the poor girls sit before them in such a posture, that they can pinch them with their toes, in a certain sensible part, which is the peculiar object of their vengeance, with such cruel ingenuity, that they faint away by the excess of pain.

"I shall refrain from the recital of instances, which I have heard, of the most refined cruelty practised upon these wretched victims of jealousy, by Indian women, and which have been related to me by witnesses worthy of belief; they are too repugnant to every feeling of humanity, and surpass the usual bounds of credibility.

"Having thus satiated their anger upon their slaves, their next object is to take equal revenge upon their husbands, which they do in a manner less cruel, and more pleasant to themselves.

"The warmth of the climate, which influences strongly upon their constitutions, together with the dissolute lives of the men before marriage, are the causes of much wantonness and dissipation among the women.

"Marriages are always made at Batavia on Sundays, yet the bride never appears abroad before the following Wednesday evening, when she attends divine service; to be sooner seen in public, would be a violation of the rules of decorum.

"As soon as a woman becomes a widow, and the body of her husband is interred, which is generally done the day after his decease, if she be but rich, she has immediately a number of suitors. A certain lady, who lost her husband while I was at Batavia, had, in the fourth week of her widowhood, a fourth lover, and at the end of three months she married again, and would have done it sooner, if the laws had allowed of it.

"Their dress is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and fastened under the arms, next to the skin; over it they wear a shift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat, which is all covered by a long gown or *kabay*, as it is called, which hangs loose; the sleeves come down to the wrists, where they are fastened close, with six or seven little gold, or diamond buttons. When they go out in state, or to a company where they expect the presence of a lady of a counsellor of India, they put on a very fine muslin *kabay*, which is made like the other, but hangs down to the feet, while the first only reaches to the knees. When they invite each other, it is always with the condition of coming with the long or the short *kabay*. They all go with their heads uncovered; the hair which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, fastened with gold and diamond hair-pins, which they call a *condé*: in the *front*, and on the sides of the head, it is stroked smooth, and rendered shining, by being anointed with cocoa-nut-oil. They are particularly set upon this head dress, and the girl who can dress their hair the most to their liking is their chief favourite among their slaves. On Sundays they sometimes dress in the European style, with stays and other fashionable incumbrances, which however they do not like at all, being accustomed to a dress so much looser,

looser, and more pleasant, in this torrid clime.

"When a lady goes out, she has usually four, or more, female slaves attending her, one of whom bears her betel box. They are sumptuously adorned with gold and silver, and this ostentatious luxury the Indian ladies carry to a very great excess.

"They seldom mix in company with the men, except at marriage-feasts.

"The title of My Lady is given exclusively to the wives of counsellors of India.

"The ladies are very fond of riding through the streets of the town, in their carriages, in the evening. Formerly, when Batavia was in a more flourishing condition, they were accompanied by musicians: but this is little customary at present, no more than rowing through the canals that intersect the town in little pleasure-boats; and the going upon these parties, which are equally enlivened by music, was called *orangbayen*.

"When I came to Batavia, there was a theatre there; but it was given up before my departure.

"The coaches used at Batavia are small and light. No one is restrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with respect to its decoration and painting. These are scrupulously regulated, according to the respective ranks. Glass windows to coaches are alone allowed to the members of the government, who have also the privilege of painting or gilding their carriages agreeable to their own taste.

"It is ordained, that a slave shall run before every wheel-carriage, with a stick in his hand, in order to give notice of its nearness, and prevent all accidents; for the streets not being paved, the approach of the carriage cannot be otherwise easily perceived.

"A yearly tax is paid to the company for keeping a carriage; but most people hire one, at the rate of sixty rixdollars a month, of the licensed stable-keepers, by whom the duty is paid. Counsellors of India, and a few others of the company's upper servants, are exempted from it.

"Sedan-chairs are not in use here. The ladies, however, sometimes employ a conveyance, that is somewhat like them, and is called a *norimon*. This is a kind of box, narrower at the top than the bottom, and carried by a thick bamboo pole, fastened over the top. They sit in it, with their legs crossed under them, and have then just room enough to sit upright, without being seen."

ACCOUNT of the SHAKERS, an AMERICAN SECT.

[From the first Volume of TRAVELS, &c. by the DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT LIANCOURT.]

"IN America, or at least in some states of the union, no stages are suffered to travel on Sundays; this is the case in the state of New York. Mr. Mac-Elroy and myself spent, therefore, the morning in visiting the society called Shakers, who have formed a settlement, three or four miles from the inn. Had I not been indisposed the preceding evening,

evening, I should have seen them at work, and, by means of my continual queries, might have obtained some accurate information concerning their origin, their regulations, the mode of husbanding and distributing the common wealth of the society, the manner of purchasing estates, of recruiting and preserving the society, and especially on its present state. We were now obliged to content ourselves with viewing their villages, the inside of their houses, their gardens, and their religious worship, without any guide, and to rest satisfied with what intelligence we could obtain from our landlord and another man, who said that he was well acquainted with the society.

"As to their form of government, the society is a republic, governed in a despotic manner. All the members work for the benefit of the society, which supplies them in clothes and victuals, under the direction of the chief elder, whom they elect, and whose power is unlimited. Subordinate to him are inspectors of all classes, invested with different degrees of authority. The accounts reach him in a certain regular order and gradation; and in the same manner are his orders carried into effect. It would be high treason to address the chief elder himself, unless the adresser belongs to a class which enjoys this privilege; in any other case this offence is severely punished, or censured, if it be committed by a stranger, ignorant of this law. Marriage is prohibited in this society, which is recruited merely by proselytes, who are, however, far less numerous at present, than eighty years ago, when they first settled in this country. Married men and women are admitted into the society, on condition that they renounce each other. They frequently bring their children with them, who in this case become a common property of the society. It sometimes happens, that, in spite of the prohibition, the flesh will have its way; but, in such cases, a severe, exemplary, and corporeal punishment is inflicted on the offender; and this punishment is not mitigated, if they effect their escape to join in lawful wedlock, for, on their being apprehended, they are punished with the same severity as if they were not married. Although the members of this society do not bind themselves by vows, yet, in close adherence to their tenets, men and women live in separate apartments, though in the same house. The village contains four such houses; all the other buildings are stores or shops, in which all sorts of trade and manufactures are carried on. They make cloth, gauze, shoes, saddles, whips, nails, cabinet-work, in short, every article which is sure to find a ready market. They sell their commodities either here or in the neighbouring towns. The women perform such business as is generally allotted to their sex.

"This frame of society has attained, it should seem, a high degree of perfection. The emulation among the members is uncommonly great, and the society possesses considerable property, the amount of which is, however, known to none but the chief elder. The Shakers are an honest, good-natured, set of people; they perform their engagements with the utmost punctuality, are excellent neighbours, faithful workmen, and very moderate in their prices. This is the whole stock of information which I have been able to collect on the absurdities and peculiarities of the Shakers.

"In regard to the form of their religious worship, I can speak from my own observation. On our arrival

rival they were already assembled in the place where they held their meeting. This is a hall, about seventy feet in length by forty five or fifty in breadth, with eighteen windows, by which light and a free circulation of air is procured. At each end of the hall is a fire-place; benches are placed all along the walls, and some on the right of the fire-place. The doors, by which the men and women enter the hall, are in one of the long sides. The inside is overlaid with plaister of paris; the ornaments of wood, and window-frames, are painted light-blue and the benches red. Whoever could find room sat down; and the rest, by far the greater part, were standing. The chief elder was seated nearly in the centre, on a bench opposite the door, and a place between the two doors was assigned to our party. The most profound silence was observed. The men were dressed in a blue coat, black waistcoat, and pantaloons of blue and white spotted cloth. The women wore a long white gown, a blue petticoat, an apron of the same cloth of which the men's pantaloons were made, a large, square, well-plaited handkerchief, and a plain cap, tied under the chin, such as the porteresses of nunneries are accustomed to wear. The hair of the men is combed straight down; the hats were all hung on nails. When a man or a woman is tired of sitting, or wishes to make room for another member, they get up, and their seat is occupied by others. Every eye is fixed on the ground; every head is bent downward; and stupidity is the characteristic feature of every face. The women hold in their hand a blue and white handkerchief, and they stood all, like the men, and their arms folded.

The first act of divine service lasted nearly half an hour: on a signal of the chief elder, all the members present arose from their seats; and men and women formed two distinct rows opposite to each other, in form of a fan, the central point of which was occupied by the chief elder, standing in the same place where he was seated before; the rows opened towards the corners of the hall, and their position was studied in such a degree, that they were long deliberating on the place, where they had to put their feet, before they began to move. After a silence of several minutes observed in the same position, during which the hands and faces of many of the members were strongly convulsed, and their knees and legs shook and trembled, the chief made another signal, without which nothing is done. They fell all on their knees, and arose again a few minutes after. The chief elder now commenced a chaunt, in which both the nose and throat bore an equal share, and which was confined within the compass of four deep notes; no words could be distinguished. The whole meeting repeated the chaunt; and again ceased, on a signal from the chief elder. After a short silence, and upon another signal, the position was changed. Men and women, who are constantly separate, drew up in nine or ten ranks, facing the chief elder, by whose side two or three men and as many women, the elders of the society, had taken their seats. The troop of women was disjoined from that of the men by a small interval of one or two paces. I have omitted mentioning, that the men, previously to their drawing up in rank and file, pulled off their coats, which they hung up by their hats, and appeared in their shirt-sleeves, tied with a black ribband. The women changed not their dress,

dress. The chief elder commenced another chaunt, much the same as the former, accompanied by the elders, and the first part sung by the women, which rendered it tolerably melodious. This chaunt was no sooner begun, than the whole assembly started into a sort of dance, made a spring and a bow forwards, a spring and a bow to the right, a spring and a bow backwards, a spring and a bow to the left, twelve springs and twelve bows forwards, and then began the same motions again, until the chief elder ceased to sing, which is the signal of silence for the elders, and of immobility for the dancing ranters. The courtesies both of the men and women consist in a genuflection; the head is bent downwards, the arms are open, and the feet advance with a sort of light caper. The women make the same courtesies as the men, but they glide along rather than caper. All these motions are made to the tune, with a precision and exactness which would do honour to the best disciplined regiment. When this ceremony is over, they first resume their former position in rows, and afterwards their seats near the walls. The chief elder at times utters a few words, but they are unintelligible to a stranger. When all these different scenes have been acted, two women appear, each furnished with a broom, and sweep first the place occupied by the men, who draw up in close order to make room for the sweepers, and then that occupied by the women, which being done, the same courtesies, chaunts, and capers, recommence again. The whole service lasted about three hours. I had armed myself with sufficient share of patience, to witness the close of the ceremony, in hopes that I should be able to converse either with the chief elder, or another member of the society; but in this I was disappointed. Upon a signal from the chief elder the meeting was broken up; the members took their hats and sticks, moved off two and two: and the chief elder followed, conducted by one of the elders. The women, after having covered their flat cap with a hat equally flat, went out of the hall by a separate door, and brought up the rear, at an equal step, and their order settled.

"We were told, that they were going to dinner, but could not learn any further particulars. On Sundays no strangers obtain admittance to their garden; we could only view it over the railings, and found, it was large, beautiful, and kept in good order, with the culinary plants, which are not wanted for their own consumption, shot up into seed, of which they sell considerable quantities. All their railings and doors are painted with as much care as in the best kept English garden. The fences run along the streets, to separate them from the houses. Neat little posts, painted with equal care, mark the foot-way. The whole forms the neatest, prettiest, and most pleasant sight, I ever saw. I repeat it once more, that what little I have seen of this society is sufficient to convince me, that, with the utmost absurdity in point of religious principles and worship, the Shakers unite much order, activity and good sense in their business, and uncommon abilities in the management of their affairs.

"Among the sisters are some very handsome girls, but the major part were rather ill-favoured. The number of young men is comparatively much greater than of sisters, which is the reason in common with the society wherever it was transplanted, twenty years ago, from England to America.

The

The first and principal settlement was formed in 1774, at Nisqueunia, in the state of New York, a few miles above Albany; since that time, one or two more have been instituted. The chief leader of the sect is a woman; the first was one Ann Lecoq, who, it is reported, had been kept by an English officer. She died in 1784, and was succeeded by another, elected by the sect, from an opinion, that, like her predecessor, she is infallible and allied with the deity; she resides in Nisqueunia. The chief elders are her deputies in the different settlements."

Common Traits of Character, State of Education, useful Institutions, and prevalent Manners among the INHABITANTS of NORTH AMERICA.

[From the second Volume of the same Work.]

"THE traits of character common to all, are ardour for enterprise, courage, greediness, and an advantageous opinion of themselves. The title of the most enlightened nation of the whole world, which the committee of the house of representatives appointed to propose the answer of the house to the address of the president, in December 1796, has given to the people of the United States, will be of itself a proof of that good opinion they have of themselves, which I give as a common characteristic, especially if it be known with what labour, and after what long discussion, the house determined to make the sacrifice of this superlative, with which the modesty of the majority of the United States had not been embarrassed. I quote this example as the most striking and the most national; but, to tell the truth, almost all the books printed in America, and the individual conversations of the Americans, furnish proofs of its duty. This character, which some of them, I believe, who have seen America will deny to be that of the United States, is an exaggeration proceeding from the

newness of their establishments, and will wear out in time. Their courage will be more exceptionable still to those who have the slightest knowledge of the war for independency. Habituated to fatigue from their infancy, having for the most part made their fortune by their labour and their industry, fatigue and labour are not yet become repugnant even to those in the most easy circumstances; while they wish to enjoy the ease and sweets of life, they do not regard them as absolute wants; they know how to dispense with them, and to quit them and travel in the woods whenever their interest requires it; they can forget them, whenever a reverse of fortune takes them away; and they know how to run after fortune when she escapes them; for, as I have often said before, the desire of riches is the ruling passion, and indeed their only passion.

"The ridiculous assertion advanced by some writers, that the new world could not produce genius and talents like the old, has been proved to be absurd by the mere citation of the name of some inhabitants of the United States, whose genius and

brilliant

brilliant talents would do honour to any country whatever; and it may be supposed that she will produce others. Further, the American people are intelligent, eager to investigate, and disposed to instruction; and many examples of men may be mentioned, who, without education, have invented and constructed works, particularly in mechanics, worthy of the best workmen in Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that the number of men distinguished for science and literature there, is much less than in the nations of Europe, though, as Mr. Morse says in his Geography, there must be a reason for this difference: the means of instruction are less complete, and not so extensive—doubtless this is one reason; but I regard it as only a secondary cause; and that this state of imperfection of the public education is itself only the consequence of a cause of more general influence, I mean, that continual occupation of getting money, common to all orders and professions. The study of the sciences and of letters requires, to make much progress, that the mind should be disengaged from all other predominant employments; it demands the exertion of all our faculties; and it is known, that the passion for money is that, of all others, which keeps the most constant possession of the mind of him who is tainted with it, and that it renders the mind less susceptible of all distraction, at least from all other pursuits.

"In Europe, where the cultivation of the sciences and of letters is the principal occupation of those who distinguish themselves in them, and is, for that reason, a particular order, it will be found that no profession has furnished fewer learned and literary men than those which employ the mind in calculations of loss and gain; and in America it will be found, that those who have been, and those who can now be reckoned among learned men, are, or were, by character or by situation, the most exempt from this common disposition of their fellow-citizens.

"A better and more complete system of instruction than that which is now generally followed in the colleges of the United States, would augment but little the number of men who give themselves up to the sciences, and to letters, so long as the manners of the people continue to direct the desires and thoughts towards the acquirement of wealth. The term of education in America is too short; a young man hardly arrives at the age of sixteen years, before his parents are desirous of placing him in the counting house of a merchant, or in the office of a lawyer. He has not yet been able to acquire at college that degree of instruction which would give him the means of resigning himself to the sciences and to letters, if he had a taste for them. He soon loses every other idea than those which can prepare the way and hurry him on to the acquisition of a fortune; he sees no other views in those around him, or in society; he sees his profits, and his whole consideration is attached to successes of this kind; how can he preserve any other views? It is therefore this general disposition which opposes the perfectability of the public instruction, which, of whatever kind it might have been, could not have prevailed over the impatience of parents to put their children into the road of acquiring riches, and over that exclusive passion to follow this career, which the latter imbibe with the milk from the breasts of their mothers.

"They

"They complain in the United States, and doubtless with great reason, that a considerable number of American citizens, forgetful of the country to which they belong, are now arming privateers in France, for the purpose of taking American ships, which the French government deem lawful prizes; and these complaints are certainly well-founded, since there are but few greater crimes of which a citizen can be guilty. But whence arose the principles of this horrid crime, if not from that passion so openly avowed in America, of getting money, and becoming rich?— a passion which leads to an indifference about the means, when it has become so general. This is what makes society connive at unjust payments, at fraudulent bankruptcies, and encourages the lending of money at an enormous interest, which the law condemns.

This disposition is natural to a new people, placed in a foreign territory, and under circumstances which have afforded so many means of greediness. But it has, nevertheless, the most pernicious effects; it is no less repugnant with the imminent danger of benumbing the love of liberty. Time will reduce it to its just bounds, and the United States will certainly take among the ancient nations their rank in knowledge and in the sciences, as well as in power. But it is indubitable, that the rapidity of the progress of these important improvements yet depends upon the speed with which a revolution shall be made in this branch of the national manners.

"I have spoken of the insufficiency of the public instruction in the United States for making men of science; and though I have pointed out the cause of that insufficiency to be in the manners which enforce it, there is no impropriety in making the state of it known.

"The physical or natural part of the education of the Americans is excellent: left to themselves from their tenderest age, they are exposed without precaution to the rigour of heat and cold, feet and legs bare, with few clothes. The children of the rich are not brought up much more tenderly than those in less easy circumstances; in the country, they often go twice a day to schools two or three miles distant from house, and alone. There are few American children who cannot swim boldly, and at ten years of age manage a gun and hunt, without meeting with an accident; and not one who does not ride with great courage, nor any who fear fatigue; and the children in towns are not brought up with more delicacy. This liberty given to children teaches them to take care of themselves; and, bold as they are, they have the prudence to avoid dangers, which children brought up with much greater care would not avoid. They become strong and enterprising men, whom no difficulties dishearten, and produce a growing generation, which will be as invincible in its territory as that which preceded it proved itself to be.

"The instructive part of education has not attained the same perfection. I have said, that in New England the free schools were open to all the children; and that the laws, as well as the manners of the country, imposed it upon the parents as a duty almost indispensable, to profit by the advantages of this public institution. New England is still the only part of the United States where these excellent establishments have taken place. But the obstacles which hitherto and do still oppose similar establishments in

the other states, will vanish. All the legislatures are already more or less struck with the necessity of these institutions: they perceive that the liberty of the press, which has the public instruction for its object, loses its advantages in proportion as fewer men are in a situation to profit by it; and that the same spirit which first recognised the liberty of the press as a sacred right of the inhabitants of the United States, imposes upon her governments, the duty of increasing, as much as possible, the number of those to whom it may be useful. In the free schools are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with the principles of religion and morality. Besides these, there are academies and colleges in various parts of the different states. The academies are what are generally meant in France by boarding-schools or small colleges; and the colleges are what are so called there, or rather what are called in England universities. They are the last stage of education; it is in these colleges that what are called in America the higher sciences are taught, and degrees conferred, &c.

"The education of youth in America is modelled after that of England; and I have been told, by well-informed Englishmen, that it is a bad copy of a bad original.

"In the American schools, the instruction in Latin is seldom extended further than the first classic authors—Cordery, Erasmus, Ovid, and some orations of Cicero, are almost all the books which are read in them. Virgil and Horace are read in the colleges, but a very little of them. The Roman historians, as Titus Livius, and Tacitus, are seldom used there, Suetonius, Eutropius, and Cornelius Nepos, are preferred, and the last is one of the best authors which are put into the hands of youth. Greek is but little taught: and the New Testament is generally the *ne plus ultra* of instruction in this language, if Homer be excepted, which is read in the high classes of some colleges. But the Greek tragedies, and the comedies of the celebrated Latin author Terence, and even the easiest poets, and almost as famous, such as Pindar, Anacreon, Hesiod, and Theocritus, are not read there. As to more modern authors, such as Plutarch, Lucian, &c. the students know nothing more of them than what curiosity and a love of instruction, very rare among them, may enable them to know, by the translations of them which they procure. The Orations are the only work of Cicero taught in the academies or in the colleges, at least entirely, and in the original language. His Offices, his Tusculan, his Dialogues, his Tracts upon the Laws, upon Friendship, and upon Oratory, are not read, or seldom so at least otherwise than by translations.

"The Elements of Euclid, and the First Principles of Conic Sections, are the complement of mathematical instruction. The mechanics, hydrostatics, and hydraulics, are taught after the works of Nicholson, oftener after those of Fergusson, and the most often after those of Enfield. The name of Newton is revered in America, and where can it not be so? But his works are little taught, and too little time is allowed for them to be generally comprehended.

"The few practical instructions which are given in some particular schools upon the manner of finding the height of the sun, for the purpose of knowing the longitude, excepted, there is hardly any other branch of this species of information cultivated in any of the colleges of

the United States; and the very small number of mariners who wish to be instructed only in the practice of taking observations for computing the longitude, cannot find any means of doing it in America, and are induced to search for this information in England. Yet the tonnage of American vessels, navigating every sea in the world, may be estimated for some years past at seven hundred thousand tons annually, and improvements in navigation are the certain means of augmenting the profits arising from the commerce of the seas.

"There are in most of the colleges some philosophical instruments, of various degrees of perfection; and the youth receive more instruction in experimental philosophy than in the more exact sciences. I do not believe that there is any particular professor in chemistry in any other colleges than in those of New York, Prince's-town in New Jersey, and at Cambridge in Massachusetts. The little which is taught of this science in other places, is by professors who teach philosophy and mathematics together.

"I will not take upon myself to decide upon medical instruction, but I have been informed that in many colleges it is excellent; and I believe it may not be doubted but that this excellence will extend over all America; and if we reflect, that in a country where the love of money is so predominant, the profession which procures the most of it by the extension of acquaintance, which captivates without absorbing the whole mind in study, must produce many well-informed men; and it will be easy from thence to deduce the reasons why the class of medicine produces in America more learned men of almost all kinds than all the others, and why the science of medicine is better, longer, and more completely taught.

"The study of theology is very confined in the American colleges, but I do not pretend to represent the total want of this instruction as an injury.

"But the study of common right, of the municipal laws, of those of particular states, or of the United States, make no part of the instruction received in the colleges. This circumstance excites astonishment, in a republic where each individual may aspire to become a legislator, and where every one, as an elector, ought to be capable of judging himself the qualifications and conduct of the candidates, the acts and ordinances of government, and where, above all, he ought to know his duties, in order to fulfil them.

"It is not less extraordinary, that the history of the United States; of their revolution, of the events which preceded and forced it; of the obstacles of every nature which they had to overcome; of the sacrifices of ease, of the money and blood of their fellow-citizens which they had to make; of the mutual succours which the different states afforded in these important and perilous circumstances, should not be taught in the colleges or academies of America, where the history of England is the only modern one which the youth read. Liberty is dearer to those who know how much it cost to obtain it; and in a free country, the love of liberty, obedience to the laws, and respect for the constitution, are the basis of public morals. The history of every people who have fought for their liberty, abounds in traits of devotedness, of courage, and of disinterestedness, in which that of the American war is very fertile. The transmission to posterity of the

names of those who have honoured the American revolution, not only in the highest offices, but also in inferior stations, is a sacred duty of the governments, and that can never be completely fulfilled, but by inculcating it in the public schools. Can it be feared lest this kind of instruction should have the effect of eternalising the antipathy or preference of the American nation to such or such European nation? No; it would only prolong the sweet remembrance of the acquisition of liberty, and this remembrance is the peculiar property of youth and of future ages. This remembrance is the history of the United States; their citizens cannot neglect making themselves familiar with these great events, without committing an injury; and, I will say further, without incurring the shame of being ignorant of what it is the first duty of every man belonging to a free people to know. But this remembrance cannot engage them in any steps contrary to the duties of a moral and wise policy: it confirms them in the resolution of keeping themselves for ever independent of any foreign nation; and it leaves on the minds of the Americans impressions of satisfaction and of pride, which, when they become united with a sound and enlightened morality, are the embrios of private and public virtues.

"In the course of my journal I have had occasion to speak of learned societies. They are sufficiently numerous in America; but, as I have observed, they are not directed in a manner which can make them of that degree of utility of which they are capable, and of which America stands so much in need. These societies are not assiduously attended by their members; and this inconvenience belongs to that general cause, that constant application to gain so dear to them that it leaves no leisure for any other.

"There are some medical societies established in America which are more diligently attended, where some observations are made, though perhaps less perfect, and with less assiduity, than might be desired. The medical society of New York appears to be that which applies itself with the greatest diligence to the cultivation of those branches of knowledge consonant to its institution. For some time this society has continued to publish monthly a kind of journal, filled with useful and interesting tracts.

"Besides this, there is not any useful journal or periodical work published in America of any importance; there was one published during four years at Philadelphia, under the title of the American Museum, really interesting, on account of some pieces which it contained upon politics, literature, some extracts from good English works, and for the details which it gave of the principal matters relative to commerce and navigation, and of the administration of the United States. This journal ceased to appear in 1792, because the subscriptions for it had ceased to be abundant enough to reimburse the editor for the expenses attending it. This was certainly for America one of the most interesting works worthy of support; but reading has hitherto been the occupation of only a few Americans, and that of political pamphlets, or rather those of party, engages the attention of the greater part of those few: so that while there are in the cities, and even in the villages of the United States, more printing-offices in proportion than in any city in Europe, the presses there are principally employed on some

some books of religion, sermons, some classical books, some geographical dictionaries, upon reprinting English works, and, above all, upon a great number of newspapers. Many works of merit, however, had their birth in America; such as the History of the Revolution of the United States, and that of South Carolina, by Dr. Ramsay, of Charleston; the histories of certain states, among which that of New Hampshire, by Dr. Belknap, of Boston, holds a distinguished rank; the American Encyclopædia, which, though partly extracted from the English Encyclopædia, has a great number of original articles, and is a work of great utility; in short, there are many other tracts, general or particular, upon the United States, and doubtless many which, while I did not name, I did not intend to exclude, any farther than I was not acquainted with them, or which had escaped my memory. I have not included in this list the Defence of the American Constitution, by John Adams; the Observations upon Virginia, by Mr. Jefferson; the Letters of General Washington during the War; it is because I speak here only of the employment of the American presses, and that these celebrated works were printed originally in England.

"Numerous as the newspapers in America may be, they do not supply the want of journals, or periodical publications. Few foreign political articles of moment find a place in them; indeed they are nothing more, at least, in the larger towns, than the Camp List, or the Common Advertiser, in which parties attack each other, and deal out scandal; and as it often happens, when the parties arrive at a certain point of exaltation, the most vehement are those who find the most subscribers, even among those who blame them most.

"In the debates of congress, speeches full of reason, drawn from a knowledge of things, and remarkable for good logic, are often heard; indeed there are but few men there who speak upon subjects which they do not understand. It is also said, but I am not capable of deciding, that the members there express themselves in the best language. But prolixity is, in some measure, the common fault of American orators, who, like the writers of the new world, are not desirous of leaving any thing to be interpreted by the understandings of their auditors or readers.

"The most common vice of the inferior class of the American people, is drunkenness. The use which they make of spirituous liquors, in preference to those of beer, cyder, and wine, greatly aids this disposition. This excepted, there are, without doubt, fewer crimes committed in America than among an equal number of people in Europe; and the cause of it may be found in the easy circumstances of the people, the first source of the morality of nations. Assassinations are not unknown there, but they are very rare; and thefts, especially in the country, are not frequent, though public confidence be the only safeguard of property. They are, as in Europe, more frequent in cities, and for the same reason.

"The crime of counterfeiting bank-bills is pretty common, and becomes more so every year. This offence is also frequent in those countries where bank-notes pass as the current money; it is also, without doubt, the most dangerous to the public confidence. On this account there are men in America humane in other respects, who con

tend that the punishment of death ought to be inflicted upon those who have been pronounced guilty of counterfeiting the legal currency. But independently of every consideration of convenience, or even of right, to inflict the pain of death, there is, in this opinion, more of political resentment than of exact justice. If severe laws were made, and rigorously executed, to prevent fraudulent transactions from becoming so often the means of accumulating riches, and which, at the same time, should have a sufficient influence upon the manners of the people, as to destroy that respect and high consideration, which is too often paid to men merely because they are opulent, they would certainly reduce the number of crimes more than the fear of death, which experience proves to have but little effect in this respect.

If I have been severely exact in representing excessive avidity of becoming rich as the common characteristic of the American people, and especially in the inhabitants of cities, I shall be as exactly just in adding that this disposition does not hurry them on to avarice. Without being profuse, or forgetting the interest of their families, they know how to be at proper times expensive, even with ostentation; and they do not refuse to assist the unfortunate, when proper opportunities for it occur. The unfortunate sufferers by the fires at Charleston and Savannah, and by the dreadful disease which raged at Philadelphia and New York, &c. &c. have been relieved by the abundant subscriptions of the citizens of almost all the American towns where those disasters did not take place, and it is certainly the duty of a Frenchman to do homage to that generosity so liberally extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of the French islands, whom burnings and the threats of death had thrown destitute upon the shores of America. Though I have taken great pains to procure a particular account of the amount of these donations given by almost all the American towns to these unfortunate people, I have only been able to obtain it in part, and have consigned the account to the archives of the town where I have been able to collect them and should have been glad to have been able to have presented the state with the grateful thanks of my countrymen. I do not doubt but the total of these benefactions is more than two hundred thousand dollars; and I do not include in this sum the relief afforded by individuals to individuals affected with misfortune, and I may add, with fraternal affection. The wants of these French colonists, driven from their country, and despoiled by barbarity, were sooner felt, sooner succoured in the towns of the United States, where these unfortunate victims arrived, than expressed by themselves; and these sacrifices have hardly had any other term applied to them than necessaries; these sufferers still abide, and have continued to abide, in some of the towns during the last four years. I know examples of whole families being admitted, for two years to the intimacy and comforts of American families. I have also known some to whom houses have been let, of which the occupiers have been dettayed, and who would still receive the same hospitality, if they themselves had not refused to profit by these kindnesses any longer. I know masters of boarding-houses, who, leading their French

quently quitted their houses, because their small stock of money which they were able to save in their flight was not sufficient to defray their expenses, have cordially solicited their further abode with them as friends, and have at length prevailed over their delicacy to accept the offered kindness. I know Frenchmen who having had a great distance to travel before they arrived at a convenient port, from whence they could depart for their own country, have been with their families lodged and nourished gratuitously, because they were Frenchmen and unfortunate. Similar examples abound, and certainly so many of these facts are greatly honourable both to the nation, and to the individuals to whose beneficence they belong.

"Every private individual in all the United States of America, has an entire liberty of conscience; and almost all the religions known in Europe are those of the societies there. But there are some states where the constitution requires of every citizen entering upon the legislative or executive function, to swear 'that he believes in one God, in the future rewards and punishments of another life, in the holiness of the Old and New Testament, and that he professes the protestant religion.' In short, with individuals, and even with some societies, religion is one of the objects which occupies the least of the attention of the American people; and it is affirmed that in those states where presbyterianism has preserved the most of appearance, of influence, and of rigidity, it is exercised in general only for the sake of form.

"There are in almost all the towns of America, at least in the principal cities of the states, societies for agriculture, societies for the encouragement of arts, and for the formation and maintenance of public libraries; these last excepted, few among them attain the end proposed, and but few of them can be able to attain it in the present state of America. The expences which these last societies incur in small pamphlets, are paid by voluntary subscriptions, in which the inhabitants of the United States, in easy circumstances, are more liberal when the public good is the object of them, than they are in bestowing their time in reading them.

"There are also a considerable number of charitable societies, some of which are marine societies, whose purpose is, in some towns, to provide a subsistence for the wives and children of captains, or masters, who die at sea; or for providing assistance to all vessels wrecked upon their coast. There are also societies for the assistance of emigrants; that is to say, for assisting with advice and accounts those strangers who arrive from Europe, with an intention of establishing themselves in America. Others subscribe for the support of hospitals and schools, and for the distribution of proper medicines: there are some for the purpose of ameliorating the situation of prisoners; some also for the civilization of the Indians; and, lastly, others unite themselves for the purpose of accelerating in America the epoch of the destruction of slavery. In all these different charitable societies, composed of men of all classes, of all professions, and of all religions, there is not one in which some of the people called quakers are not to be found; they are the agents of a great many of them, and of some they are the promoters and almost the only members; such is those who have the liberty of the negroes for their object.

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"Without becoming on this account an extravagant enthusiast of the quakers, it is impossible not to remark, that in every place where any beneficent plan is formed for the good of humanity, there they are always ready visitors. They are perhaps, as is said of them, as much engaged in the occupation of amassing riches, as those who do not belong to their society; but granting it to be so, this does not prevent them from applying themselves, upon every occasion, to acts of kindness and beneficence. Their tenets, their principles, and their laws, rigorously prescribe this duty; and their constant inspection over their societies inures them to it. And though there may be hypocrites among them, which is unfair to presume, this pretended hypocrisy, which would be a vice in those whom it might sway, ought yet to be respected, since the good which may result from it, may cause it to be turned to the public advantage, and would even become a credit to their society. There must, without doubt, be found among the great number of members of their communion, some bad men, but they cannot be notoriously so without being excluded the society. If there be among the American citizens some quakers whom false or hazardous speculations have drawn into proceedings which delicacy and equity condemn, their number is but small; and the quantity of quakers engaged in commerce is nearly equal to that of the men who compose their whole society. Their private manners are regular and pure, and the luxury of those who resign themselves the most to it, does not exceed the ease and conveniences of life. The courts of justice are never engaged in deciding the differences which take place among them, and the number of law-suits between the quakers and other citizens is but small, in comparison of their multitude, and the quantity of their property. Submissive to the laws of the country where they live, no state, whatever its constitution may be, has more quiet and more faithful subjects. Their wishes for the freedom of slaves, and their efforts to hasten the period of its accomplishment, has created them violent and irreconcileable enemies in every part of the world. It may be, that the exalted zeal of some individuals may have drawn them beyond the bounds of a just convenience, and from a well-digested prudence, and those are certainly blameable. But have they ever been even accused of having excited the negroes to rebellion? It has been by pleading and petitioning for them, as unhappy beings and as men; it has been by rising against slavery that they have shown themselves their friends; and the quakers are not the first men in whom a desire to dissipate errors and to procure redress for the injured has produced hatred and even persecutions.

"Perhaps it may be delicate to discuss the question of negro slavery, at a period when so many crimes and so many unparalleled atrocities have been committed under the pretext of their emancipation; whence so many miseries, either irremediable, or at least difficult to repair, have resulted to the state, to proprietors, and to the negroes themselves. This question however is foreign to my subject. But the quakers had no hand in causing these calamities; and their adherence to the cause of suffering humanity; and their frequent petitions in favour of the negroes, do them honour, as well as their vigi-

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lance, as citizens, in executing the laws which are favourable to this class of men. How honourable to them are those persevering cares and assiduous attentions to the hospitals and prisons, in which they expose themselves to the danger of catching the dreadful yellow fever when it appears! I am speaking of them as citizens, without any regard to their opinions, to their rules and orders, or to the austerity of their manners; in this respect, I believe that a nation which has really at heart the good of mankind, cannot have better or more useful subjects.

"The inferior classes of workmen, down to those who labour in the ports, do not appear to me to be so rustic in America as they generally do in the old world. The reason of this is, without doubt, that they are treated with more civility, and considered by those who employ them as free men with whom they have contracted, rather than as workmen, whom they compel to labour. They are like the workmen of every class, both in town and country, much better paid than in Europe, by which they are enabled to live well. There is not a family, even in the most miserable hut in the midst of woods, who does not eat meat twice a day at least, and drink tea and coffee; and there is not one who drinks pure water; the proverbial wish of 'having a chicken in the pot,' is more than accomplished in America. The shopkeeper and the artisan live much better here than in Europe; and the table of a family, in easy circumstances, living upon their income, is not better served in England and France, than a great many of those of tailors, hair-dressers etc. of Philadelphia, of New York, or of all other large towns in America.

"Though there be no distinctions acknowledged by the law in the United States, fortune, and the nature of professions form different classes. The merchants, the lawyers, the land-owners, who do not cultivate their land themselves (and the number, which is small from the state of Delaware to the north, is great in the states of the south), the physicians, and the clergy, form the first class. The inferior merchants, the farmers, and the artisans may be included in the second; and the third class is composed of workmen, who let themselves by the day, by the month, &c.

"In balls, concerts, and public amusements, these classes do not mix; and yet, except the labourer in ports, and the common sailor, every one calls himself, and is called by others, a gentleman: a small fortune is sufficient for the assumption of this title, as it carries men from one class to another. They deceive themselves very much who think that pure republican manners prevail in America.

"The white American, by a pride which cannot be blamed, and which proceeds from the negroes being generally employed in the service, is ashamed of the situation of a domestic; so that there cannot be reckoned throughout the whole extent of the United States, twenty native Americans in the state of domestic servants. The class of domestics in America is composed of poor priests, Germans, and of negroes and mulattoes; and as soon as the first have acquired a little money, they quit that station, regarded with a sort of contempt, and establish themselves upon land, which they clear and till, or in a small trade. In short, they become independent of a master. Hence it may easily be inferred, that good servants

servants are not readily found in America.

"The prejudice which causes the men in America to have so great a repugnance to the state of domestic servitude, does not influence the women in the same degree; nothing is more common than to see young women of good families, in the situation of servants, during the first years of their youth. Even their parents engage them in this situation without shocking any idea. I have been told by M. de Eusbonne, a Frenchman, formerly a captain in the regiment of Auvergne, (and whom the pride of independence induced to take up the business of a gardener for the support of his family, though he was forty-six years of age), that he had had in his service, as maid-servant, the niece of the mayor of the city of New York, a young woman very honest, and well brought up. Similar examples are very common.

"In a country which has belonged to England for a long time, of which the most numerous and nearest connections are yet with England, and which carries on with England almost all its commerce, the manners of the people must necessarily resemble, in a great degree, those of England. To the American manners particularly, those relative to living are the same as in the provinces of England. As to the dress, the English fashions are as faithfully copied, as the sending of merchandise from England, and the tradition of tailors and mantua-makers will admit of. The distribution of the apartments in their houses is like that of England, the furniture is English, the town carriages are either English, or in the English taste; and it is no small merit among the fashionable world to have a coach newly arrived from London, and of the newest fashion. The cookery is English, and as in England, after dinner, which is not very long, the ladies withdraw, and give place to drinking of wine in full bumpers, the most prominent pleasure of the day, and which it is, consequently, very natural to prolong as late as possible.

"There are great dinners, and numerous tea-parties, invited a long time in advance, but no societies. So that these tea assemblies are every where a fund of amusement for the ladies. Balls and plays are much frequented. It is generally understood that these kinds of dissipation belong only to the towns, and particularly to large cities. Luxury is very high there, especially at New York and Philadelphia, and makes a dangerous progress every year; but easily to be conceived, since luxury is, in some degree, the representation of riches, and that wealth there is the only distinction.

"There are some persons who surpass their neighbours, already far advanced, in luxury; these injure the manners of the country, but while the people censure, they pursue these seductive paths; and frequent and sumptuous dinners are held in as high consideration in the new as in the old world; and this custom has its advantage very often. It has been seen that this consideration has raised to the place of temporary president of the senate of the United States, a man who was not esteemed by any of those who elected him, or by any other, either for his talents, his qualities, or for his character, but, he entertained his friends with sumptuous dinners. In the country, luxury is less prevalent, but it continually increases, and often out of proportion with wealth.

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"The women every where possess, in the highest degree, the domestic virtues, and all others; they have more sweetness, more goodness, at least as much courage, but more sensibility, than the men. Good wives, and good mothers, their husbands and their children engage their whole attention; and their household affairs occupy all their time and all their cares; destined by the manners of their country to this domestic life, their education in other respects is too much neglected. They are amiable by their qualities and their natural disposition, but there are very few among them who are so from any acquired accomplishments. What they esteem to be virtue in wives is the virtue of the whole sex; and if in the United States malice may throw out her suspicion upon twenty, there are certainly not above ten of them who can be accused justly, and all the rest treat these with great rigour. I have heard some husbands complain, that the urgency of their wives makes this irreproachable virtue cost them dear. But where in the world is there a place where evil is not found by the side of good?

"The young women here enjoy a liberty, which to French manners would appear disorderly; they go out alone, walk with young men, and depart from them with the rest of the company in large assemblies; in short, they enjoy the same degree of liberty which married women do in France, and which married women here do not take. But they are far from abusing it; they endeavour to please, and the unmarried women desire to obtain husbands, and they know that they shall not succeed if their conduct becomes suspected. Sometimes they are abused by the men who deceive them, but then they add not to the misfortune of having engaged their hearts to a cruel man the regret of deceiving him, which might give them remorse. When they have obtained a husband, they love him, because he is their husband, and because they have not an idea that they can do otherwise; they revere custom by a kind of state religion, which never varies.

"I do not know whether there be many badly-managed families in America; but none appear so, though indeed they do not bear the image of the most desireable happiness. In the inferior classes of society, where the manners of the women are as exempt from reproach as in the more elevated classes, it is said that those of the young women are more easy. Yet according to all which I have been able to collect, it is the illusion of a marriage, which they believe to be decided, which engages them to give further liberties than they otherwise would do without this false hope. The fault therefore lies entirely in the men, who deceive the young women; unless it can be just to accuse those of libertinage who have not the prudence to guard themselves against it.

"There formerly was a custom in New England, and particularly in Connecticut, which various American travellers, in their accounts, attribute to vicious manners; but who, I confess, ought to accuse me of dullness, because it always appeared to me, on the contrary, to be the effect of the purest manners, and the most innocent intentions. A traveller arrived at the house of a friend, and the beds of the family were engaged. He was put to bed with the family—with the boys, if there were any, and with the girls, if there were no boys. It may be conceived, that it is easier for Europeans

ropeahs, to compose pleasant tales, and to draw merry inferences from this custom, than to examine it in its native simplicity, and the beneficence of its intention.

"Hospitality among this new people was one of the virtues the most regarded as a duty, and the most religiously observed. Their houses were few and small. A traveller to whom an entrance into one of these had been denied at the end of the day, was not able to find another lodging near; their hospitable manners could not suffer him to be refused; and the idea of disorder did not enter the head of the parents, or that of their daughters, and the guest was admitted into the hospitable roof; and it was not remarked that he arrived inconveniently. The part of the clothing which was not thrown off, was rather a homage paid to the difference of sexes than a necessary means of security; and the next day the traveller departed, to find on the next evening another hospitable lodging. This custom, known by the name of *hondelage*, ceased, in proportion as houses became larger, the roads more frequented, and taverns established; but the day when the idea of modesty entered to make this reform, the manners had lost their innocence.

"I have heard it said by men who had been admitted to this species of hospitality, and whose manners were certainly not very scrupulous, that the slightest attempt which they had ever made to abuse this reception had been received with violent repulses, and had caused them sometimes to be turned out of bed, and sometimes even out of the house; and no one ever told me that he had ever succeeded in attempting to take advantage of this custom; but their delicacy had not prevented them from desiring it, and would not have hindered them from avowing it.

"There probably may have been examples to the contrary; but they could only be reckoned as exceptions, and too few to have authorised writing travellers to have played so much upon this custom, which, when it is considered at what period it took place, and with what intention it was established, is a credit to the manners of the country, and to the times in which it was practised. Be this as it may, the custom has ceased long ago, so that there is no more truth in the account of those writers who represent it to exist at present, than there is of justness and goodness in their judgment when they attack the morality of it, or pervert the intention.

"But the custom which exists still, and which may shock the manners of an European, is that of being admitted to sleep upon mattresses and upon blankets in the same chambers where the husband and wife sleep in their bed, and the children of the family, boys and girls in theirs. This custom is also to be attributed to the scarceness of houses, and their smallness, which is generally reduced to one chamber, which renders this practice necessary in those parts of the United States which are thinly inhabited. I have more than once found myself in such a lodging, when I have been travelling alone, or with companions of my journey, and when I have met with travellers to whom I was a stranger. The chambers are very small; and men often sleep near the bed of young and handsome girls, whose simplicity is not sufficiently alarmed to make any change in their customary night-dress. If the stranger so lodged has his sleep so retarded or broken by

by the ideas suggested by a situation to which he is so little accustomed, it is neither the fault nor intention of his good and kind hosts.

"As to the large towns, and particularly commercial ones, the means of libertinism there are perhaps more numerous than in Europe, and I hear say that a great many husbands make use of these means. As in Europe, poverty and vanity of dress are the determining motive which lead the women into the paths of prostitution;—so it is in the great towns of America: and among the married women, those whom the long absence and inattention of their husbands leave without sure means of subsistence, particularly the wives of seafaring men, are, if not absolutely the only ones, the most frequently accused of this illicit practice.

"I ought to add farther, that the condition of the girls who are kept in the houses set apart for prostitution, is viewed by the lower orders of the American people with weaker prepossessions than in Europe, and is looked upon merely in the same manner as every other trade: there are many examples of this description of women, who leave those situations, place themselves as servants, or are married, and make faithful domestics and honest wives. The municipal police connives at this kind of houses; but if the neighbours complain of any exterior scandal, they are instantly shut, and the inhabitants carried to the house of correction.

"The Americans marry young, especially in the country: the occasion which the young men, who generally establish themselves very early either in some new lands or in some trade, have for a wife to assist them in their labours, conduces to these early marriages as much as the purity of manners.

"In the villages marriages are less frequent and not so hasty, especially since the introduction of luxury renders an acquired fortune more necessary; and the young men hardly feel the necessity of loving, with the project of marriage, till they have already satisfied, or are in the way of satisfying, the more imperious necessity of gaining money. But however good the marriages may be, the wife who dies is readily replaced by another.—In the country she is, as in Europe, a necessary friend to the management of domestic affairs—she is the soul of the family. In town she is so too. She is an indispensable resource for domestic affairs, while her husband is engaged in his own affairs, as every one is in America; she is an assiduous companion, and a society ever ready to be found in the country where they are no other but that of the family, and where the children soon quit their paternal abode.

"To the sketch which I have just given of the manners of the people of the United States, I could add some features more, but which would augment but little the knowledge which I have tried to give of them collectively, or of them *ensemble*: besides, I am pressed to finish this article, which appears too long already.

"An European coming into the new world, and bringing with him the need of the usage of the polite attentions of that which he has quitted, he, above all, who brings with him the need of what we call in France the charms of society, which we know so well how to appreciate, of which we know how to participate, and which affords us so many

many moments of happiness,—each in America. But if he can really

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Miscellaneous Observations and Anecdotes, illustrative of the Corporeal and Mental Qualifications, Dispositions, and Manners of the modern North American Indians.

[From the second Volume of Travels through the States of North America, by ISAAC WELD, Junior.]

"THE Indians, as I have already remarked, are for the most part very slightly made, and from a survey of their persons one would imagine that they were much better qualified for any pursuits that required great agility than great bodily strength. This has been the general opinion of most of those who have written on this subject. I am induced, however, from what I have myself been witness to, and from what I have collected from others, to think that the Indians are much more remarkable for their muscular strength than for their agility. At different military posts on the frontiers, where this subject has been agitated, races, for the sake of experiment, have frequently been made between soldiers and Indians, and, provided the distance was not great, the Indians have almost always been beaten; but in a long race, where strength of muscle was required, they have without exception been victorious: in leaping also the Indians have been infallibly beaten by such of the soldiers as possessed common activity; but the strength of the Indians is most conspicuous in the carrying of burdens on their backs; they esteem it nothing to walk thirty miles a day for several days together under a load of eight stone, and they will walk an entire day under a load without taking any refreshment. In carrying burdens they make use of a sort of frame, somewhat similar to what

is commonly used by a stranger to cover his glossy skin covered by cordy or striped cloth, buck or leather, round their shoulders, and, when the hood is fixed upon the head, hedge at the bottom of the dress, two bands are thrown round the whole, one of which is brought across the forehead, and the other across the breast, and thus the head is supported. The length of way an Indian will travel in the course of the day, when accompanied with a load, is astonishing. A young Wyandot, who, when peace was about to be made between the Indians and General Wayne, was employed to carry a message from his nation to the American officer, travelled but little short of eighty miles on foot in one day; and I was informed by one of the general's aides-de-camp, who saw him when he arrived at camp, that he did not appear in the least degree fatigued.

"Le P. Charlevoix observes, that the Indians seem to him to possess many personal advantages over us; their senses, in particular, he thinks much finer than ours; their sight is, indeed, quick and penetrating, and it does not fail them till they are far advanced in years, notwithstanding that their eyes are exposed so many months each winter to the dazzling whiteness of the snow, and to the sharp irritating smoke of wood fires. Disorders in the eyes are almost wholly unknown to them; nor is the slightest blemish ever seen in their eyes, excepting it be a result from some accident. Their hearing is very acute, and their sense of smelling so nice, that they can tell when they are approaching a fire long before it is in sight.

"The Indians have most retentive memories; they will preserve to their deaths a recollection of any plot they have once penetrated through, they never forget a face that they have attentively observed, but after a few months, at the end of many years they will repeat a conversation of nine speeches that have been delivered by different individuals in a public assembly; and the arrangements have made in the council house of the nation, particularly deserving of remembrance, it will be handed down with the utmost accuracy from one generation to another, though perfectly ignorant of the use of hieroglyphics and letters; the only memorials of which they avail themselves are small pieces of wood, such as I told you were brought by them to Captain E——, preparatory to the delivery of the presents, and belts of wampum; the former are only used on trifling occasions, the latter never but on very grand and solemn ones. Whenever a conference, or a talk, as they term it, is about to be held with any neighbouring tribe, or whenever any treaty of national compact is about to be made, one of these belts, differing in some respect from every other that has been made before, is immediately constructed; each person in the assembly holds this belt in his hand whilst he delivers his speech, and when he has ended, he presents it to the next person that rises; by which ceremony each individual is reminded, that it behoves him to be cautious in his discourse, as all he says will be faithfully recorded by the belt. The talk being over, the belt is deposited in the hands of the principal chief.

"On the ratification of a treaty, very broad splendid belts are reciprocally given by the contracting parties, which are deposited amongst the other belts belonging to the nation

At stated intervals they are all produced to the nation, and the occasions upon which they were made are mentioned; if they relate to a talk, one of the chiefs repeats the substance of what was said over them; if to a treaty, the terms of it are recapitulated. Certain of the squaws, also, are entrusted with the belts, whose business it is to relate the history of each one of them to the younger branches of the tribe; this they do with great accuracy, and thus it is that the remembrance of every important transaction is kept up.

"The wampum is formed of the inside of the clam shell, a large sea-shell bearing some similitude to that of a scallop, which is found on the coast of New England and Virginia. The shell is sent in its original rough state to England, and there cut into small pieces, exactly similar in shape and size to the modern glass bugles worn by ladies; which little bits of shell constitute wampum. There are two sorts of wampum, the white and the purple; the latter is most esteemed by the Indians, who think a pound weight of it equally valuable with a pound of silver. The wampum is strung upon bits of leather, and the belt is composed of ten, twelve, or more strings, according to the importance of the occasion on which it is made; sometimes also the wampum is sewed in different patterns, on broad belts of leather.

"The use of wampum appears to be very general among the Indian nations; but how it became so, is a question that would require discussion; for it is well known that they are a people obstinately attached to old customs, and that would not therefore be apt to adopt, on the most grand and solemn occasion, the use of an article that they had never seen until brought to them by strangers; at the same time it seems wholly impossible that they should ever have been able to have made wampum from the clam shell for themselves; they fashion the bowls of tobacco pipes, indeed, from stone, in a very curious manner, and with astonishing accuracy, considering that they use no other instrument than a common knife, but then the stone which they commonly carve thus is of a very soft kind; the clam shell, however, is exceedingly hard, and to bore and to cut it into such small pieces as are necessary to form wampum, very fine tools would be wanting. Probably they made some use of the clam shell, and endeavoured to reduce it to as small bits as they could with their rude instruments before we came amongst them, but on finding that we could cut it so much more neatly than they could, laid aside the wampum before in use for that of our manufacture. Mr. Carver tells us, that he found sea shells very generally worn by the Indians who resided in the most interior parts of the continent, who never could have visited a sea shore themselves, and could only have procured them at the expense of much trouble from other nations.

"The Indians are exceedingly sagacious and observant, and, by dint of minute attention, acquire many qualifications to which we are wholly strangers. They will traverse a trackless forest, hundreds of miles in extent, without deviating from the straight course, and will reach to a certainty the spot whither they intended to go on setting out: with equal skill they will cross one of the large lakes; and though out of sight of the shores for days, will to a certainty make the land at once, at the very place they desired." Some of the French missionaries have supposed

osed that the Indians are guided by nstinct, and have pretended that ndian children can find their way hrough a forest as easily as a per- on of maturer years; but this is a nost absurd notion. It is unques- ionably by a close attention to the rowth of the trees, and position of he sun, that they find their way. On the northern side of a tree there s generally the most moss, and the bark on that side in general differs rom that on the opposite one. The branches towards the south are for the most part more luxuriant than those on the other sides of the trees, and several other distinctions also subsist between the northern and southern sides, conspicuous to Indians, who are taught from their infancy to attend to them, which a common observer would perhaps never notice. Being accustomed from their childhood, likewise, to pay great attention to the position of the sun, they learn to make the most accurate allowance for its apparent motion from one part of the heavens to another, and in any part of the day they will point to the part of the heavens where it is, although the sky be obscured by clouds or mists.

"An instance of their dexterity in finding their way through an unknown country came under my observation when I was at Staunton, situated behind the Blue Mountains, Virginia. A number of the Creek nation had arrived at that town in their way to Philadelphia, whither they were going upon some affairs of importance, and had stopped there for the night. In the morning some circumstance or another, what could not be learned, induced one half of the Indians to set off without their companions, who did not follow until some hours afterwards. When these last were ready to pursue their journey, several of the towns-people mounted their horses to escort them part of the way. They proceeded along the high road for some miles, but all at once, hastily turning aside into the woods, though there was no path, the Indians advanced confidently forward; the people who accompanied them, surprised at this movement, informed them that they were quitting the road to Philadelphia, and expressed their fears less they should miss their companions, who had gone on before. They answered, that they knew better; that the way through the woods was the shortest to Philadelphia; and that they knew very well that their companions had entered the woods at the very same place they did. Curiosity led some of the horsemen to go on; and to their astonishment, for there was apparently no track, they overtook the other Indians in the thickest part of the wood; but what appeared most singular was, that the route which they took was found, on examining a map, to be as direct for Philadelphia as if they had taken the bearings by a mariner's compass. From others of their nation, who had been at Philadelphia at a former period, they had probably learned the exact direction of that city from their village, and had never lost sight of it, although they had already travelled three hundred miles though woods, and had upwards of four hundred miles more to go before they could reach the place of their destination.

"Of the exactness with which they can find out a strange place that they have once been direct d to by their own people, a striking example is furnished us, I think by Mr. Jefferson, in his account of the Indian graves in Virginia. These

mounds of earth in the woods, which, on being opened, are found to contain skeletons in an erect posture: the Indian mode of sepulture has been too often described to remain unknown to you. But to come to my story. A party of Indians that were passing on to some of the sea ports on the Atlantic, just as the Creeks abovementioned were going to Philadelphia, were observed, all on a sudden, to quit the straight road by which they were proceeding, and, without asking any questions, to strike through the woods in a direct line to one of these graves, which lay at the distance of some miles from the road. Now very near a century must have passed over since the part of Virginia, in which this grave was situated, had been inhabited by Indians; and these Indian travellers, who went to visit it by themselves, had, unquestionably, never been in that part of the country before; they must have found their way to it simply from the description of its situation that had been handed down to them by tradition.

The Indians, for the most part, are admirably well acquainted with the geography of their own country. Ask them any questions relative to the situation of a particular place in it, and if there be a convenient spot at hand, they will, with the utmost facility, trace, upon the ground with a stick, a map, by no means inaccurate, of the place in question, and the surrounding country: they will point out the course of the rivers, and, by directing your attention to the sun, make you acquainted with the different bearings. I happened once to be sitting in a house at the western extremity of Lake Erie, whilst we were detained there by contrary winds, and was employed in looking over a map of the state of New York, when a young Seneka warrior entered. His attention was attracted by the sight of the map, and he seemed at once to comprehend the meaning of it; but never having before seen a general map of the state of New York, and being wholly ignorant of the use of letters, he could not discover to what part of the country it had a reference; simply, however, by laying my finger upon the spot where we then were, and by showing to him the line that denoted Buffalo Creek, on which his village was situated, I gave him the clue to the whole; and having done so, he quickly ran over the map, and with the utmost accuracy pointed out, by name, every lake and river for upwards of two hundred miles distant from his village. All the lakes and rivers in this part of the country still retain the Indian names, so that had he named them wrong I could have at once detected him. His pleasure was so great on beholding such a perfect map of the country, that he could not refrain from calling some of his companions, who were loitering at the door, to come and look at it. They made signs to me to lend it to them; I did so, and having laid it on a table, they sat over it for more than half an hour, during which time I observed they frequently testified their pleasure to one another on finding particular places accurately laid down which they had been acquainted with. The older men also seemed to have many stories to tell the others, probably respecting the adventures they had met with at distant parts of the country, and which they were now glad of having an opportunity of elucidating by the map before them.

Whenever a tract of ground is about to be purchased by govern-

ment

ent from the Indians, for no private individuals can purchase lands from them by the laws of the province, a map of the country is drawn, and the part about to be contracted for is particularly marked out. If there be any mistakes in these maps, the Indians will at once point them out; and after the bargain is made, they will, from the maps, mark out the boundaries of the lands they have ceded with the greatest accuracy, notching the trees, if there be any, along the boundary line, and if not, placing stakes or stones in the ground to denote where it runs. On these occasions regular deeds of sale are drawn, with accurate maps of the lands which have been purchased attached to them, and these deeds are signed in form by the contracting parties. I saw several of them in possession of our friend Captain L——, which were extremely curious on account of the Indian signatures. The Indians, for the most part, take upon them the name of some animal, as, the blue snake, the little turkey, the big bear, the mad dog, &c. and their signatures consist of the outline, drawn with a pen, of the different animals whose names they bear. Some of the signatures at the bottom of these deeds were really well executed, and were lively representations of the animals they were intended for.

"The Indians in general possess no small share of ingenuity. Their domestic wooden utensils, bows and arrows, and other weapons, &c. are made with the utmost neatness; and indeed the workmanship of them is frequently such as to excite astonishment, when it is considered that a knife and a hatchet are the only instruments they make use of. On the handles of their tomahawks, on their powder horns, on the bowls of their pipes, &c. you oftentimes meet with figures extremely well designed, and with specimens of carving far from contemptible. The embroidery upon their moccasins and other garments shows that the females are not less ingenious in their way than the men. Their porcupine quill-work would command admiration in any country in Europe. The soft young quills of the porcupine are those which they use, and they dye them of the most beautiful and brilliant colours imaginable. Some of their dyes have been discovered, but many of them yet remain unknown as do also many of the medicines with which they perform sometimes most miraculous cures. Their dyes and medicines are all procured from the vegetable world.

"But though the Indians prove by their performances, that they have some relish for the works of art, yet they are by no means ready to bestow commendations on every thing curious for its workmanship that is shown to them. Trinkets or ornaments for dress, though ever so gaudy or ever so neatly manufactured, they despise, unless somewhat similar in their kind to what they themselves are accustomed to wear, and fashioned exactly to their own taste, which has remained nearly the same since Europeans first came amongst them; nor will they praise any curious or wonderful piece of mechanism, unless they can see that it is intended to answer some useful purpose. Nothing that I could show them attracted their attention, I observed, so much as a light double-barrelled gun, which I commonly carried in my hand when walking about their encampments. This was something in their own way; they at once perceived the benefit that must accrue to the

sportsman from having two barrels on the one stock, and the contrivance pleased them; well acquainted also with the qualities of good locks, and the advantages attending them, they expressed great satisfaction at finding those upon my piece so superior to what they perhaps had before seen.

"It is not every new scene either, which to them, one would imagine, could not fail to appear wonderful, that will excite their admiration.

"A French writer, I forget who, tells us of some Iroquois Indians that walked though several of the finest streets of Paris, but without expressing the least pleasure at any thing they saw, until they at last came to a cook's shop; this called forth their warmest praise; a shop where a man was always sure of getting something to satisfy his hunger, without the trouble and fatigue of hunting and fishing, was in their opinion one of the most admirable institutions possible: had they been told, however, that they must have paid for what they eat, they would have expressed equal indignation perhaps at what they saw. In their own villages they have no idea of refusing food to any person that enters their habitation in quality of a friend.

"The Indians, whom curiosity or business leads to Philadelphia, or to any other of the large towns in the states, find in general, as little deserving of notice in the streets and houses there as these Iroquois at Paris; and there is not one of them but what would prefer his own wigwam to the most splendid habitations they see in any of these places. The shipping, however, at Philadelphia and the other sea-ports, seldom fails to excite their admiration, because they at once see the utility and advantage of large vessels over canoes, which are the only vessels they have. The young Wyandot, whom I before-mentioned, as having made such a wonderful day's journey on foot, happened to be at Philadelphia when I was there, and he appeared highly delighted with the river, and the great number of ships of all sizes upon it; but the tide attracted his attention more than any thing else whatsoever. On coming to the river the first day, he looked up at the sun, and made certain observations upon the course of the stream, and general situation of the place, as the Indians never fail to do on coming to any new or remarkable spot. The second time, however, he went down to the water, he found to his surprise that the river was running with equal rapidity in a contrary direction to what he had seen it run the day before. For a moment he imagined that by some mistake he must have got to the opposite side of it; but soon recollecting himself, and being persuaded that he stood on the very same spot from whence he had viewed it the day before, his astonishment became great indeed. To obtain information upon such an interesting point, he immediately sought out an aide-du-camp of General Wayne, who had brought him to town. This gentleman however, only rendered the appearance still more mysterious to him, by telling him that the great spirit, for the convenience of the white men, who were his particular favourites, had made the rivers in their country to run two ways; but the poor Wyandot was satisfied with the answer, and replied, 'Ah, my friend, if the 'great spirit would make the Ohio 'to run two ways for us, we should 'very often pay you a visit at Pitts-

'burgh.'

During his stay at Phi-
a, he never failed to visit
r every day.
nongst the public exhibitions
ladelphia, the performances
horse riders and tumblers at
phitheatre appear to afford
he greatest pleasure; they en-
the highest opinion of these
who are so distinguished for
eats of activity, and rank them
gst the ablest men in the na-

Nothing, indeed, gives more
it to the Indians than to see a
that excels in any bodily exer-
and tell them even of a per-
hat is distinguished for his great
igth, for his swiftness in run-
, for his dexterous manage-
it of the bow or gun, for his
ning in hunting, for his intre-
and firm conduct in war, or the
, they will listen to you with
greatest pleasure, and readily
n in praises of the hero.

"The Indians appear, on the
st view, to be of a very cold and
legmatic disposition, and you must
ow them for some time before
ou can be persuaded to the contra-
. If you show them any artificial
roduction which pleases them, they
imply tell you, with seeming in-
ifference, 'that it is pretty;' 'that
they like to look at it;' 'that it is
a clever invention:' nor do they
testify their satisfaction and plea-
sure by emotions seemingly much
warmer in their nature, on behold-
ing any new or surprising spectacle,
or on hearing any happy piece of
intelligence. The performances at
the amphitheatre at Philadelphia,
though unquestionably highly in-
teresting to them, never drew forth
from them, I observed, more than
a smile or a gentle laugh; followed
by a remark in a low voice to their
friend sitting next to them. With
equal indifference do they behold
any thing terrible, or listen to the
accounts of any dreadful catastrophe
that has befallen their families or
their nation. This apathy, how-
ever, is only assumed, and certainly
does not proceed from a real want
of feeling; no people on earth are
more alive to the calls of friendship;
no people have a greater affection
for their offspring in their tender
years; no people are more sensible
of an injury: a word in the slight-
est degree insulting will kindle a
flame in their breasts, that can only
be extinguished by the blood of the
offending party; and they will tra-
verse forests for hundreds of miles,
exposed to the inclemency of the
severest weather, and to the pangs
of hunger, to gratify their revenge;
they will not cease for years daily
to visit, and silently to mourn over,
the grave of a departed child; and
they will risk their lives, and sacri-
fice every thing they possess, to as-
sist a friend in distress: but at the
same time, in their opinion, no man
can be esteemed a good warrior or
a dignified character that openly
betrays any extravagant emotions of
surprise, of joy, of sorrow, or of
fear, on any occasion whatsoever.
The excellence of appearing thus
indifferent to what would excite
the strongest emotions in the minds
of any other people is forcibly in-
culcated on them from their earliest
youth; and such an astonishing
command do they acquire over them-
selves, that even at the stake, when
suffering the severest tortures that
can be inflicted on the human body
by the flames and the knife, they
appear unmoved, and laugh, as it is
well known, at their tormentors.

"This affected apathy on the

* "A town situated at the very head of the Ohio."

part of the Indians make them appear strong and vigorous in their own private circles, however they frequently keep up gay and sprightly conversations; and they are possessed, it is said, of a lively and ready turn of wit. Whoever such a place as Philadelphia, notwithstanding their appearing so indifferent to every thing before them whilst strangers are present, yet, after having retired by themselves to an apartment for the night, they will frequently sit up for hours together, laughing and talking of what they have seen in the course of the day. I have been told by persons acquainted with their language, that they have overheard their discourse on such occasions, that their remarks are most pertinent, and that they sometimes turn what has passed before them into such ludicrous points of view, that it is scarcely possible to refrain from laughter.

But though the Indians, in general, appear so reserved in the presence of strangers, yet the liveliness of their dispositions forbids them from ever appearing embarrassed, and they would sit down to table in a palace, before the first crowned head on the face of the earth, with as much unconcern as they would sit down to a frugal meal in one of their own cabins. They deem it highly becoming in a warrior, to accommodate his manners to those of the people with whom he may happen to live; and as they are wonderfully observant, you will seldom perceive any thing of awkwardness or vulgarity in their behaviour in the company of strangers. I have seen an Indian, that had lived in the woods from his infancy, enter a drawing room in Philadelphia, full of ladies, with as much ease and as much gentility as if he had always been used to the company

temperance

city; and shortly after having been told, unperceived, to his mother, that the fowl was ready, she quitted the room with the same easy politeness. But she following moments will put this matter in a stronger point of view.

Our friend Aleshig, the little Otter, had been invited to dine with me at the house of a gentleman at Detroit, and he came accordingly, accompanied by his son, a little boy of about nine or ten years of age. After dinner a variety of fruits were served up, and amongst the rest some peaches, a dish of which was handed to the young Indian. He helped himself to one with becoming propriety; but immediately afterwards he put the fruit to his mouth, and bit a piece out of it. The father eyed him with indignation, and spoke some words to him in a low voice, which I could not understand, but which, on being interpreted by one of the company, proved to be a warm reprimand for his having been so deficient in observation as not to peel his peach, as he saw the gentleman opposite to him had done. The little fellow was extremely ashamed of himself, but he quickly retrieved his error, by drawing a plate towards him, and peeling the fruit with the greatest neatness.

Some port wine, which he was afterwards helped to, not being by any means agreeable to his palate, the little fellow made a wry face, as a child might naturally do, after drinking it. This called forth another reprimand from the father, who told him that he despaired of ever seeing him a great man or a good warrior if he appeared thus to dislike when his host had kindly helped him to. The boy drank the rest of his wine with becoming pleasure.

The Indians scarcely ever lift their

dis agreeable to their children, is very
y are cunning, selfish, and revengeful
lens; they sometimes throw
ter in their faces, a species
and of which the children
greatest dread, and which
nan inflicts a famous good ef-
on the French missionaries
f his having seen a girl of an
d ages succeeded at having
ter thrown in her face by
en, as if she was still a child,
instantly retired and put an
nence to her existence. As long as
nain children, the young
ace attentive to the extreme
dvice of their parents; but
at the age of puberty, and
provide for themselves, they
r have any respect for them,
y will follow their own will
sure in spite of all their re-
nces, unless, indeed, their
be of an advanced age. Old
er fails to command their
profound veneration.
people are possessed of a great-
e of natural politeness than
ians: they will never inter-
u whilst you are speaking;
you have told them any
which they think to be false,
ey bluntly contradict you;
dare say, brother,' they will
, 'that you yourself believe
you tell us to be true;' but
pears to us so improbable that
annot give our assent to it.'
their conduct towards one
r, nought but gentleness and
ny is observable. You are
witness amongst them to such
roils and clamourous conten-
s are common amongst the
classes of people in Europe;
you perceive among them
rates of the coarsest vulgar
; in their intercourse with people, they
e on all occasions like gentle
and could not imagine

ing probe be adduced to the con-
trary, but never could imagine that
they were the ferocious savage peo-
ple in war which they are said to be.
It may be understood, however,
that I only speak now of the Indi-
ans in their sober state; when in-
toxicated with spirits, which, is but
too often the case, a very different
picture is presented to our view,
and they appear more like devils
incarnate than human beings; they
roar, they fight, they cut each other,
and commit every sort of outrage!
indeed, so sensible are they of their
own infirmities in that state, that
when a number of them are about
to get drunk, they give up their
knives and tomahawks to one
of the party, who is on honour to
remain sober, and to prevent mis-
chief; and who generally does be-
have according to this promise. If
they happen to get drunk with-
out having taken this precaution,
their squaws take the earliest op-
portunity to deprive them of their
weapons.

"The Indians prefer whiskey and
rum to all other spirituous liquors,
but they do not seem eager to ob-
tain these liquors so much for the
pleasure of gratifying their palates
as for the sake of intoxication. There
is not one in a hundred that can re-
frain from drinking to excess if he
has it in his power; and the gene-
rality of them having once got a
taste of any intoxicating liquor, will
use every means to gain more; and
to do so they at once become mean,
servile, deceitful, and depraved, in
every sense of the word. Nothing
can make amends to these unfortu-
nate people for the introduction of
spirituous liquors amongst them. Be-
fore their acquaintance with them,
they were distinguished beyond all
other nations for their temperance
in eating and drinking; for their

temperance

temperance in eating, indeed, they are still remarkable; they esteem it indecorous in the highest degree even to appear hungry; and on arriving at their villages, after having fasted, perhaps, for several days preceding, they will sit down quietly, and not ask for any food for a considerable time; and having got wherewith to satisfy their appetite, they will eat with moderation, as though the calls of hunger were not more pressing than if they had feasted the hour before. They never eat on any occasion in a hurry.

"The Indians are by nature of a very hospitable generous disposition, where no particular circumstances operate to the contrary; and, indeed, even when revenge would fain persuade them to behave differently, yet having once professed a friendship for a stranger, and pledged themselves for his safety, nothing can induce them to deviate from their word. Of their generosity I had numberless proofs in the presents which they gave me; and, though it must be allowed, that when they make presents they generally expect others in return, yet I am convinced, from the manner in which they presented different trifles to me, that it was not with an expectation of gaining more valuable presents in return that they gave them to me, but merely through friendship. It is notorious, that towards one another they are liberal in the extreme, and for ever ready to supply the deficiencies of their neighbours with any superfluities of their own. They have no idea of amassing wealth for themselves individually; and they wonder, that persons can be found in any society so destitute of every generous sentiment, as to enrich themselves at the expense of others, and to live in ease and affluence, regardless of the misery and wretchedness of members of the same community to which they themselves belong. Their dresses, domestic utensils, and weapons, are the only articles of property to which they lay an exclusive claim; every thing else is the common property of the tribe, in promoting the general welfare of which every individual feels himself deeply interested. The chiefs are actuated by the same laudable spirit, and, instead of being the richest, are, in many instances, the poorest persons in the community; for, whilst others have leisure to hunt, etc. it frequently happens that the whole of their time is occupied in settling the public affairs of the nation.

"The generality of the Indian nations appear to have two sorts of chiefs; council chiefs, and war chiefs. The former are hereditary, and are employed principally in the management of their civil affairs; but they may be war chiefs at the same time: the latter are chosen from amongst those who have distinguished themselves the most in battle, and are solely employed in leading the warriors in the field. The chiefs have no power of enforcing obedience to their commands, nor do they ever attempt to give their orders in an imperious manner; they simply advise. Each private individual conceives that he is born in a state of perfect liberty, and he disdains all controul, but that which his own reason subjects him to. As they all have one interest, however, at heart, which is the general welfare of the nation, and as it is well known that the chiefs are actuated by no other motives, whatever measures they recommend are generally attended to, and at once adopted. Savages as they are, yet in no civilised community, I fear, on earth, shall

e find the same public spirit,
e disinterestedness, and the
gard to order, where order is
orced by the severity of laws,
nst the Indians.

he Indians have the most so-
contempt for any set of
that have tamely relinquish-
liberty; and they consider
have lost it, even after a
ruggle, as unworthy any rank
ety above that of old women:
cause, and not to the differ-
nat subsists between their per-
s to be attributed, I conceive,
ted aversion which the In-
universally have for negroes.
ould not possibly affront an
more readily, than by tell-
m that you think he bears
resemblance to a negro; or
e has negro blood in his veins:
look upon them as animals
or to the human species, and
ill them with as much uncon-
s a dog or a cat.

An American officer, who, dur-
e war with Great Britain, had
sent to one of the Indian na-
resident on the western fron-
f the States, to persuade them
main neuter in the contest, in-
d me, that whilst he remained
gst them some agents arrived
ir village to negotiate, if pos-
for the release of some negro-
whom they had carried off
the American settlements.
of these negroes, a remarkably
andsome fellow, had been giv-
an Indian woman of some
quence in the nation, in the
ner in which prisoners are
ly disposed of amongst them.
ication was made to her for
nsom. She listened quietly to
was said; resolved at the same
however, that the fellow should
have his liberty, she stepped
into her cabin, and, having brought out a large knife, walked up to her slave, and without more ado plunged it into his bowels: 'Now,' says she, addressing herself coolly to the agents, 'now I give you leave to take away your negro.' The poor creature that had been stabbed fell to the ground, and lay writhing about in the greatest agonies, until one of the warriors took compassion on him, and put an end to his misery by a blow of a tomahawk.

At Detroit, Niagara, and some other places in Upper Canada, a few negroes are still held in bondage. Two of these hapless people contrived, whilst we remained at Malden, to make their escape from Detroit, by stealing a boat, and proceeding in the night down the river. As the wind would not permit them to cross the lake, it was conjectured that they would be induced to coast along the shore until they reached a place of safety; in hopes, therefore, of being able to recover them, the proprietor came down to Malden, and there procured two trusty Indians to go in quest of them. The Indians, having received a description of their persons, set out; but had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards, when one of them, who could speak a few words of English, returned, to ask the proprietor if he would give him permission to scalp the negroes if they were at all refractory, or refused coming.

His request was peremptorily refused, for it was well known that, had it been granted, he would have at once killed them to avoid the trouble of bringing them back. 'Well,' says he, 'if you will not 'let me scalp both, you won't be 'angry with me, I hope, if I scalp 'one?' He was told in answer, that he must bring them both back alive. This circumstance appeared to mortify

tify him extremely, and he was beginning to hesitate about going, when, sorry am I to say, the proprietor, fearful lest the fellows should escape from him, gave his assent to the Indian's request, but at the same time he begged that he would not destroy them if he could possibly avoid it. What the result was I never learned; but from the apparent satisfaction with which the Indian set out after he had obtained his dreadful permission, there was every reason to imagine that one of the negroes at least would be sacrificed.

"This indifference in the mind of the Indians about taking away the life of a fellow creature, makes them appear, it must be confessed, in a very unamiable point of view. I fear also, that, in the opinion of many people, all the good qualities which they possess would but ill atone for their revengeful disposition, and for the cruelties which, it is well known, they sometimes inflict upon the prisoners who have fallen into their power in battle. Great pains have been taken, both by the French and English missionaries, to represent to them the infamy of torturing their prisoners; nor have these pains been bestowed in vain; for though in some recent instances it has appeared that they still retain a fondness for this horrid practice, yet I will venture from what I have heard, to assert, that of late years not one prisoner has been put to the torture, where forty would have been a hundred years ago. Of the prisoners that fell into their hands on St Clair's defeat I could not learn, although I made strict inquiries on the subject, that a single man had been fastened to the stake. As soon as the defeat was known, rewards were held out by the British officers, and others that had influence over them, to bring in their prisoners alive, and the greater part of them were delivered up unhurt; but to eradicate wholly from their breasts the spirit of revenge has been found impossible."

ASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

COUNT of the LITERATURE of the HINDUS, translated from the Sanscrit, with a COMMENTARY, on the first Volume of the WORKS of SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE TEXT.

HERE are eighteen Vidyá's, or parts of true knowledge, me branches of knowledge so called; of both which a ccount shall here be exhibited. re first four are the immortal evidently revealed by God; are entitled, in one compound Rigyajuhsámat'harva, or, in te words, Rich, Yajush, Sá- and At'harvan: the Rigvéda s of five sections; the Yajur- of eighty-six; the Sámavéda, housand; and the At'harvavé- nine; with eleven hundred s'á- or branches, in various divi- nd subdivisions. The Véda's in are infinite; but were reduced ása to this number and order: incipal part of them is that, explains the duties of man ethodical arrangement; and fourth is a system of divine nces.

From these are deduced the Upavédas, namely, Ayush, harva, Dhanush, and St'hápa- the first of which, or Ayurvé- as delivered to mankind by ná, Indra, Dhanwanteri, and other deities; and comprises the theory of disorders and medicines, with the practical methods of curing diseases. The second, or music, was invented and explained by Bharata: it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third Upavéda was composed by Viswamitra on the fabrication and use of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of Cshatriya's. Vis'wacarman revealed the fourth in various treatises on sixty-four mechanical arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

"Six Anga's, or bodies of learning, are also derived from the same source: their names are Sicshà, Calpa, Vyácarana, Ch'handas, Jyótish, and Niructi. The first was written by Pánini, an inspired saint, on the pronunciation of vocal sounds; the second contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last; and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by A's'waláyana, and others: the third, or the Grammar, entitled Pán'iníya, consisting of eight lectures or chapters (Vriddhiradaij, and so forth), was the production

productions of three Ŕishi's, or holy men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction; but other less abstruse grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not considered as Anga's. The fourth, or Prosody, was taught by a Muni, named Pingala, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the Gáyatri, and a thousand others. Astronomy is the fifth of the Védánga's, as it was delivered by Súrya, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The sixth, or Niructi, was composed by Yáska (so is the manuscript; but, perhaps, it should be Vyása) on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the Véda's.

"Lastly, there are four Upángá's, called Puráńa, Nyáya, Mímánsá, and Dharma śástra. Eighteen Puráńa's, that of Brahma, and the rest, were composed by Vyása for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. Nyáya is derived from the root *ni*, to acquire or apprehend; and, in this sense, the books on apprehension, reasoning and judgement, are called Nyáya: the principal of these are the work of Gautama in five chapters, and that of Canáda in ten; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under twenty-three heads. Mímánsá is also two-fold; both shewing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the first principle: the former or Carma Mímánsá, comprised in twelve chapters, was written by Jaimini, and discusses questions of moral duties and law; next follows the Upásaná Cánda, in four lectures (Sancshepa and the rest), containing a survey of religious duties; to which part belong the rules of Sándilya, and others, on devotion and duty to God. Such are the contents of the Púrva, or former, Mímánsá. The Uttara, or latter, abounding in questions on the divine nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by Vyása, in four chapters and sixteen sections; it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the Anga's; it exposes the heretical opinions of Rámánuja, Midhwa, Mallabha, and other sophists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of Ganésа, Bháscara, or the sun, Nárayańa, Lacshmi, and other forms of one Divine Being. A similar work was written by Śrí Śancara, demonstrating the supreme power, goodness, and eternity of God.

"The body of law, called Smŕiti, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of religion, the administration of justice, and the punishment or expiation of crimes: they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by Menu, and other sacred personages.

"As to ethics, the Véda's contain all that relates to the duties of kings; the Puráńa's, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife, and the duties of friendship and society (which complete the triple division) are taught succinctly in both; this double division of Anga's and Upánga's may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in theory and practice.

"The Bháráta and Rámáyańa, which are both epic poems, comprize the most valuable parts of ancient history, of religious and civil information, and of the lower

ses in religious knowledge,
ata, the Pancharátra, and
ks, fit for nightly medita-
e composed by Siva, and
a hundred and ninety-
on different subjects.
at follow are not really di-
t contain infinite contra-
Sánc'hya is twofold, that
ara and that without Is-
ne former is entitled Pátan-
ne chapter of four sections,
eful in removing doubts by
ntemplation; the second,
a, is in six chapters on the
on of all things by the nai-
acriti, or nature, and Pu-
r the first male: it com-
o, in eight parts, rules for
, thoughts on the invisible
and other topics. Both
orks contain a studied and
enumeration of natural
nd their principles, whence
osophy is named Sánc'hya,
hold, that it was so called
reckoning three sorts of pain.
e Mímánsà, therefore, is in
le; the Nyáya, in two, and
ic'hya, in two; and these
ols comprehend all the doc-
the theists.
st of all appears a work
by Buddha, and there are
atheistical systems of phi-
, entitled Yógáchára, Saud-
Vaibháshica, Mádhyamica,
ara, and Chárváca; all full
sterminate phrases, errors
se, confusion between di-
qualities, incomprehensible
, opinions not duly weigh-
nets destructive of natural
, containing a jumble of
and ethics, dismembered
ar orthodox books, into a
r of sections, which omit
ought to be expressed, and ex-
what ought to be omitted,
ing in false propositions,
idle propositions, impertinent pro-
positions: some assert, that the he-
terodox schools have no Upánga's;
others, that they have six Anga's,
and as many Sánga's, or bodies and
other appendices.

"Such is the analysis of univer-
sal knowledge, practical and specu-
lative.

THE COMMENTARY.

"This first chapter of a rare San-
script book, entitled Vidyádesha, or
a View of Learning, is written in
so close and concise a style, that
some parts of it are very obscure,
and the whole requires an explana-
tion. From the beginning of it we
learn, that the Véda's are considered
by the Hindus as the fountain of
all knowledge human and divine;
whence the verses of them are said
in the Gítà to be the leaves of that
holy tree, to which the Almighty
himself is compared:

'úrdhwa múlam adah sáchham
'as' watt'ham práhuravyayam;
'chhandánsi yasya parnáni yast-
'am véda sa védavit.

'The wise have called the incor-
'ruptible one an A'watt'ha with its
'roots above and its branches be-
'low; the leaves of which are the
'sacred measures: he who knows
'this tree, knows the Véda's.'

"All the Pandits insist, that A-
watt'ha means the Pippala, or Re-
ligious Fig-tree with heart-shaped
pointed and tremulous leaves; but
the comparison of heavenly know-
ledge, descending and taking root
on earth, to the Vat'a, or great In-
dian Fig-tree, which has many pro-
pending its roots on high, or at
least has radicating branches, would
have been far more eminently strik-
ing: the Véda's consist of verses

Cán'd'a's

Cán'd'a's or General Heads; namely, Carma, Jnyána, Upásaná, or Works, Faith, and Worship; to the first of which the author of the Vidyáderna wisely gives the preference, as Menu himself prefers universal benevolence to the ceremonies of religion:

' Japyénaiva tu sansiddhyèdbráhmanó nátra sansayah:
' Curyádanyatravá curyánmaitró bráhmana uchyatè;

that is: ' By silent adoration undoubtedly a Bráhman attains holiness; but every benevolent man, ' whether he perform or omit that ' ceremony, is justly styled a Bráhman.' This triple division of the Véda's may seem at first to throw light on a very obscure line in the Gitá:

' Traigunyavishayah védá nistraigunya bhavárjuna:

or, ' The Véda's are attended with ' three qualities: be not thou a man ' of three qualities, O Arjuna.'

" But several Pandits are of opinion, that the phrase must relate to the three guna's, or qualities of the mind, that of excellence, that of passion, and that of darkness; from the last of which a hero should be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the Véda's, where animals are ordered to be sacrificed, and where horrid incantations are inserted for the destruction of enemies.

" It is extremely singular, as Mr. Wilkins has already observed, that, notwithstanding the fable of Brahmá's four mouths, each of which uttered a Véda, yet most ancient writers mention only three Véda's, in order as they occur in the compound word Rigyajuhsáma; whence it is inferred, that the Atharvan was written or collected after the three first; and that two following arguments, which are entirely new, will strongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of Menu, a work ascribed to the first age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the Atharvan is mentioned by name, and styled the Véda of Véda's; a phrase, which countenances the notion of Dárá Shecúh, who asserts, in the preface to his Upanishat, that ' the three first Véda's are named separately, because ' the Atharvan is a corollary from ' them all, and contains the quintessence of them." But this verse of Menu, which occurs in a modern copy of the work brought from Bánáras, and which would support the antiquity and excellence of the fourth Véda, is entirely omitted in the best copies, and particularly in a very fine one written at Gayá, where it was accurately collated by a learned Bráhman; so that, as Menu himself in other places names only three Véda's, we must believe this line to be an interpolation by some admirer of the Atharvan; and such an artifice overthrows the very doctrine, which it was intended to sustain.

" The next argument is yet stronger, since it arises from internal evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel Polier in collecting Indian curiosities; which has been so judiciously applied and so happily exerted, that he now possesses a complete copy of the four Védas in eleven large volumes.

" On a cursory inspection of those books it appears, that even a learner of Sanscrit may read a considerable part of the Atharvavéda without a dictionary; but that the style of the other three is so obsolete, as to vary almost a different dialect: when we

are

rmed, therefore, that few
[illegible]
r of the Véda, we must
[illegible]
; but
[illegible]
; the
[illegible]
; on the learned will per-
[illegible]
following specimen:

brahmavidò yánti dísháyá
[illegible]
ágnirmántatra payat-
ñirmédhán dedhatumé agnaé
há, yáyuman tatra, payati
oh prán ándedhátu mé, váyu-
swáhá, súryo mán tatra pa-
ya swáhá, chandro mán tatra
atu manaschandro dedhátu mé,
indráya swáhá, somo mán tatra
yatu payah somo dedhátu mé,
máya swáhá. Indro mán tatra
yatu balamindro dedhátu mé,
driya swáhá. ápò mán tatra nay-
wámritanimópatishtatu adbhyah
váhá. yatra brahmavido yánti
ieshaya tapasá saha, brahmá mán
tra nayatu brahma brahmá ded-
átu mé, brahmane swáhá.

'ther! May water bring me the
[illegible]
of immortality! Mys-
'rious praise to the waters! Where
'they, who know the Great One,
'go, through holy rites and through
'piety, thither may Brahmá con-
'duct me! May Brahmá lead me
'to the Great One! Mysterious
'praise to Brahma!

Several other passages might have been cited from the first book of the Atharvan, particularly a tremendous incantation with consecrated grass, called Darbha; and a sublime hymn to Cála, or time; but a single passage will suffice to shew the style and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be so easy to produce a genuine extract from the other Véda's: indeed, in a book entitled Sámavédata, written in Sanscrit, but in Cáshmirian letters, a stanza from the Yajuvéda is introduced, which deserves for its sublimity to be quoted here, though the rapid cadence of the verses, and the polished elegance of the language, cannot but induce a suspicion, that it is a more modern paraphrase of some text in the ancient scripture.

'natatra, súryo bhánti nacha chándra
'tárakam, námá vidyuto bhánti cu-
'ta éva vahnih: tameva bhántam
'anubhátí sarvam, tasya bhásá ser-
'vamidam vibháti.

that is, 'There the sun shines not
'nor the moon and stars; these
'lightnings flash not in that place;
'how should even fire blaze there?
'God imagines all this bright sub-
'stance, and by its effulgence the
'universe is enlightened.'

After all, the books on divine knowledge, called Véda, or what is known, and Sruti, or what has been heard, from revelation, are still supposed to be very numerous;

and the four here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. Mohsani Fáni, the very candid and ingenious author of the Dabistán, describes in his first chapter a race of old Persian sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been Hindus; and we cannot doubt, that the book of Mahábád, or Menu, which was written, he says, in a celestial dialect, means the Véda; so that, as Zerátusht was only a reformer, we find in India the true source of the ancient Persian religion. To this head belong the numerous Tantra, Mantra, Agama, and Nigama, Sástra's, which consist of incantations and other texts of the Védas, with remarks on the occasions, on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the Commentaries on the Hindu scriptures, among which that of Vasishtha seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable; but, while we have access to the fountains, we need not waste our time in tracing the rivulets.

"From the Védas are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirugery and Medicine, Music and Dancing, Archery, which comprises the whole art of war, and Architecture, under which the system of Mechanical arts is included. According to the Pandits, who instructed Abu'lfazl, each of the four scriptures gave rise to one of the Upaveda's, or Sub-scriptures, in the order in which they have been mentioned; but this exactness of analogy seems to savour of refinement.

"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various Medical books in Sanscrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the Cherca, which is considered as a work of Siva, to the Róganirúpana and the Nidána, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on Music, with specimens of Hindu airs in a very elegant notation; but the Silpa Sástra, or body of Treatises on Mechanical arts, is believed to be lost.

"Next in order to these are the six Védánga's, three of which belong to Grammar; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compass of mathematics, in which the author of Lílawatí was esteemed the most skilful man of his time; and the sixth, to the explanation of obscure words or phrases in the Védas. The grammatical work of Pánini, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled Siddhánta Caumudi, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Cas'inát'ha Serman, who attended Mr. Wilkins, was asked what he thought of the Pán'iníya, he answered very expressively, that 'it was a forest;' but, since grammar is only an instrument, not the end of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and so gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in metaphysicks. The Sanscrit prosody is easy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the Greeks; and it is remarkable that the language of the Bráhmans runs very naturally into Sapphicks, Alcaicks, and Iambicks. Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in ...

[redacted]

dia, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in science, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology?

"Subordinate to these Anga's (though the reason of the arrangement is not obvious) are the series of Sacred Poems, the Body of Law, and the six philosophical Sástra's; which the author of our text reduces to two, each consisting of two parts, and rejects a third, in two parts also, as not perfectly orthodox, that is, not strictly conformable to his own principles.

"The first Indian poet was Válmíci, author of the Rámáyana, a complete epick poem on one continued, interesting, and heroick, action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the Mahábhárata of Vyása: to him are ascribed the sacred Purána's, which are called, for their excellence, the Eighteen, and which have the following titles: Bramé, or the Great One, Pedma, or the Lotos, Bráhmánd'a, or the Mundane Egg, and Agni, or Fire (these four relate to the creation), Vishnu, or the Pervader, Garud'a, or his Eagle, the Transformations of Brahmá, Siva, Linga, Náreda, son of Brahmá, Scanda son of Siva, Marcandéya, or the Immortal Man, and Bhawishya, or the Prediction of Futurity (these nine belong to the attributes and power of the Deity), and four others, Matsya, Varáha, Cúrma, Vámena, or as many incarnations of the Great one in his character of Preserver; all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry or disguised by fable: the eighteenth is the Bhágawata, or Life of Crishna, with which the same poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.

"The system of Hindu Law, besides the fine work, called Menusmriti, or, 'what is remembered 'from Menu,' that of Yájnyawalcya, and those of sixteen other Muni's, with Commentaries on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation, among which those current in Bengal are, an excellent treatise on Inheritances by Jímúta Váhana, and a complete Digest, in twenty-seven volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by Raghunandan, the Tribonian of India, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the British government.

"Of the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first Nyáya seems analogous to the Peripatetick, the second, sometimes called Vaiséshica, to the Ionick, the two Mimánsá's, of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Védánta, to the Platonick, the first Sánc'hya to the Italick, and the second, or Pátanjala, to the Stoick, Philosophy; so that Gautama corresponds with Aristotle; Canada, with Thales; Jaimini with Socrates; Vyása with Plato; Capila with Pythagoras; and Patanjali with Zeno; but an accurate comparison between the Grecian and Indian Schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those philosophers are very succinct; but like all the other Sástras, they are explained, or obscured, by the Upadersana or Commentaries without end: one of the finest compositions on the philosophy of the Védánta is entitled Yóga Vásisht'ha, and contains the instructions of the great Vasishtha to his pupil, Rama, king of Ayódhyà.

Upavéda, Védánga, Puráṇa, Dherma, and Ders'ana, are the Six great Sástras, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is supposed to be comprehended; and here we must not forget, that the word Sástra, derived from a root signifying to ordain, means generally an Ordinance, and particularly a Sacred Ordinance delivered by inspiration; properly, therefore, this word is applied only to sacred literature, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.

"The Súdra's, or fourth class of Hindus, are not permitted to study the six proper Sástras before enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of profane literature, comprised in a multitude of popular books, which correspond with the several Sástras, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on Medicine must, indeed, be studied by the Vaidya's, or those who are born physicians; and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the Bráhmans: they are usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus. Instead of the Véda's they study the Rájanîti or instruction of Princes, and instead of law, the Nítisástra, or general system of Ethicks: their Sahitia, or Cávya Sástra, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the Medical tribe, and supplying the place of the Puráṇa's, since they contain all the stories of the Rámáyaṇa, Bhárata, and Bhágawata: they have access to many treatises of Alancára, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to Upác'hyána, or civil History, called also Rájatarangini; to the Nátaca, which answers to the Gundharvavéda, consisting of regu-

commonly get by heart some entire Dictionary and Grammar. The best Lexicon or Vocabulary was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious Amarasinha; but there are seventeen others in great repute: the best Grammar is the Mugdhabódha, or the Beauty of Knowledge, written by Góswámi, named Vópadéva, and comprehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the Cósha's or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample Ticá's or Etymological Commentaries.

"We need say no more of the heterodox writings, than that those on the religion and philosophy of Buddha seem to be connected with some of the most curious parts of Asiatick History, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the Páli, or sacred language of the Eastern Indian peninsula. It is asserted in Bengal, that Amarasinha himself was a Bauddha; but he seems to have been a theist of tolerant principles, and, like Abu'lfazl, desirous of reconciling the different religions of India.

"Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu Literature, the notion of infinity presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the Puraṇa's, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, select the best from each Sástra, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned Hindus, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are

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at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds as we can be to receive it. Since Europeans are indebted to the Dutch for almost all they know of Arabick, and to the French for all they know of Chinese, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of Sanscrit, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of Indian religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the Gita."

OBSERVATIONS on SEPULCHRAL DECORATIONS, addressed to the COMMITTEE appointed to conduct the business of erecting MR. HOWARD'S MONUMENT, by the MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE.

[From the second Volume of BIOGRAPHIANA.]

'IN complimenting or commemorating any great character, expence is a secondary consideration. All works of art please or displease in proportion as taste and judgment prevail over it. In architecture, the greatness of the mass sometimes imposes, even where the structure is barbarous; but in sculpture, the mass becomes an intolerable enormity, where it is not highly executed and imagined; which, in a group of figures, implies the arts to have attained the utmost degree of perfection. In the case of monuments this is the more true, as the mere massy monument, composed of common-place allegory, may be raised to any body, whose will or whose posterity may direct the payment for it, without creating any interest, and often without being at all understood. Besides, the public is in general grown cold to allegory, even in painting, where nevertheless it is much more supportable than in statuary The great object, where a character admits of it, should be to produce those sensations which resemblances of exalted characters never fail to do, even in persons most experienced in the human character; and at the same time create an association of ideas, which may tell themselves in honour of the persons intended to be remembered.

'The proposal for erecting a monument to the late Mr. Howard suggests these reflections. If they have any foundation, it will be difficult to find an occasion so proper, and so free from objection, to inforce and carry them into effect; as, besides continuing his likeness to posterity by a single statue, three public points may be obtained; which, combined all together, must reflect the highest honour on his memory; namely,

'1st, To reserve St. Paul's, the second building in Europe, and the first in Great Britain, from being disfigured or misapplied in the manner of Westminster Abbey.

'2dly, To assist the arts most essentially, by advancing statuary, which may be considered as the first, because it is the most durable, amongst them.

'3dly, To commence a selection of characters, which can alone

'answer the purpose of rewarding 'past or exciting future virtues: 'and the want of which selection 'makes a public monument scarcely any compliment.

'It would be not only invidious, 'but unfair, to criticise the several 'monuments in Westminster Abbey; but let any person of the 'least feeling, not to mention taste 'or art, unprejudice his mind, and 'he must find himself more interested 'in viewing the single statue 'erected by Mr. Horace Walpole 'to his mother, lady Orford, than 'with any of the piles erected to 'great men. And if Mrs. Nightingale's monument captivates beyond many others, it is greatly 'on account of its simplicity, and 'its being very little more than a 'single figure. It may as well be 'supposed that a young person can 'begin to write whole sentences 'without making single letters, as 'that statuaries can make groupes 'with so little practice as they have 'in single figures. But if the example is once set, it will most likely become a general fashion to erect 'statues or busts to every person 'whose family can afford it, throughout the country. Fifty statues and a hundred busts will be bespoken 'where one groupe now is; since 'a statue will probably be to be had 'for 300l. and a bust for 50l. Besides which, simple tablets may be 'admitted into country-churches, 'subject to some arrangement, 'which may answer the purpose of 'general ornament, and prevent 'churches from being disfigured, as 'they now universally are. The 'same reason which makes our 'chimney-pieces better worked, and 'sharper carved, than those which 'come from Rome, namely, the 'greatness of the demand, will gradually improve our artists in the 'more elevated line of their profession. Their numbers and their 'constant employment will give a 'greater chance, if not a certainty, 'of genius discovering itself from 'time to time.

'This selection might be made 'subject, in the first instance,

'1. To the king's sign manual.

'2. The vote of either house of 'parliament.

'3. The vote of the East India 'company.

'4. The ballot of the royal society.

'5. The sense of any profession, 'taken under such regulations as 'may be deemed most unexceptionable.

'6. The same as to artists, 'men of letters, or other descriptions, subject to proper regulations.

'The subscription and the vote 'must be a sufficient check upon all 'persons of the latter description.

'The liberality shown in first 'opening the door of St. Paul's to 'the monument of Mr. Howard, 'who was a dissenter, already gives 'the assurance, that difference of 'religion will not deter from doing 'honour to striking worth, without 'regard to the persuasion of those 'who may afford examples of it. 'All partaking in the good which 'they may have done, all are bound 'to acknowledge and encourage it.

'Upon the same reasoning some 'spot might be reserved for eminent foreigners, who are very properly, upon principles of the same 'general kind, while living, associated to the Royal Society and 'other learned bodies.

'But none ought to be admitted 'in consequence of the wish or sole 'opinion of families or individuals.

'It might, perhaps, be thought 'proper to leave it to the Royal

'Academy

'Academy to form a general plan; 'and they might class the several 'descriptions, allotting places to 'each.

'It is surely of some consequence 'to whom the first monument in 'St. Paul's should be erected; and 'who can be so proper to begin this 'selection as Mr. Howard? He 'spent his life and fortune in ser-'vices which were highly dangerous 'to himself, but beneficial to every 'country and every age. Though 'engaged in doing the most active 'good, he created no enemies, and 'excited no envy, even in his life-'time; the purity of his intentions 'leaving him superior to all pur-'suits of vanity or ambition. His 'merits were of such a general and 'fundamental nature, as to serve 'for an example to all ranks, pro-'fessions, and nations.

'It belongs to the committee to 'determine, whether there is any 'thing in these reflections which 'contribute to do that real justice 'to his memory which it deserves.

'L.'

FRAGMENT on the best MODE of STUDY to be pursued by a rising POETICAL GENIUS, illustrative of the STATE of TASTE prevailing among the popular GERMAN WRITERS.

[From LETTERS written from various parts of the CONTINENT, and translated from the GERMAN of FREDERICK MATTHISON, by ANNE PLUMTRE.]

"ORIENTAL poetry must al-ways be the first studied*, not merely on account of its anti-quity, its simplicity, and excessive imagery, but rather because we, who have no national poetry, nor any mythological language of our own, must thence receive our first impressions. For it is impressions such as these which can alone awaken the genius of the poet, and whoever has had his imagina-tion thus called forth, is unfortunate if it should be smothered again amidst a mass of scientific trash, fo-reign conceptions, or false taste, nor can do better than immediately endeavour to regenerate it, as much as may be in his power, by new images and impressions derived from the same source. And as those taken from religion always strike the soul most forcibly, let him be-gin with studying such sentences, hymns, grand maxims, and songs, as though not poetry themselves, inspire the youthful mind with po-etical ideas, and give it a general tone for sublimity and harmony: from such a stock, which lies like a chaos at the bottom of the soul, he may select with skill as inclination or opportunity shall offer, and in due time produce works of his own.

"* Although the author in this first period speaks of oriental poetry, by which we should understand the poetry of the Eastern nations at large, yet we must suppose, from the context, that he means to confine his observations to the sacred poet-ry of the Hebrew scriptures, otherwise the beginning of the piece is wholly unin-telligible. Indeed it appears throughout somewhat obscure, but it is not therefore the less likely to be from the pen of Klopstock, to whom it is ascribed. T."

Lowth on the Hebrew Poetry, is a work much to be recommended for this purpose: yet I would wish every one to endeavour to feel the beauties of the sacred poetry more ardently than Lowth himself seems to have done; for excepting in particular passages, the beauty of which he undoubtedly felt in its fullest force, he does not appear so deeply impressed by his subject as might be wished. The nearer one can come in this respect to the original language the better, although I doubt whether any person could feel more in these pieces, than their animation, their harmony, and the liveliness of their imagery. The Hebrew grammar should be a field, and indeed the best field, for gathering poetical flowers; it is however like the grammars of all other languages, a mere dry philosophical skeleton. But two other things may be recommended as of great assistance in gaining that intimate acquaintance with the spirit of the language, the acquisition of which is so very desirable. In the first place, Travels into the East, of which we have some that are excellent, though indeed, to speak truly, the generality are little better than chaff; but Maillet's Letters on Egypt, Shaw's Travels, D'Arvieux, Pococke, and Niebuhr, in parts at least, if not throughout, I have read with pleasure. I believe that in Hasselquist also some useful things might be found, although his travels are chiefly botanical. Secondly, the ways of thinking and habits of the countries adjoining to Judea, particularly of the Arabians, may be studied with advantage. For, as the Arabic language is, as it were, the living Hebrew, and the customs of that people those which display most accurately the genius of the eastern nations; so is their history, both before Mahomed, during his life, and since that period, full of rich veins of poetical ore. That part of the Universal History, which relates to these nations, is well executed, but the subject is treated in a peculiar manner in Guthrie's Abridgements. The Arabian poetry, the Koran, &c. are in this respect also well worthy of attention, still only as guides to understanding the spirit of the oriental poetry, from the vestiges of antiquity which they describe as still extant among a living nation.

"Now let us take a great leap to North America, to the History of the Five Nations, little of whose poetry it is true is known in Europe, but their customs and ways of thinking are the best mirror, if I may be allowed the expression, in which to see how, with a certain mode of education, poetry without any art or rule, but merely through the instinct of nature, acquires great force and grandeur. The travels of Charlevoix and of Lafiteau will be here the best assistance; the last are a sort of compendium of the ethics and poetry of savage life. It is certainly of great advantage, in more and weightier points of view than merely with respect to poetry, to make oneself thoroughly acquainted with the manners of savage nations, even to become, as it were, oneself a savage, in order to enter more fully into their simple strength of character.

"The Edda of the ancient northern nations I recommend merely as the reverse of the coin, that the one side may illustrate the other; for these people were in former times, on the European side of the globe, what the North Americans are now on theirs. They had strength of soul and boldness of imagery, in common with each other; and as these northern nations were

were in some sort our parents, it is to them, perhaps that we owe the small remains of national modes of thinking which are now left among us. Yet the going through the Edda itself is merely wandering amid remnants of customs and manners, and Mallet's first part of the History of Denmark has as much both of the Edda of poetry, and of introduction to history, as is requisite for our purpose.

"But the richest discovery of our century, and which in every respect may be called a treasure, are the remains of ancient Celtic, Scotch, or Erse poetry, published by Macpherson, and on the authenticity of which Gibbon should be heard above all others. They had best be read in the English translation, from which the German translations are taken, but otherwise that of Denis is very useful, particularly on account of Blair's treatise, who, in his province, is not inferior to Lowth. In this people were united a strength of feeling, an elevation of character, and a liveliness of imagination, with a softness and tenderness of heart, not to be found in other northern nations, among whom all is flint-stone, and ready to strike fire. Their images are very simple and often repeated, but they are strong, just, and striking. Oh, they are nature! nature!—for which reason they in many respects approach the orientalists very nearly. There cannot be a greater contrast than between Ossian and Milton, as to poetical invention; and the time will come when, in more than one point of view, we shall say, we shut up Homer, Virgil, and Milton, and read Ossian over and over*.

"We may indeed reckon him the nearest to Homer, who excels him in nothing so much as in a sweet loquacity, and a fancy which, through the simplicity and beauty of his mythology, can exalt every thing into an idol. Homer must not be considered either wholly as a classical school-hero, or as an allegorist, a philosopher, an alchymist, or a broker of wise saws, neither as a songster mounted on the triumphal car of epic poetry; to regard him in any of these lights singly, is to dress him in false colours. He is in fact a ballad-singer, an ἀοιδος of the flowers of the ἀοιδων that went before him, who, with his lyre in his hand, sings in immortal hexameter the sayings of former times, which, simple and unadorned, seem as silvery waves, gently rolling over each other, and producing such soft tones as penetrate the very soul.

"Next in order let Pindar follow, in whom we see the Homeric mythology, wisdom, and poetry, in the finest and most laboured abbreviations. The most remarkable thing in him is the sublime manner

* "It is perhaps not very surprising that a foreigner should entertain such ideas with respect to the comparative merits of Milton and Ossian. The perfect simplicity of the latter is much more easy to be understood by one not thoroughly acquainted with the English language, than the noble elevation of style, sublimity of sentiment and description, profound learning, and classic taste of the former, whose unrivalled poem contains beauties which none but an Englishman, and not even every Englishman, can truly feel. But far from concurring in opinion with the author of the Fragment, the English reader will rather compare Ossian with the Georgium-Sidus, which though insipid in itself, yet as being newly discovered, excited attention for a while, but soon sunk again into its original obscurity. Milton, on the contrary, will be likened to the steady planet Jupiter, which, wanting novelty, attracts no particular notice, yet whose brilliancy has always been the admiration of every soul of feeling, and will remain so, till time shall be no more. T."

in

in which he frequently starts away from the Olympian course, and runs hither and thither plucking flowers from history to twine them into wreaths for adorning his victors; unless thus considered, his τύποι become old women's saws, and his mythology a confused gallimatia.

"And now to Sophocles. His tragedy is indeed more properly heroic opera; the unities of action, place, and time, ought not therefore to have been imposed on any other nation where the object was different; and it was to preserve these that the chorus with the religious solemnities were introduced. Sophocles cannot, therefore, in any respect be taken as a model for tragedy; but his style, his simplicity of action, his powers of exciting the passions, and his elevated declamation, will always deserve our admiration, particularly if his pieces are read with the idea of being in Greece among an assembly of the people, and hearing them in the recitative accompanied with action in which they were recited or sung.

"To Sophocles succeeds Shakespeare, but the one must in no respect be compared with the other, for they are not comparable. Shakespeare is the history of mankind placed before our eyes; all his scenes are single leaves out of the great book of Nature, and for this reason every thing in him deserves attention. With respect to character, the Greeks knew little or nothing of that kind of humour with which all Shakespeare's are coloured, and wh ch seems to come forth, as it were, from the bottom of the heart: and in each individual you do not merely see and hear him act and speak, but you also feel that he could not have acted or spoken otherwise. With respect to the passions, he does not merely make them boil over, when we must necessarily hear the storm, but he carries us at the same time to the enchanted caves whence they spring, and lays open to our view every avenue which leads to their most interior recesses."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

PHILOSOPHICAL USES of a COMMON WATCH, by the REVEREND WILLIAM PEARSON.

[From the third Volume of NICHOLSON'S JOURNAL of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, CHEMISTRY, and the ARTS.]

"THE theoretic philosopher, who ranges through the variegated fields of science, may gather the sweets as he passes along, and gratify his taste with fruits that he has had no share in rearing, at a very inconsiderable expense; but the pleasure which the practical man of science derives from the results of his successful experiments is much more exquisite: the previous impression made by contemplating the harmony that appears in the laws of nature; the satisfaction of proving the agreement or discrepancy between theory and practice; the prospect of benefiting society in some shape, and, perhaps, also the gratification of a certain degree of vanity, all concur in stimulating his exertions. If he should labour under any inconvenience in procuring the best means of prosecuting his labours, he will naturally avail himself of the best substitutes that the circumstances of his situation will allow. From this consideration it becomes a matter of surprise that a more general attention is not paid to the philosophical uses that may be made of a common pocket watch. There are many observations and experiments in different departments of science, the accuracy of which depend greatly, and some of them entirely, on the accurate measurement of minute portions of time; such, for instance, as the determination of the velocity of sound, the nature of the descent of falling bodies, the measure of the sun's diameter, the distance of two contiguous, or at least apparently contiguous, heavenly bodies taken at their passage over the meridian, and the distance of places from the difference of the velocity of light and sound. A pendulum to swing seconds has usually been applied for these and similar purposes, and in an observatory is found to be very convenient; but a watch, by being more portable, is calculated to be more general in its application, and will measure smaller portions of time than any other instrument that has been invented*; besides, it possesses this peculiar advantage, that in all

"* The beat of a watch is quicker than of any other chronometer in general use; but there have been instruments made to divide the second into 100 parts. One of these, made by Whitehurst, and regulated by a fly, repeatedly measured the time of fall of a leaden bullet (in some experiments which I saw) with no greater variation than one hundredth part of a second.—N."

situations

situations the beats thereof may be counted by the year, at the same time that the object of observation is viewed by the eye, so that no loss is incurred, as must inevitably happen, when the eye is used to view both the object and pendulum or second index in succession, though it be ever so quick.—But it will be objected here, no doubt, that few watches measure time accurately, and also that, from the different constructions of watches, the times corresponding to their beats vary in a very considerable degree. I allow these objections to be true, and conceive that the reason may be attributed to them, why the beat of a watch is not generally applied as the measure of the lowest denomination of subdivisions of time: I shall therefore endeavour in this paper to obviate these objections, by showing how any tolerably good watch, whatever be its construction, may be applied with advantage to many philosophical purposes.

"We must, in the first place, consider that the portions of time which I propose to have measured by a watch are small portions only, and those to be counted not by a second hand, as is the custom with medical men, but altogether by the beats; in which case, if the watch be not liable to lose or gain time considerably in a day, the error in the rate of going will be extremely minute in the time corresponding to any number of beats that the memory can retain, or that the purposes to which I propose the application to be made will require: and even if the error in the rate of going be considerable, so as to amount to many minutes in a day, as it is uniform, it may easily be allowed for by a correction*: Hence the first objection, which relates to the error occasioned by the rate of going of any watch, will constitute no real obstacle to its application in the ascertaining of small portions of time, provided a sudden change of temperature be avoided at the time of using it; for it will be necessary that the rate of going be estimated when the temperature is the same, or very nearly the same, as when the watch is used for philosophical purposes; so that if it is usually worn in the pocket, it may be held in the hand to the ear, but if it be hanging in a room or in the open air where the rate of going is ascertained, it must be hung near the ear, under similar circumstances, where any observation is intended to be made by it.

"As to the other objection, which applies to the variation in the lengths of the beats of two different watches, owing to the difference of their constructions, though they indicate hours and minutes alike, it may be removed very readily. All common watches have the same number of wheels and pinions, which are known by the same names, and placed, no matter how variously, so as to act together without interruption; but all watches have not their corresponding wheels and pinions divided into the same number of teeth and spaces, and to this circumstance it is entirely owing that the beats of different watches differ from each other. As the rate of going of a watch is regulated by the lengthening or shortening of a spring, without any regard being paid to the numbers which compose the teeth of the wheels and pinions, a great latitude is allowable in the

* If the error were five minutes per day, the allowance would be upwards of one three hundredth part.—N."

calculation

calculation of those numbers; of which the different makers avail themselves according as the numbers on the engines they use for cutting the teeth require: but whatever the numbers may be of which the wheelwork consists, if we divide double the product of all the wheels, from the centre wheel to the crown wheel inclusively, by the product of all the pinions with which they act, the quotient will be invariably the number of beats of the watch in question in one hour; and again, if we divide this quotient by 3600, the number of seconds in an hour, this latter quotient will be the number of beats in every second, which may be carried to any number of places in decimals, and be copied upon the watch-paper for inspection whenever it may be wanted.

"When any particular watch is cleaned, the workman may be directed to count, and return in writing, the numbers of the centre wheel, the third wheel, the contrate wheel, and the crown (balance) wheel, and also of the three pinions which they actuate, respectively, from which the calculation of the length of a beat is easily made by the rule just given, and when once made will apply in all instances where that individual watch is used. It will be remarked here, that no notice is taken of the wheels and pinions which constitute the dial-work, nor yet of the great wheel and pinion with which it acts: the use of the former of these is only to make the hour and minute hands revolve in their respective times, and may or may not be the same in all watches; and the use of the latter, the great wheel and its pinion, is to determine, in conjunction with the number of spirals on the fusee, the number of hours that the watch shall continue to go, at one winding up of the chain round the barrel of the main-spring: all these wheels and pinions therefore, it will be perceived, are unnecessary to be taken into the account in calculating the beats per hour. The reason why double the product of the wheels specified is taken in the calculation is this, that one tooth of the crown wheel completely escapes the palats at every two beats or vibrations of the balance. A few examples will render the general rule perfectly intelligible. Let us take for the first example the numbers of a common watch given by Mr. Emerson in his "Tracts," which, according to his method of arrangement, stand thus,

48 great wheel,
12—54 centre wheel
6—48 third wheel
6—48 contrate wheel
6—15 crown wheel
2 palats.

"Now, omitting the great wheel and its pinion of 12, we have $54\times48\times48\times15\times2=3732480$ for double the product of the specified wheels, and $6\times6\times6=216$ for the product of the specified pinions; also $\frac{3732480}{216}=17280$ are the number of beats in an hour, and $\frac{17280}{3600}=4,8$ the exact number of beats per second: accordingly, Mr. Emerson says that this watch makes 'about 4½ beats in a second.' The number of spirals on the fusee is 7; therefore, $7\times\frac{48}{12}=28$ is the number of hours that the watch will go at one winding up: likewise the

the dial-work $\frac{40}{10} \times \frac{36}{12} = \frac{1440}{120} = 12$ shows that whilst the first driving pinion of 10 goes twelve times round, the last wheel of 36 goes only once; whence the angular velocity of two hands carried by their hollow axles are to each other as 12 to 1.

"For a second example, I will take a watch which is in my own possession, the numbers of which in the calculation of beats per second will be thus: $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 13 \times 2 = 5616000$, double the product of the wheels; and $8+8 \times 6 = 384$ the product of the pinions; then $\frac{5616000}{384} = 14625$ will be the beats in an hour, and $\frac{14625}{3600} = 4{,}0625$, the beats per second.

"Besides this I have examined two other common watches, one of which requires this calculation: $54 \times 52 \times 52 \times 13 \times 2 = 3796416$ for double the product of the wheels, and $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$ for the product of the pinions; therefore $\frac{3796416}{216} = 17576$ are the beats in an hour, and $\frac{17576}{3600} = 4{,}882$, the beats per second by this watch: also double the product of the wheels of the other, viz. $56 \times 51 \times 50 \times 13 \times 2$ is 3712800, and the product of the pinions, as in the last, $6 \times 6 \times 6 = 216$; consequently $\frac{3712800}{216}$ gives 17188 beats in an hour, which divided by 3600 gives 4,7746 for the beats per second.

"These four examples, it is presumed, will render the method of ascertaining the beats per second in any watch sufficiently easy for any person who is acquainted with common arithmetic.

"It remains now for an instance or two to be adduced for the application of the beats of a watch to philosophical purposes, in order to shew the practical utility of the method here proposed of measuring very small portions of time.

"Let us suppose, for one instance, with Dr. Herschel, that the annual parallax of the fixed stars may be ascertained by observing how the angle between two stars, very near to each other, varies in opposite parts of the year. For the purpose of determining an angle of this kind, where an accurate micrometer is wanting, let a telescope that has cross-wires be directed to the stars when passing the meridian, in such a manner that the upright wire may be perpendicular to the horizon, and let it remain unmoved as soon as the former of the two stars is just coming into the field of view; then fixing the eye to the telescope and the watch to the ear repeat the word *one* along with every beat of the watch before the star is arrived at the perpendicular hair, until it is in conjunction with it, from which beat go on *two*, *three*, *four*, &c. putting down a finger of either hand at every *twenty* till the second star is seen in the same situation that the leading one occupied at the commencement of the counting; then these beats divided by the beats per second, marked on the watch-paper, will give the exact number of uncorrected seconds, by which the following star passes later over the meridian than the leading one: when these seconds and part of a second are ascertained, we have the following analogy for determining the angle, which includes also the correction, namely,—As 23h. 56′ 4″, 098, (the length of a sidereal rotation of the

the earth), plus or minus the daily error in the rate of going: are to 360°:: so is the number of observed seconds of time: to the quantity of the horizontal angle required. The watch is here supposed to be regulated to show solar time; but if it should be regulated exactly for sidereal time, instead of 23h. 56′ 4″.098 we must use exactly 24 hours in the analogy.

"As a second instance, let it be required to ascertain the distance of the nearer of two electrified clouds from an observer, when there are successive peals of thunder to be heard: a little time before the expected repetition of a flash of lightning place the watch at the ear, and commence the numbering of the beats at the instant the flash is seen, as before directed, and take care to cease with the beginning of the report; then the beats converted into seconds, with the proportional part of the daily error added or subtracted, will give the difference of time taken up by the motion of the light and sound: if, lastly, we suppose light to be instantaneous at small distances, the distance of the nearer cloud will be had by multiplying the distance that sound is known to pass through in a second by the number of observed seconds obtained from the beats that were counted.

"Many more instances might be here pointed out, in which the beats of a good watch would be extremely serviceable in the practical branches of philosophy; but the occurrences of such instances will always point out the propriety of the application, when it is once known and practised.

"I shall therefore only mention one further advantage which seems peculiar to this mode of counting a limited number of seconds by a watch, which is, that it is free from any error that might arise from the graduations of a dial-plate, or unequal divisions in the teeth of wheels and pinions, where the seconds are counted by a hand.

"In order to introduce this method of measuring small portions of time accurately, it is desirable that a watch be constructed so as to make an exact number of beats per second without a fraction, for then the reduction of beats into seconds would be more readily made. With a view of promoting this object, I have calculated numbers for a watch, which will produce the desired effect, and which, as they are equally practicable as those in use, I shall insert in this paper, in hopes of hearing at some future period that they have been adopted by some good workman. By the method of arrangement already given, the numbers proper for such a watch, as will indicate hours, minutes, and seconds, by three hands, and also make just four beats per second, will stand thus, viz.

50 great wheel
10—60 centre wheel
8—64 third wheel
8—48 contrate wheel
6—15 crown wheel
2 palats.
Dial-work as usual.
Six spirals on the fusee—to go 30 hours.

"By the preceding general rule for ascertaining the beats per second in any watch, the calculation of these numbers will be thus: $60 \times 64 \times 48 \times 15 \times 2 = 5529600$, and $8 \times 8 \times 6 = 384$; then $\frac{5529600}{384} = 14400$, the beats in an hour, and $\frac{14400}{3600} = 4$ exactly, for the beats per second;

second; which agreement with the rails in a proof of the accuracy of the machine.

"Whilst I am upon this subject, I shall take the liberty of cautioning medical gentlemen against an imposition which some, I hope not many, watchmakers practise towards them in the sale of watches; and I the more readily make this caution public, because the health of thousands of individuals is connected with imposition, which is this, that a second-hand, with a stop, and an appropriate face, are sometimes put to a watch, the wheelwork of which is not calculated to indicate seconds. The watch which is the second mentioned in this paper as being in my own possession, is one of this kind; I bought it of a clock-maker, who had it made in town, with his own name enamelled on the face, but unfortunately I kept it too long before its imperfection was discovered, so that I am now under the necessity of using it. Upon enquiry, I found that more of the same kind have been sold to medical gentlemen and others for the purpose of ascertaining the number of pulsations of invalids in a minute, as under that they may be treated accordingly. At first I suspected that the disagreement in the motions of the second and minute hands, which I observed might be owing to some inequality, or shake, as the workmen call it, in the teeth and spaces of the wheelwork; but upon counting the numbers I afterwards detected the real cause; that part of the train which lies between the axle of the centre wheel and the axle of the contrate wheel, on which the hands are placed, viz. $\frac{60}{64} \times \frac{60}{64}$ is equal to only 3600/4096 instead of 60, so that 64 seconds are defective in every minute, which is equivalent to a whole revolution of the contrate wheel in every 64 minutes. Hence, if the pulsations of any patient whatever were really 120 in a minute, the termination by the second hand of the watch in question would be only 112½, consequently the judgment of the physician or apothecary would be proportionably biassed in drawing a conclusion from the pulse upon the state of the fever, and would undoubtedly prescribe medicines accordingly. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the observations here made upon the construction of a watch may, exclusively of philosophical purposes, prove useful in directing the choice of such gentlemen as may have occasion to purchase a stop-watch, and consequently may obviate the deception which has hitherto been practised by certain makers and vendors of watches."

"There is another instrument frequently to be met with, which is capable of various constructions, that will measure smaller portions of time than it is usually made to measure; and which is sufficiently portable for being carried small distances: I mean the spring clock, the vibrations of which are regulated by a short pendulum. One of the many instruments of this kind which I have noticed, I do not remember any one which measures, or, at least, which indicates seconds: I shall, therefore, subjoin such numbers as are proper for a spring clock, that shall indicate seconds, and also

* "If a wheel of 64 be substituted for either of those of 60 each, the seconds will be truly indicated.—P."

make

make a given number of vibrations in a second.—If 39,2 inches be taken as the true length of a pendulum, to swing seconds in our climate, which varies not one-tenth of an inch from the result of Mr. Whitehurst's and George Graham's experiments on the lengths of pendulums, the error in the length of small pendulums, calculated therefrom, will fall within the threads of the adjusting screw at the inferior end of the rod; on which account the lengths, so deduced, may be put down as the true lengths without impropriety: thus,

4	vibrations in a second will require a pendulum -	2,45 inches long
3	do. -	4,35
2½	do. -	6,27
2¼	do. -	7,74
2	do. -	9,8

"The two first of these pendulums appear to be too short to perform with steadiness, and consequently will be considered as unworthy of further notice. The first portion of a train, suitable for any of the three last pendulums, for a spring clock to go upwards of a week, may be $\frac{84}{8} \times 17$ turns on the fusee, or $\frac{84}{7} \times 15$ turns or $\frac{96}{8} \times 12$ turns or indeed any other similar numbers producing a like result: for the second portion, any one of the formulæ given for a watch in the former part of this article, will be proper; but for the last portion, each different pendulum will require different numbers: a pendulum to make 2½ vibrations in a second, may have the contrate wheel 24, its pinion 8, and the crown wheel 8; or, otherwise, the contrate wheel 40, with a pinion of 8, and the crown wheel 15: where the vibrations are 2¼ in a second, the contrate wheel may be 36, with a pinion of 8, and the crown wheel, as before, 15: and for exactly two vibrations in a second, the contrate wheel will be required to be 32, with a pinion of 8, and the crown wheel 15, as in the two last instances. In all these calculations, a hand, placed on the axis of the contrate wheel, will indicate seconds without apparent recoil; and the trains, composed of any of the various portions laid down, will be equally accurate, and admit of many varieties.

"If a spring clock is to be used for measuring small portions of time, by the vibrations of its pendulum, which falls not under the description of any of those constructions, the vibrations and fractional parts of a vibration are calculable by the general rule for watches already given."

Observations of the Manners, Habits, and Natural History of the ELEPHANT, by JOHN CORSE, Esq.

[From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1799.]

"SINCE the remotest ages, the elephant, on account of his size, his sagacity, and his wonderful docility, has attracted the notice, and excited the admiration of philosophers and naturalists, both ancient and modern; and few travellers into Asia or Africa have omitted giving some account of him.

"A residence, however, of more than ten years, in Tipperah, a province of Bengal, situated at the eastern extremity of the British dominions in Asia, where herds of elephants are taken every season, afforded me frequent opportunities of observing, not only the methods of taking them, but also the habits and manners of this noble animal.

"From the year 1792 to 1797, the elephant hunters were entirely under my direction; so that I had it in my power to institute such experiments as I thought likely to discover any particulars, not formerly known, in the natural history of the elephant. Soon after my arrival at Tipperah, while informing myself of the methods of taking wild elephants, I had occasion to observe, that many errors, relative to the habits and manners of that useful animal, had been stated in the writings of European authors, and countenanced by some of the most approved writers.

"The elephant has been declared to possess a sentiment of modesty in a high degree; and, by some, his sagacity was supposed to excite feelings for the loss of liberty, so acute, as to cause him to refuse to propagate his species while in slavery, lest he should entail on his progeny a fate similar to his own; whilst others have asserted, that he lost the power of procreation in the domestic state.

"So circumstanced, I was desirous of taking advantage of my situation, and of making such experiments and observations, as might tend to render more perfect the natural history of this useful animal.

"Early in the year 1789, I gave an account of the methods then used for taking and training wild elephants, to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, which was published in vol. III. of their Researches; and the following experiments and observations, made since that period, on the natural history of the elephant, will not, I hope, prove unworthy the attention of the Royal Society.

"The young of the elephant, at its birth, is about thirty-five inches high; and, as a knowledge of its progressive growth forms the best criterion by which we can judge of the age of this animal, I shall here note down some observations made on this subject, till the elephant has attained its full size; for, after this period, till signs of old age appear, I do not know any marks by which a tolerable guess can be made of the number of its years, unless we could examine the teeth accurately; and, even then, there would be much uncertainty.

"Very erroneous notions have been

been entertained, with respect to the size of elephants, in different parts of India; for which reason I have collected such facts as were likely to ascertain their general height. The following observations, of the gradual increase of growth, were made upon a young elephant of Mr. Stephen Harris, which was accurately measured from time to time, and upon a female elephant of my own, till I left Tiperah.

"Mr. Harris's elephant, at its birth, October 16, 1789, was thirty-five inches high.

	Inch.	Ft.	Inch.	
In one year he grew	11, and was	3	10	high.
In 2d year	8	4	6	
In 3d year	6	5	0	
In 4th year	5	5	5	
In 5th year	5	5	10	
In 6th year	3½	6	1½	
In 7th year	2½	6	4	

"Except during his 4th and 5th years, the above measurement shows a gradual decrease in the proportion of growth for every year; and there was no opportunity of tracing the growth of this elephant further than its 7th year.

"Another elephant, six feet nine inches high, at the time she came into my possession, was supposed to be fourteen years old; but, as the accuracy of the hunters cannot be depended on, it will be proper to take Mr. Harris's elephant, whose age is exactly known, as a standard; and judging from its annual increase, this will lead us to consider the elephant, at the time I received her, to be only eleven years old; giving a period of four years for the addition of five inches. I have made a greater allowance of time, on account of this elephant being a female, and Mr. Harris's a male, which there is much reason to believe grows faster.

"During the next five years, before she was covered, she grew only six inches; but what is extremely curious, while pregnant, she grew, in twenty-one months, five inches; and, in the following seventeen months, though again pregnant, she grew only half an inch; at which time, she was sent from Comillah, as I was then preparing to leave India.

"At this time, she was about nineteen years old, and had perhaps attained her full growth. Her young one was then (Nov. 1796) not twenty months old; yet he was four feet five inches and a half high, having grown eighteen inches since his birth; which is the greatest progressive growth in the elephant, that I have known.

"These observations, when applied to the general growth of elephants, are to be taken with some allowance; since, during the state of the first pregnancy, there is so great an irregularity in the growth of female elephants, as alone occasions considerable difficulty, even supposing the progressive growth nearly equal in the species. It is probable, however, that this is not by any means equal; for, as elephants vary greatly in size, and as males are generally much taller than females, we must conclude, they either grew faster, or are longer in attaining their full growth. But it may be safely asserted, that elephants, like most quadrupeds, propagate their species before they have acquired their full growth.

"A male elephant, belonging to the Cudwah Rajah till he was about twenty years of age, continued to increase in height, and was supposed not to have attained his full size, when I left Tiperah: he was then about twenty-two years old."

Many females have been known, when taken while pregnant, to have grown several inches higher before delivery; and, as it has been stated, that the female elephant on which my observations were made, could not exceed sixteen years when she received the male, it is probable the wild female elephants are in heat before that period.

"If, from the above data, it may be allowed to form a probable conjecture, elephants attain their full size between eighteen and twenty-four years of age. The height of the elephant, I believe, has been generally much exaggerated. In India, the height of females is, in general, from seven to eight feet; and that of males, from eight to ten feet, measured at the shoulder.

"I have never heard but of one elephant, on good authority, that much exceeded ten feet: this was a male, belonging to Asoph ul Dowlah, the late vizier of Oude. His dimensions, as obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Cherry, then resident at Lucknow, were as follow.

"He was measured on the 18th of June, 1796.

"From foot to foot, over the shoulder, twenty-two feet ten inches and a half.

"From the top of the shoulder, perpendicular height, ten feet six inches.

"From the top of the head, when set up, as he ought, to march in state, twelve feet two inches.

"From the front of the face to the insertion of the tail, fifteen feet eleven inches.

"Captain Sandys, of the Bengal establishment, obligingly shewed me a list of about one hundred and fifty elephants, of which he had the management during the late war with Tippoo Sultan, in Mysore, and not one of them was ten feet, and only a few males, nine feet and a half high. I was very particular in ascertaining the height of the elephants employed at Madras, and with the army under marquis Cornwallis, where there were both Ceylon and Bengal elephants; and I have been assured, that those of Ceylon were neither higher, nor superior, in any respect, to those of Bengal; and some officers assert, that they were considerably inferior in point of utility.

"The Madras elephants have been said to be from seventeen to twenty feet high; but to show how much the natives of India are inclined to the marvellous, and how liable Europeans themselves are to mistakes, I will relate a circumstance that happened to myself.

"Having heard, from several gentlemen who had been at Dacca, that the nabob there had an elephant about fourteen feet high, I was desirous to measure him; especially as I had seen him often myself, during the year 1785, and then supposed him to be above twelve feet. After being at Tipperah, and having seen many elephants caught, in the years 1786, 1787, and 1788, and finding all of them much inferior in height to what I supposed the nabob's elephant, I went to Dacca in 1789, determined to see this huge animal measured. At first I sent for the driver* to ask some questions concerning this elephant; he, without hesitation, assured me he was from ten to twelve cubits, that is, from fifteen to eighteen feet high; but added he could not, without the nabob's permission, bring me the elephant

* Or *Mahout*, as he is generally called."

be examined. Permission was accordingly asked, and granted: had him measured exactly, and was rather surprised to find he did not exceed ten feet in height.

"The Honourable Company's standard for serviceable elephants, seven feet and upwards, measured at the shoulder, in the same manner as horses are. At the middle of the back they are considerably higher; the curve or arch of which, particularly in young elephants, makes a difference of several inches.

"After an elephant has attained his full growth, it is a sure sign of old age when this curve becomes less; and still more so, when the back is flat, or a little depressed. A partial depression of the spine is, however, no uncommon occurrence, even in very young elephants; and I am convinced it happens from external injury. I have been surprised to see the violence used (in herds of wild elephants just taken) by the large elephants, both male and female, putting the projecting part of the upper jaw, from which the tusks grow out, on the spine of the young ones, and pressing them to the ground, while they roared from pain.

"It has been stated, that the sagacity of the elephant is so great, and his memory so retentive, that when once he has received an injury, or been in bondage, and afterwards escapes, it is not possible, by any art, again to entrap him. Great as my partiality is for this noble animal, whose model of life and general sagacity I have had so many opportunities of observing, yet a regard to truth compels me to mention some facts which contradict that opinion. The following history of an elephant taken by Mr. Leeke*, of Longford-hall, Shropshire, contains many interesting particulars on this subject. The elephant was a female, and was taken at first, with a herd of many others, in the year 1765, by Rajah Kishun Maunick†, who, about six months after, gave her to Abdoor Rezah, a man of some rank and consequence in the district. In 1767, the rajah sent a force against this Abdoor Rezah, for some refractory conduct, who, in his retreat to the hills, turned her loose into the woods, after having used her above two years, as a riding elephant. In January 1770, she was retaken by the rajah; but in April 1771, she broke loose from her pickets in a stormy night, and escaped to the hills. On the 25th of Dec. 1782, she was driven by Mr. Leeke's elephant hunters into a *keddah*‡; and, the day following, when Mr. Leeke went to see the herd that had been secured, this elephant was pointed out to him by the hunters, and particularly by a driver who had had charge of her for some time, and well recollected her. They frequently called to her by name; to which she seemed to pay some attention, by immediately looking towards them, when her name,

* He was then resident of Tipcrah, and took some pains to ascertain the facts here mentioned.

† The Rajah is the principal Zemindar in the province of Tiperah, paying the usual revenue for his lands in the low country; but in the hills he is an independent sovereign, has the power of life and death over his subjects, a mint, and other ensignia of sovereignty.

‡ The inclosure in which elephants are secured. *Vide* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. Art. "Method of catching elephants."

Jiggut Pearee, was repeated; nor did she appear like the wild elephants, which were constantly running about the *keddah* in a rage, but seemed perfectly reconciled to her situation.

"From the 25th of December to the 19th of January, (a space of eighteen days) she never went near enough the outlet (or *ranne*) to be secured; from a recollection, perhaps, of what she had twice before suffered. Orders, however, had been given, not to permit her to enter the outlet had she been so inclined, as Mr. Leeke wished to be present when she was taken out of the *keddah*. On the 13th of January 1783, Mr. Leeke went out, when there were only herself, another female, and eight young ones, remaining in the inclosure. After the other female had been secured, by means of the *koomkees*† sent in for that purpose, the hunters were ordered to call *Jiggut Pearee*. She immediately came to the side of the ditch, within the inclosure; on which, some of the drivers were desired to carry in a plantain tree, the leaves of which she not only took from their hands with her trunk, but opened her mouth, for them to put a leaf into it, which they did, stroking and caressing her, and calling to her by name. Mr. Leeke, seeing the animal so tame, would not permit the hunters to attempt tying her; but ordered one of the trained elephants to be brought to her, and the driver to take her by the ear, and order her to lie down. At first she did not like the *koomkee* to go near her, and retired to a distance, seemingly angry; but, when the drivers, who were on foot, called to her, she came immediately, and allowed them to stroke and caress her, as before; and, in a few minutes after, permitted the trained females to be familiar. A driver from one of these, then fastened a rope round her body, and instantly jumped on her back; which, at the instant, she did not like, but was soon reconciled to it. A small cord was next fastened round her neck, for the driver to put his feet in, who, seating himself on the neck, in the usual manner, drove her about the *keddah*, the same as any of the tame elephants.

"After this, he ordered her to lie down, which she instantly did; nor did she rise till she was desired. He fed her from his seat, gave her his stick to hold, which she took with her trunk, and put into her mouth, kept, and then returned it, as she was directed, and as she formerly had been accustomed to do. In short, she was so obedient, that had there been more wild elephants in the *keddah*, to tie, she would have been useful in securing them.

"Mr. Leeke himself then went up, took her by the ear, and bade her lie down; a command she instantly obeyed.

"I have known several other instances of elephants being taken a second time; and was myself a witness both of the escape and retaking of one, as related in the following account.

"In June 1787, *Jattra Mungul*, a male elephant, taken the year before, was travelling, in company with some other elephants, towards

* When elephants were secured in the outlet from the *keddah*, they bruised themselves terribly. *Vide* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III."

† *Koomkees* are female elephants, trained for the purpose of securing wild elephants and more particularly those large males which stray from the woods, named *goondahs*. *Vide* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III."

Chittigong,

dation on the journey. Having come upon a tiger's track, which elephants discover readily by the smell, he took fright, and ran off to the woods, in spite of the efforts of his driver. On entering the wood, the driver saved himself, by springing from the elephant, and clinging to the branch of a tree under which he was passing; when the elephant had got rid of his driver, he soon contrived to shake off his load. As soon as he ran away, a trained female was dispatched after him, but could not get up in time to prevent his escape; she, however, brought back his driver, and the load he had thrown off, and we proceeded without any hope of ever seeing him again.

"Eighteen months after this, when a herd of elephants had been taken, and had remained several days in the inclosure, till they were enticed into the outlet, there tied, and led out in the usual manner, one of the drivers viewing a male elephant very attentively, declared he resembled the one which had run away. This excited the curiosity of every one, to go and look at him; but, when any person came near, the animal struck at him with his trunk, and, in every respect, appeared as wild and outrageous as any of the other elephants.

"At length, an old hunter, coming up and examining him narrowly, declared he was the very elephant that had made his escape about eighteen months before.

"Confident of this, he boldly rode up to him on a tame elephant, and ordered him to lie down, pulling him by the ear at the same time. The animal seemed quite taken by quickness as the ropes, with which he was tied, permitted, uttering, at the same time, a peculiar shrill squeak through his trunk, as he had formerly been known to do, by which he was immediately recognised, by every person who had ever been acquainted with this peculiarity.

"Thus we see that this elephant, for the space of eight or ten days, during which he was in the *kraal*, and even while he was tying in the outlet, appeared equally wild and fierce as the boldest elephant then taken; so that he was not even suspected of having been formerly taken, till he was conducted from the outlet. The moment, however, he was addressed in a commanding tone, the recollection of his former obedience seemed to rush upon him at once; and, without any difficulty, he permitted a driver to be seated on his neck, who, in a few days, made him as tractable as ever.

"These, and several other instances which have occurred, clearly evince, that elephants have not the sagacity to avoid a snare into which they have, even more than once, fallen.

"The generalities that tame elephants would not breed, has doubtless prevented trials being made, to ascertain whether, under particular circumstances, this supposed reluctance could be got the better of.

"I am however convinced, from observation, as well as from some particular facts, that elephants had their seasons in which they were in heat; I shall, therefore, first mention the circumstances which induced me to attempt breeding from tame elephants, and then relate the

* Mr. Buller and myself.

I 4 success

success of the experiments instituted for this purpose.

"The circumstances to which I allude, happened in January 1790, at a *keddah*, near to Comillah, the capital of Tiperah.

"Messrs. Henry Fuller and George Dowdeswell, of Chittigong, being then on a visit at Comillah, accompanied me and several others, to see a herd of elephants which had been lately taken. Our visitors then proposed a trial being made of tying the wild elephants immediately, in the *keddah* in the manner practised at Chittigong, instead of waiting till they were entired, one after another, into the narrow outlet, there to be secured, and led out in the usual manner.

"This mode they recommended so earnestly, from a conviction of its superior utility†, that Mr. John Fuller, to whom the *keddah* belonged, assented to the trial being made, and gave orders for the trained females, and proper assistants, to go directly within the inclosure. Having but few trained females present, it was judged adviseable to send in a fine male elephant, taken many years before, and thoroughly broke in, to assist them; as well as to keep the herd in awe. He had no sooner entered the inclosure, and been brought near the herd, than discovering one of the females to be in heat, impelled by desire, and eager to cover her, he dashed through the herd, regardless of the orders and severe discipline of the driver, and had nearly accomplished his purpose. The driver, being alarmed for his own safety, exerted in vain all his strength to turn him, and bring him from among the wild elephants; but the drivers of the trained females, coming speedily to his assistance, soon surrounded this furious animal, and separated him from the herd. In resentment, however, of his disappointment, he attacked a small *koomkee*, with such violence as completely overturned her and her rider; and, had he not been of a particular species, called *mucknah*, which have only small tusks, he most probably would have transfixed and killed her on the spot: fortunately, neither she nor her driver received any considerable hurt. This accident prevented the trial being then made, to tie the wild elephants in the manner proposed.

"Reflecting on the disobedience shown by an elephant remarkably docile, and which had been domesticated for many years, when his passions were excited, and recollecting also, that a wild elephant had

* *Vide* Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. article, "Method of catching Wild Elephants," where this process is particularly described."

† Though fully convinced of this, I could not bring the hunters to adopt the Chittigong method, till the year 1794. After this, during the last three years I remained at Tiperah, I did not lose one elephant in twenty; whereas, by the former method of tying them in the *koomee*, near one-third of those taken died in less than a year, in consequence of the hurts they received from their violent efforts to get free, before they could be properly secured. The natives of Tiperah, and indeed of most parts of India, are extremely attached to old customs; and it was with the utmost difficulty I prevailed on the hunters to deviate from the practice of their ancestors, though the method recommended was followed at Silhet, as well as at Chittigong. The method was simply to surround a herd, in the first convenient place, with a ditch and pallisade; and, when this was finished, to send in the *koomkees*, and proper persons to tie the wild elephants on the spot, and then conduct them, one by one, through an opening in the pallisade, from the *keddah*, as soon as they were tied.

had covered a female, in February 1778, before many spectators, just after the herd had been secured in the inclosure. I was assured in my own mind, that it was not from any sense of modesty, either wild or tame elephants did not gratify their passions in public; but no opportunity offered of prosecuting this inquiry, till 1792. Having then taking upon myself the management of the elephant business, a very fine male was caught in November: he was both young and handsome, and also of a most docile disposition; I therefore promised his driver a considerable gratuity, if he would get him into high order, so that I might have an opportunity of bringing his procreative powers to trial, with a tame female.

"In the month of March 1793, the driver of a favorite female elephant informed me, that she had then signs of being in heat; and that, if the male and she were kept together and highly fed, an intimacy would probably soon take place. They were therefore, shortly after this, brought near to Comillah, where a spacious shed was erected for their accommodation.

"In the day, they went out to gather, to feed; they also brought home a load of such succulent food as their drivers and attendants could collect. After their return they stood together, slept* near each other, and every opportunity was granted them to form a mutual attachment. In the evenings, they had each from ten to twelve pounds of rice soaked in water, to which a little salt was added; and from the middle of May till the latter end of June, some warm stimulants, such as onions, garlic, turmeric and ginger, were added to their usual allowance of rice. Long before this, however, a partiality had taken place, as was evident from their mutual endearments, and entwining each other with their trunks, and this without reserve, before a number of other elephants, as well as their attendants.

"Near the end of June, I was satisfied the male would not, even to regain his freedom, quit the object of his regard; I therefore ordered the keepers to picket them, the male by one of his fore-legs only, in the house where they stood, but to leave the male at full liberty. Fearful, however, of hurting their supposed delicacy, and thinking the nearness and sight of the attendants might possibly give umbrage to their modesty, I desired them to remain quiet in a little but erected on the outside of the building appropriated to the elephants, where they could see equally well as if nearer.

"On the evening of the 28th of June, 1793, the male was let loose from his pickets; and, soon after, he covered the female without any difficulty, although before this she never could have received the male, being taken when very young, about five years and a half prior to this period. The male was then led quietly to his stall; but, early on the morning of the 29th, he became so troublesome, that the drivers, in order, as they said, to

* It is always a good sign, when an elephant lies down to sleep, within a few months after he is taken; as it shews him to be of a good temper, not suspicious, but reconciled to his fate. Elephants, particularly *goondahs*, have been known to stand twelve months at their pickets, without lying down to sleep; though they sometimes take a short nap standing."

quiet

quiet him; but partly, I suspect, to indulge their own curiosity, permitted him to cover her a second time; which he readily did, before the usual attendants, as well as a number of other spectators. After this, the driver brought me a particular account of the whole process. Though much pleased with the success of the experiment, yet I was rather chagrined he had not given me notice, that I might have been myself an eye witness; and therefore told him, he should not receive the promised reward, till I had satisfied myself of the fact.

"About two in the afternoon of the same day, I was desired to repair to the place where the elephants stood, as the male had been trying to get nearer the female. On this, I proceeded to the spot, with my friend captain Robert Burke Gregory; when we arrived, I ordered the male to be freed from his shackles; and, after some toying, and a few mutual caresses, we had the satisfaction to see him cover the female.

"When the male mounted, he placed one of his fore-legs on each side of her spine, with his feet turned to, and pressing against her shoulders, and his trunk over her fore-head; supporting himself firmly in this situation, during coition, which he continued nearly the same time, and in the same manner, as a horse with a mare.

"The female remained perfectly still, during the coitus. When the male had finished, he stood quietly by her side, while she caressed him with her trunk; and, as they then appeared well pleased, and gentle as usual, I went up and patted them both, as I had formerly been accustomed to do, without the smallest apprehension. In the evening they were brought home to be fed; and, though only a few hours had elapsed since his last embrace, the male seemed inclined to make another attempt; to which I would have consented, to gratify a crowd of people then present, had I not now learned, that he had covered the female in the open plain, about ten in the morning, when going out for food, in spite of the exertions of the drivers and attendants; at least so they alledged, in excuse for having permitted it contrary to my orders. As he had already covered four times in about sixteen hours, I was afraid a further indulgence might be prejudicial, and therefore would not permit it; especially as Mr. Imhoff, to whom he then belonged, was absent. That gentleman, however, returned two days after; but when the two elephants were brought together, in order that Mr. Imhoff's curiosity might be indulged with so novel a sight, the female being no longer in heat, was so uncivil as to give the male a kick in the face, when he was using what she then thought improper liberties: nor did she afterwards permit him to cover her, though, when standing together, they mutually indulged in a few caresses.

"During the time they were kept together, the male never showed signs of his passions being excited, by any exudation from the ducts of the glands near his temples; which is generally considered as the sign of a male elephant being peculiary ready for the female. This, however, I am inclined to believe is a vulgar error; as not one of the male elephants I have seen cover, in a domestic state, nor any of the males which were caught singly,

or

or rather entrapped, by their desire to have connexion with the tame females, had, at those times, the smallest appearance of such an exudation. Had this happened, in any one instance, during my residence in Tiperah, I think I must have known it; for when this exudation takes place, the elephant has a dull heavy look, and it is dangerous for strangers to go near him. I have seen elephants in this situation, after they had been many years caught; but, though they were then said to have their passions excited, I have never known one to cover during the continuance of this exudation: nor have elephants, so far as I have been able to observe, any particular seasons of love, like horses and cattle. Of five instances of elephants covered at Tiperah, one received the male in February, another in April, a third in June, a fourth in September, and the fifth in October. Besides these, an attempt was made by a tame male, to cover, in the month of January, a wild female, then in heat *. When the female is in heat, the parts of generation show it, by an unusual fulness of the labia; and, if she is placed near a male, she endeavours, by caresses, to excite his desires†.

"After the female had been covered by the male, as has just been related, there being then no other female ready, he was placed with an elephant which had had a young one about four years before this, and some months ago was reported to have been in heat. It was thought, after some trial, that she was likely to permit him to cover, as she caressed him occasionally, and roused his passions; but she would not allow him to gratify his desire.

"The drivers, tired of this coyness, and stimulated perhaps by the hopes of another gratuity, were so brutal as to tie her, and let the male make an attempt upon her, while tied. His attempt, however, was to no purpose; though he continued his efforts till he appeared to be quite exhausted. This being told me, I severely reprimanded the people; and ordered the female to be left at full liberty to reject or receive the male, as she might think proper.

"Here, however, was positive proof, that the male would have effected his purpose by force, when he found he could not obtain it any other way. He remained at Comillah till October, 1793, without my being able to procure a female that was in heat; he was then sent to Calcutta.

"I now became extremely solicitous about the health of the female which was covered in June; and gave particular directions not to overheat her, but merely to give her as much food and exercise as were likely to keep her in the best condition, as she was now known to be pregnant. In three months after she was covered, she became fuller, her flesh felt softer, and her breasts began to swell. These

* Many pregnant females are taken every year at Tiperah, and produce young ones in the different months; this clearly shows, that there are no particular seasons during which the females are in heat."

† It may be proper to observe that the penis of a full grown elephant is from two feet four to two feet six inches in length, and from fourteen to sixteen inches in circumference. I caused the penis of two males to be measured, after their passions were roused, in order to ascertain the real size. On some occasions, I have seen the penis absolutely touch the ground, when the elephant has been walking; but it must be recollected, that the hind legs of an elephant are very short, in proportion to his size."

marks

marks of her being with young, were so evident to the driver, that he mentioned them of his own accord; which convinced me, that an elephant, three months after conception, may be known by the keepers to be pregnant.

"She had always been a favourite, from having been the gift of my worthy and respected friend Mr. John Buller*, as well as from her gentle and docile disposition; and I now had hopes of her going her full time.

"She was seven feet three inches high, when covered; but, after this, increased so fast, not in bulk only, but also in height, as to exceed seven feet eight inches, before she brought forth. On the 16th of March 1795, she produced a fine male; just twenty months and eighteen days after she was first covered.

"The young one was thirty-five inches and a half high; and had every appearance of having arrived at its full time, being the largest I had known produced in Tiperah.

"We have many young produced every year, by the females which are taken while breeding, and these seldom exceed thirty-four inches; this, however, may be owing to the weak and reduced state the mothers are brought to, while breaking in.

"The young of the elephant, at least all those I have seen, begin to nibble and suck the breast soon after birth; pressing it with the trunk, which, by natural instinct, they know will make the milk flow more readily into the mouth, while sucking. Elephants never lie down to give their young ones suck; and it often happens, when the dam is tall, that she is obliged, for some time, to bend her body towards her young, to enable him to reach the nipple with his mouth; consequently, if ever the trunk was used to lay hold of the nipple, it would be at this period, when he is making laborious efforts to reach it with his mouth, but which he could always easily do with his trunk, if it answered the purpose.

"In sucking, the young elephant always grasps the nipple (which projects horizontally from the breast) with the side of his mouth.

"I have very often observed this; and so sensible are the attendants of it, that, with them, it is a common practice to raise a small mound of earth, about six or eight inches high, for the young one to stand on, and thus save the mother the trouble of bending her body every time she gives suck, which she cannot readily do when tied to her picket.

"Tame elephants are never suffered to remain loose; as instances occur of the mother leaving even her young, and escaping into the woods.

"Another circumstance deserves notice; if a wild elephant happens to be separated from her young, for only two days, though giving suck, she never after recognizes or acknowledges it. This separation sometimes happened unavoidably, when they were enticed separately into the outlet of the *keddah*. I have been much mortified at such unnatural conduct in the mothers; particularly when it was evident the young elephant knew its dam, and, by its plaintive cries and submissive approaches, solicited her assistance.

"Here it may be observed, that a female was believed to have gone twenty-one months and three days;

* Now one of the members of the Board of Revenue, at Calcutta."

being

being supposed to have been covered on the 13th of January, 1788, some days before she was driven into the inclosure. When I made particular inquiry as to the real time she was taken, the superintendant* of the hunters said it was in January; but the principal hunter† declared she was among the herd taken in February following, and was probably the same elephant Mr. Buller, captain Hawkins, and many others, saw covered on the 9th and 10th of that month. Perhaps, some days prior to this, she might have been covered in the woods, before she was brought into the inclosure; but, as a herd was taken in each of those months, and not kept separate, and two years had nearly elapsed before I thought of making any inquiry, it was impossible for me to determine in which of those months she was really taken; and the only motive I then had for endeavouring to ascertain this point, was to form some probable conjecture as to the period of an elephant's gestation, which has now been ascertained in the instance before related.

"Early in September, 1795, the female that had been covered, and had bred under my own observation, was known to be in heat; this was less than six months after bringing forth. Learning at the same time, that the rajah of Cudwah, a principal Zemindar of the province, had a very large male that had been in the family near twenty years, from the time he was about five years old, I sent a messenger, requesting the elephant might be sent to Comillah, which request the rajah immediately complied with.

"To prevent any interruption from the number of spectators, the elephants were put into a small inclosure, on the 17th of September; the female was picketed by one leg, and the young one, to which she was giving suck, was tied to a tree at some distance, fearing, if permitted to run about, he might receive some injury.

"After a few caresses from the female, the male at length effected his purpose, and covered her twice the same evening. As the intention of the male elephant's visit was known in the district, and a few days had elapsed since the two elephants were brought together, in order to make them acquainted, the number of spectators was greater than on any other similar occasion.

"She was afterwards covered, several times, on the 20th of the same month; the male, in this case, being admitted after an interval of three days, although formerly, in June, 1793, she refused him when only two had elapsed. She again proved with young; and, in November, 1796, being myself in a bad state of health, and under the necessity of returning to Europe, I sent her to Lucknow, together with her young one, at the request of my friend captain David Lumsden: though she was then very big, she was still giving suck.

"About a month before that period, I got my friend, Mr. Stephen Harris, to permit a female of his to be covered; the same which had, in 1793, rejected the attempts of the male to cover her contrary to her inclination. Another messenger was dispatched to Cudwah, for the rajah's elephant, which was again sent to Comillah. He covered her repeatedly, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of October, 1796,

* The *Daragah.*

† The *Dyders.*

trary to her inclination, so that, in fact, he used force to effect his purpose, and held her so firmly, that the marks of the nails of his fore-feet were deeply imprinted on her shoulders.

"Having mentioned a sufficient number of instances, to prove the ability, as well as the inclination of the elephant, to propagate his species in a domestic state, and that without any signs of modesty, and having ascertained the period of gestation to be twenty months and eighteen days, it may be necessary to observe, that it is a difficult matter to bring a male, which has been taken about the prime of life, into good condition to act as a stallion; for, being naturally bolder, and of a more ungovernable disposition than the female, he is not in general easily tamed, till reduced very low; and it requires considerable time, as well as much expense and attention, before he can be brought into such high order as is requisite. He must also be of a gentle temper, and disposed to put confidence in his keeper; for he will not readily have connexion with a female, whilst under the influence of fear or distrust. Of this I have seen many instances: nor do I recollect one male elephant in ten, which had been taken after having attained his full growth, much disposed to have connexion with a female. This is a most convincing proof, that those males which are taken early in life, and have been domesticated for many years, more readily procreate their species than elephants taken at a later period. In their wild state, however, they show no

trained females which, though not in heat, are carried out to seduce them, several instances have occurred, of wild elephants covering, immediately after being taken, in the *keddah*.

"On the 3d of April, 1795, a very fine male elephant covered a female twice, in the midst of the herd, and before all the hunters. On the 4th, I saw him attempting to cover a third time, when he was suddenly disturbed, by the noise the hunters made to drive away some of the herd which had come too near the palisade. In consequence of this interruption, he threw down first one, and then another small elephant, and gored them terribly with his tusks, though they came between him and the female only for their protection: he had, before this, killed four, and wounded many others. When the poor animals were thrown down, conscious of their impending fate, they roared most piteously; but notwithstanding their prostrate situation, and submissive cries, he unfeelingly and deliberately drove his tusks through, and transfixed them to the ground; yet none of the large elephants, not even the dams of the sufferers, came near to relieve them, or seemed to be sensibly affected. This savage animal had been then confined four days in the inclosure, along with the herd upon a very scanty allowance of food, and could have but very little hope of escaping; yet here his passions were stronger than his fears. It was on account of this savage disposition, the hunters had asked permission to shoot him, before I had either seen him or the herd, and

thence

never known any elephant killed wilfully, in the *keddah*, by the larger males, and having no idea that he would commit such terrible havock, I unluckily refused to grant their request, being desirous to save so stately an elephant. When the paliade was finished, I got him tied, and led out; but, not brooking restraint, he languished about forty days, after he was secured, and then died.

"In the course of this narrative, I have, in general, related only such particulars concerning the elephant as came within my own knowledge, and which were either not known, or not published. To tame elephants has been proved, yet the expence incurred by breeding them, may deter others from making attempts of this kind. But, it opens a field of curious inquiry to the naturalist; and, now that the facility with which it may be done is ascertained, it suggests itself as a mode by which the breed of elephants may be improved, in size, strength, and activity. In this way, any expence which might be incurred, would more than repay itself, in the future benefits to be derived from a superior breed of elephants."

" * From this instance, as well as many concurring circumstances, I am convinced that these *goondahs* generally leave the herd of their own accord, and join it when they think proper, or are induced to it from a female being in heat; yet it has been supposed, that they are driven from the herd, at an early period of life, by their seniors. This appears improbable, as it is not often that very large males are taken with a herd of elephants; for, depending on their own strength, they stray singly, or in small parties, from the woods into the plains, and even to the villages; and it is in these excursions they are taken, by means of the trained females. As these *goondahs* are much larger, and stronger, than the males generally taken with the herd, it is not probable they would submit to be driven from it, unless at an early period. I have seldom seen, in a herd of elephants, a male so large as may be commonly met with among two or three *goondahs*; but, if these last were driven from the herd when young, the very reverse would be observed."

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Pagoda at Perwuttum, extracted from the Journal of Captain Colin Mackenzie.

[From the fifth Volume of the Asiatic Researches.]

"THE Pagoda of Perwuttum, hitherto unknown to Europeans, is situated near the south bank of the Kistna, in a wild tract of country, almost uninhabited, except by the Chinsoars, about

65 miles W. of Inawada in Guntoor.
63 miles E. N. E. of Canoul.
And supposed to be 103 miles S. and ¼ E. of Hydrabad.

"March 14th, 1794.—Having sent notice to the manager of the revenues (the principal officers of the circar) that I was desirous of seeing the pagoda, provided there was no objection, I was informed at noon, that I might go in. The manager did not appear very desirous of paying any of the common civilities, but the Bráhmens crowded round to conduct me into the place. On entering the south gate, we descended by steps, and through a small door, to the inner court, where the temples are: in the centre was the pagoda of Mallecarjee, the principal deity worshipped here. It is square, and the roof is terminated by a pyramid of steps; the whole walls and roof on the outside, are covered with brass plates, which have been gilt, but the gilding is now worn off. These plates are joined together by small bars and sockets, so that the whole may be taken off without damage; the spire or pyramid is not above thirty feet from the ground; the plates are plain, excepting a few embossed figures of women, some small ornaments, and on the friezes of the doors, the pannels of which are also plated. A statue with three legs is placed over each of the three entries; to support this uncommon figure, a post is carried up, which, at first sight, gives it the appearance of being impaled. On the west side of the pagoda inscriptions are engraved very neatly on three sheets of brass plates. Opposite to the south side, on a neat basement and pedestal ornamented with brazen figures of cows, is a slender pillar about twenty-four or thirty feet high, entirely composed of brass plates; it is bent: and from the joints, which plainly appear in the plating, it seems to be laid on a bamboo enclosed within. The four sides of the pedestal are covered with inscriptions, two in Gentoo or Tellinga, one in Grandam, and one in Naggerim: the first seven lines

of the PAGODA at PERWUTT

in large well de-
five
"During the tr
row, the Chinsuars
pagoda, who stripped it
naments, and damaged
Sevi-row had submitted, t
nues derived from the resort
guims are collected for the c
circar by a manager or aumil
who resides within the enclosure,
do the sebundies and peons, sta
tioned here to protect the pilgrims,
who come from all parts at cer-
tain stated festivals.

"The red colour, that predomi-
nates in the rock of this country,
(which is a granite,) is very re-
markable. The superstratum, which,
in many places, forms the naked
superficies of the soil, is of a black
colour, and, from the smooth shi-
ning surface it frequently exhibits,
appears to have been formerly in a
state of fusion, but goes to no great
depth; the next stratum is composed
of grains of a reddish colour,
mixed with others of a white shi-
ning quartz, in greater proportion
and of a larger size, so as to give
the stone, when quarried, a greyish
colour, which is more observable
after it has been cut or chisselled.
Iron is found in several parts of this
mountainous tract, and so are dia-
monds, but the labour is so great,
and the chance of meeting with the
veins so very uncertain, that the
digging for them has been long dis-
continued; the following places
were mentioned as producing them,
viz.

"1 Saringapatam, near Furra Reow,
2 Rouka pungala, two parous
da here.
3 Rouka pungala, two parous
mitabad crosses N. E. A pago-
where the ferry and road to A-
on the other side the Kistna,
4 Gowsin Reow, twelve parous
distant, near Putchi Cunta,
down the river. N. E. A ferry
of four there. After the heavy
rains,

This place is near the ruins of Chundra-goompty putnam, formerly a great town on its north bank, and now belonging to Amraritty.

"The weather being warm, I was desirous of getting over as much of this bad road as I could before noon; my tents and baggage had been sent off at four, A. M. and I only remained at the pagoda, with the intention of making some remarks on the sculptures of its wall as soon as day-light appeared. But the Bráhmens with the Rajpoot amuldar (who had hitherto shewn a shyness that I had not experienced in any other parts of the journey,) came to request, that, as I was the first European who had ever came so far, to visit Mallecarjee, and had been prevented from seeing the object of their worship, by yesterday not being a lucky day, I would remain with them that day, assuring me that the doors would be opened at ten o'clock. I agreed to wait till that hour, being particularly desirous of seeing by what means the light was reflected into the temple, which the unskilfulness of my interpreter could not explain intelligibly to my comprehension. Notice being at last given, at about half past eight, that the sun was high enough, the doors on the east side the gilt pagoda were thrown open, and a mirror, or reflecting speculum, was brought from the Rajpoot amuldar's house. It was round, about two feet in diameter, and fixed to a brass handle, ornamented with figures of cows; the polished side was convex, but so foul that it could not reflect the sun beams; another was therefore brought rather smaller and concave, surrounded by a narrow rim, and stone building, raised on pillars, enclosing a well, and ending in a point; and, being at the distance of twelve or fourteen feet, darkens the gateway by its shadow, until the sun rises above it: this, no doubt, has been contrived on purpose to raise the expectation of the people, and by rendering the sight of the idol more rare, to favour the imposition of the Bráhmens. The moment being come, I was permitted to stand on the steps in front of the threshold without, (having put off my shoes, to please the directors of the ceremony, though it would not have been insisted on,) while a crowd surrounded me, impatient to obtain a glimpse of the awful figure within. A boy, being placed near the door-way, waved and played the concave mirror, in such a manner, as to throw gleams of light into the pagoda, in the deepest recess whereof was discovered, by means of these corruscations, a small, oblong, roundish white stone, with dark rings, fixed in a silver case. I was permitted to go no farther, but my curiosity was not sufficiently satisfied. It appears, that this god Mallicarjee is no other than the Lingam, to which such reverence is paid by certain casts of the Gentoos; and the reason why he is here represented by stones unwrought, may be understood from the Bráhmens' account of the origin of this place of worship. My interpreter had been admitted the day before into the *sanctum sanctorum*, and allowed to touch the stone, which he says is smooth, and shining, and that the dark rings or streaks are painted on it; probably it is an agate, or some other stone of a siliceous kind, found near some parts of the Kishna, and of an uncommon

tion size. The speculums were of whitish metal, probably a mixture of tin and brass.

"These arts, designed to impose on the credulity of the ignorant superstitious crowd, seem to have been cultivated successfully here; and the difficulties attending the journey, with the wild gloomy appearance of the country, no doubt add to the awful impression made on their minds.

"The Brahmens having given me the following account of the origin of the pagoda, I insert it here, as it may lead to farther enquiry, and, by a comparison with other accounts, however disguised by fable or art, some light may be thrown on the history and manners of a people so very interesting.

'At Chundra-gumpty-patnum, 'twelve parous down the river on 'the north side, formerly ruled a 'raja, of great power, who, being 'absent several years from his house, 'in consequence of his important 'pursuits abroad, on his return fell 'in love with his own daughter, 'who had grown up during his long 'absence. In vain the mother re'presented the impiety of his pas'sion: proceeding to force, his 'daughter fled to these deserts of 'Perwuttum, first uttering curses 'and imprecations against her fa'ther; in consequence of which, 'his power and wealth declined; 'his city, now a deserted ruin, re'mains a monument of divine 'wrath; and himself, struck by the 'vengeance of Heaven, lies deep 'beneath the waters of Pattela'ganga, which are tinged green by 'the string of emeralds that adorned 'his neck.' Here is a fine subject for a fable; it may, however, furnish a clue to history, as the ruins of this once opulent city are still said to exist. This account of the origin of the devotion here bears a great resemblance to that of the pilgrimage to Monserrat in Catalonia, mentioned in Baretti's travels.

'The Princess was called Mallica-'Davi, and lived in this wilderness. 'Among her cattle, was a remarka'bly fine black cow, which, she 'complained to her herdsman, ne'ver gave her milk. He watched 'behind the trees, and saw the cow 'daily milked by an unknown per'son. Malica-Davi informed of this, 'placed herself in a convenient situ'ation, and beholding the same un'known person milking the cow, 'ran to strike him with an iron rod 'or mace, which she held in her 'hand; but the figure suddenly dis'appeared, and to her astonishment 'nothing remained but a rude shape'less stone. At night the god ap'peared to her in a dream, and in'formed her, he was the person 'that milked the cow, she, there'fore, on this spot built the first 'temple that was consecrated to the 'worship of this deity represented 'by a rude stone.' This is the second temple that was shewn yesterday, where he is exhibited in the rude state of the first discovery, and is called Mudi-Mulla-Carjee or Mallecarjee; the other temples were afterwards built in latter times, by rajas and other opulent persons. The lingam, shewn by reflected light in the gilded temple, has also its history and stories, still more absurd and wonderful, attached to it. It was brought from the (now deserted) city of Chundra-goompty-patnam. The princess, now worshipped as a goddess, is also called Brama-Rumbo, or Strichillum Rumbo, from whence this pagoda is called Strichillum. She delights peculiarly in Perwuttum, but is called by eighteen other names.

"It may be proper here, to take

their number, and contain less of those monstrous figures than other buildings of this kind. It would appear that the stories represented on several divisions, or compartments, are designed to impress on the mind some moral lesson, or to heighten the reverence inculcated for the object of adoration here. The customs and manners of the Gentoos; their arms, dress, amusements, and the parade and state attendant on their sovereigns, in former times, might be elucidated by a minute inspection of the figures represented on the walls; drawings of which, and translations of or extracts from any books or inscriptions, that might be found, having relation to them, would be useful to that end.

"The several pagodas, choultries, and courts, are enclosed by a wall 660 feet long and 510 feet broad. In the centre of this inclosure are the more ancient buildings already described. Below the level of the principal gate, a road or avenue, twenty-four feet broad, goes parallel without to this wall, from whence is a descent by steps to gardens on the north side; from the east gate a double colonade runs, 120 yards, forming a street: an oblong tank is on the west side, from which water was conducted to reservoirs in the gardens, but these are now entirely neglected; the town or pettah covered the south side, and the S. E. angle; the form of the inclosure is an oblong square, with one square projection to the west. The great gateways are, as usual, supported by stone pillars, leaving apartments for the guard on each side the entrance: they are covered with spires of brick work; and this, with the pillar between, more modern construction, though the spires are rather ruinous: and it may be proper to remark, that these brick-spires, formed of several stories with small pilasters, of no regular order, and the niches ornamented with figures in plaister, seem to be the latest invention used in the pagodas; those with pyramidal roofs, step-fashion, and the summit crowned, sometimes by a globe, are more ancient and of several sizes, so low as four feet in height; built of stone, and seem to be the first improvement on the early rude temples of rough stones set upon end to cover the image of the god. These first attempts are frequently seen among the hills. The wall of the inclosure is built of hewn blocks of the greyish stone, from six to seven feet long by three high, exactly squared and laid together, and about eight or nine rows of these, from the level of the interior pavement, leaves its height from twenty-four varied to twenty-seven feet; the whole of the wall on the outside (being 2,100 feet by twenty-four, allowing 240 for the opening of the gates and square projection on the west-side) is covered with carvings and figures sculptured out of the block. Every single block has a rim, or border, raised round it, within which the carving is raised on a level with the rim, designed evidently to protect the figures from injury, while raised upon the wall.

"The first and lowest row of these stones is covered with figures of elephants, harnessed in different ways, as if led in procession, many of them twisting up trees with their trunks.—2nd. The second row is chiefly occupied with equestrian subjects; horses led ready saddled and their manes ornamented, others tied

tied up to pillars, some loose; a great many horsemen are represented, engaged in fight, at full gallop, and armed with pikes, swords, and shields; others are seen hunting the tiger, and running them through with long spears. The riders are represented very small in proportion to the horses, probably to distinguish the size of the latter, as a smaller cast seems intended to be represented among the led horses, where a few are seen lower in size, something resembling the Acheen breed of horses. All these figures are very accurately designed. It is remarkable, that several figures are represented galloping off as in flight, and at the same time drawing the bow at full stretch; these Parthian figures seem to have entirely dropped the bridle, both hands being occupied by the bow; some of them are seen advancing at full speed, and drawing the bow at the same time. This mode appears to have been practised by the Indians, as it is highly probable, that the arts of common life only are here represented in the lower row. 3d. On the third row, a variety of figures are represented, many of them hunting-pieces; tigers (and in one place a lion) attacked by several persons; crowds of people appear on foot, many armed with bows and arrows, like the Chinaurs; many figures of Byraggies or Jogies are seen distinguished by large turbans, carrying their sticks, pots, and bundles, as if coming from a journey; some leaning on a stick, as if tired, or decrepid from age; others approaching with a mien of respect and adoration.—The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh rows, are filled as would appear from the scanty information I was able to obtain) with representations of several events regarding the deities of the place, or expressive allegories of the moral and religious dogmas of the Brahmens; and probably some may record particular events of real history.—The eighth has fewer carvings than the rest; some stones are occupied by a single flower of large size, perhaps intended for the sacred flower (*lotos*): and some, though but a few, by the figure of a god.—The ninth, or upper row, is cut into openings, in the manner of battlements, and the stones, between each of these apertures, are alternately sculptured with the figures of the lingam, and a cow shaded by an umbrella to signify its pre-eminence.

"To examine the particular groups represented, would have taken up much more time than I could spare, but I particularly noticed the following; 1st, a figure with five heads, weighing two figures in a balance: one of them appears to have a little out-balanced the other. From what I could understand from the Brahmens, this was meant for Brahma weighing Vishnu and Siva, or Solramica; the latter is heaviest. This alludes to the different sects, or followers of Vishnu and Siva. Another figure also represented two persons weighed in a balance, both equal, but the explanation of this I could not learn.

"Second. Several people pulling at the head and tail of a great snake, which is twisted round a lingam. This I had seen carved on the walls of the pagoda of Wentigmetta, near Sidout, in September 1792.

"3d. Elephants treading a man under foot.

"4th. A naked figure of a woman approaching the lingam: in her left hand she holds the small pot used for ablution; in her right a string of beads (*Ingam valu*): a hand appears issuing from the lingam.

"The Bráhmens explained the meaning of this sculpture, 'Acuma Devi naked, approaching to worship the lingam; a hand appears suddenly from it, waving, and a voice is heard, forbidding her to approach in that indecent situation.' A maxim of decency, in the height of religious zeal, is here inculcated.

"5th. The story of Mallecarjee and the sacred cow (the origin of the pagoda) is represented in two different places. The cow appears with its udder distended over the lingam, which differs from the account of the Bráhmens in not being represented as a rough stone; a person near a tree is seen, as if looking on; a kind of division seems to separate these figures from a woman, in a sitting posture, with an umbrella held over her, to denote superior rank; on the right, behind a tree, is a figure very indistinct, probably intended to represent the herdsman; the trees are badly executed.

"6th. Among the number of animals in the procession on the second hand third row, two camels are represented with a person on each, beating the nagra, or great drum.

"7th. In one compartment the figure of an alligator, or crocodile, with its scales and monstrous teeth is seen, running open mouthed, to devour a person lying before it; two women are standing near a third seated: they are looking on a child near them. I got no explanation of this.

"8th. An elephant and tiger fighting.

"The sculptures on the south and east sides are in good preservation; those on the west and north are more injured by the weather. The age of the first temple might perhaps be discovered from the inscriptions, if a translation of them could be obtained. I could gain no information on this head; but I suspect the building to be of higher antiquity than the knowledge, or, at least, than the use of gunpowder among these people; because among so great a variety of arms as are sculptured upon the walls, swords, bows, pikes, arrows, and shields of a round figure, the match-lock is not to be found, though a weapon so much in use among the poligars. On enquiring of the Bráhmens the meaning of these carvings, one of them replied, 'it was to show how the gods lived above;' but indeed they seem to have lost all traces of any knowledge they may have formerly possessed, and to be sunk into the profoundest state of ignorance."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Account of the AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS introduced into His MAJESTY's FARM in the GREAT PARK at WINDSOR; by NATHANIEL KENT, Esq. in a LETTER to Mr. MORE.

From the XVIIth Vol. of TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY instituted at LONDON, for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES and COMMERCE.]

"SIR,

UPON mentioning to you some time since that there had been the practices in husbandry, on his majesty's farms under my superintendance in Windsor Great Park, which I conceived were not generally known; and upon your giving me reason to think the Society for Encouragement of Arts, &c. would be willing to allow me to lay the particulars before them, I should not be unwilling to allow it, if the pages in its next publication; being indulged with his majesty's gracious permission to state a matter that I may discretionally judge proper to communicate; I am indeed to lay before you a few particulars, which, before some gentlemen farmers, may under similar circumstances, may perhaps think deserving notice. But before I enter upon any particular description of what I have to offer, it will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to the society, to know the grounds upon which his majesty's large system of agriculture has been founded.

"In the year 1791, the Great Park at Windsor, about 4000 acres, fell into his majesty's possession. It might be truly called a rough jewel. The whole, as a natural object, was grand and beautiful, of a forest appearance; but the parts were crowded and indistinct. The soil was various, some parts clay and loam, and some sharp gravel or poor sand; a great part of the former was covered with rushes and mole-hills, and the latter with fern and moss.

"About 1000 acres of the lightest part were separated from the rest at one extremity, and formed what is called the Norfolk Farm; about 400 acres more, at the other extremity, of a good loamy soil, were separated, and called the Flemish Farm, both being named from the nature of the husbandry meant to be adopted upon them. The remains still (about 2,400 acres) remains still in plantations and park; and though so much reduced, yet from the improvements which have

pable of carrying more stock than the whole 4000 acres did before. All the unsound wet parts have been drained by the Essex mode, so as to be rendered firm, and productive of an improved herbage. The mole-hills have been levelled, chiefly by dragging and the coarse and mossy parts fined by repeated harrowing and rolling, (being one of the first improvements upon park land of this description); besides which, a variety of beauty has been laid open, by clearing the valleys and low parts, to give a bolder effect to the woody scenes upon the higher ground; and by making judicious openings, so as to break strait lines, and separate parts that were in some places too heavy and samely: so that the same extent of land has now not only a much larger appearance, but exhibits a much greater variety of ground. The truth of this, every impartial person, who knew the place before his majesty caused these improvements to be made, must allow. I have only to add, that though prejudice may have taken up an idea that there has been too great a sacrifice of timber in effecting these improvements, truth will deny it. There has not been a tree taken down, but what was either in decay, or removed either to give room for the growth of others, or to set them off to greater advantage in picturesque appearance.

"I come now to the object in view, as before hinted, which is to state the motives which I am inclined to think induced his majesty to adopt the farming system upon so large a scale, and next to shew the result.—These I conceive were chiefly to create useful labour for the industrious poor in the neighbourhood, and for trying experiments in agriculture, to excite imirage it.

"The Norfolk farm borders on that extensive waste called Bagshot-heath, hitherto considered too barren for cultivation, though large tracts of a similar quality have been long since rendered useful to the community in the south-west part of Norfolk. Arable land of this description is generally managed there under a five-course shift; first, wheat; second, turneps; third, barley with seeds, which continue laid two years. But as the seeds turn to very little account after the first year, his majesty's, which though a five-course shift likewise, of one hundred acres in a shift, is upon a much improved course of cropping; as thus—first, wheat or rye; second, the irregular shift; third, turneps; fourth, barley or oats; fifth, clover. The irregular shift, which is of great use on a light land farm, may perhaps want a little explanation. It is meant to be partly productive, and partly preparative. Forty acres of it are sown with vetches, to be fed off; forty are sown the latter end of August with rye, for early feed the next spring for the ewes and lambs; the remaining twenty acres are planted with potatoes, and the whole comes round for turneps the next year.

"From the advantage of running sheep in the park, this farm has been brought surprisingly forward, considering the short time it has been cultivated; and a great part of it, which produced nothing but heath and moss, and would have been dear at five shillings an acre to rent, now produces crops worth more than the original fee-simple of the land.

"Brevity checks me from going farther into a general description, but the following particulars may deserve notice.

"The

ve advantages of horses and oxen have for some time under the consideration of the public. His majesty has unquestionably tried the latter upon a larger scale than any other person, as he does not work less than one hundred and eighty oxen upon his different farms, parks, and gardens, and has found them to answer so well, that there is not now horse kept.—Upon the two farms, the great park, two hundred and going off. Forty are bought every year, rising three years, are kept as succession oxen in park: one hundred and twenty under work; and forty every ears are fatted off, rising seven

"The working oxen are mostly ivided into teams of six, and one f the number is every day rested, o that no ox works more than five lays out of the seven.—This day of ase in every week, besides Sunday, s of great advantage to the animal, s he is found to do better with or- inary keep and moderate labour, han he would do with high keep and harder labour. In short, this s the first secret to learn concerning him; for an ox will not admit of being kept in condition like a horse, artificially, by proportionate food to proportionate labour.

"These oxen are never allowed any corn, as it would prevent their atting so kindly afterwards. Their ood in summer is only a few vetches, by way of a bait, and the run of coarse meadows, or what are called easows, being rough woody pas- ures. In winter they have nothing but cut food, consisting of two hirds hay, and one third wheat- straw; and the quantity they eat in wenty-four hours is about twenty- four pounds of hay and twelve of straw: and on the days of rest range as they like in the straw-yards, for it is to be observed, that they are not confined to hot stables, but have open sheds, under which they eat their cut provender, and are generally left to their choice to go in and out. Under this management, as four oxen generally plough an acre a day, and do other work in proportion, there can be no doubt but their advantage is very great over horses, and the result to the public highly beneficial.

"The oxen which are brought on in succession, run the first summer in the park, and in the leasows and temporary straw-yards in the winter; by which temporary straw-yards, I would have it understood, that they are made in different places, so that the manure which they make may be as near to the spot where it is wanted as possible.

"The forty oxen which go off are summered in the best pasture, and finished with turneps the ensuing winter.—The usual way has been to draw the turneps, and to give them either stalled or in cribs placed in the yard, with plenty of straw to browse and lie upon: but last winter an experiment was tried, which answered extremely well, and will be again repeated next winter: this was, penning the oxen by day upon the turnep-land, in the manner that sheep are penned, with this only difference, that the turneps were thrown up into cribs, instead of being left to be trodden into the ground; and in the nights they were driven into a yard, with a temporary shed well littered with rushes, fern, and leaves, and turneps and barley-straw given to them in cribs. They thrived very fast and every one of them made at least eight loads of good muck in the night-yard, besides the benefit done in

in treading and dunging on the land in the day-time, which was very great, the soil being very light. The result of the ox system is, that charging the ox for his agistment the first year, for the value of the grass and turneps the last year, and putting what he has in three intermediate years as an equivalent for his labour, after every allowance for risk, each ox will pay at least twenty per cent. profit.—In what instance does a horse produce so much?

"I do not allow that the ox can be used on all soils; upon a very stony soil he cannot: nor can the horse in all places be wholly excluded from husbandry; but every occupier of a large farm may at least use some oxen to very great advantage. They are all worked at Windsor in collars, as their step is found to be much more free than when coupled together with yokes; and they are found to do their work with much greater ease in collars than in yokes, which ought every where to be exploded.

"The different kinds of oxen are in some measure suited to the soil.—Upon the Norfolk farm, which is a light soil, the Devonshire sort are used; upon the Flemish farm, where the soil is strong and heavy, the Herefordshire; and in the park, where the business is carting, harrowing, and rolling, the Glamorganshire.—They are all excellent in their different stations.

"It may not be improper to mention a very simple method which has been discovered, of first training them to the collar, which is nothing more than putting a broad strap round their necks, and fastening one end of a cord to it, and the other to a large log of wood, and letting the ox draw it about as he feeds in his pasture, for three or four days before he is put into harness, by which means he is very much brought forward in docility.

"I have before observed, that twenty per cent. may be considered as the average profit of an ox; stating them to be bought in at 10*l.* and allowing them to be sold for 25*l.* taking off 10*l.* for the two years they are not worked: but last year beans being of very little value, they were kept longer than usual, by being stall-fed with bean-meal, which answered very well, as they were brought to an average of nearly 30*l.*; and one of them, a Glamorganshire ox, originally bought for 8*l.* and, from his compact round make, always called the Little Ox, thrived to such a surprising degree, that he became too fat to be able to travel to Smithfield, and was therefore sold to Mr. Charlwood, a neighbouring butcher, for 47*l.*

"Next to the advantage obtained from oxen, as much benefit as possible has been endeavoured to be derived from sheep, by means of the fold.—Two ewe flocks are kept, of four hundred each: the soil being light and dry, admits of winter-folding (except when the weather is wet), upon the young clover;—a practice much to be recommended, as it is productive of a great crop of clover, and prepares the land the ensuing autumn for a crop of wheat, without any further assistance. Another excellent practice is folding upon light land, in dry weather, immediately upon the sowing of the wheat, which may be put forward, or kept back, a fortnight or three weeks, on that account; and it is not amiss to have the fold rather large, and to give the sheep a turn or two round the fold in a morning before they are let out to tread and settle the land, which

which does a great deal of good, over and above their dung.

"A third method of folding has been found to answer almost beyond description. This was first tried in the winter of 1793; but from an idea of the shepherd, that it injured the sheep, has been since disused: but as there is good reason to believe that there was no just ground for such an opinion, it is meant to be revived next winter.

"A dry sheltered spot is selected, and sods of maiden earth, a foot deep, are laid over the space of a very large fold. It is then bedded thinly with rushes, leaves of trees, fern, moss, short straw, or stubble; and in hard or wet weather, the flock, instead of being penned upon the clover in the open fields, is put into this warmer fold, where the usual quantity of hay is given to them in racks; and every night they are so penned, the fold is fresh littered. When this has been continued, at intervals, during the winter, a layer of lime, chalk, rubble, or ashes, six inches thick, is spread over the whole surface, and when it has heated together, about the month of April, the whole is turned up, and mixed together, and makes the very best manure that can be used for turneps.

"I have been particular in describing these methods of folding, as they are not common in any place, and in others entirely unknown, and to gentlemen who have parks and large plantations, which afford abundance of leaves, this hint may be the more deserving attention.

"Upon the Norfolk farm, the land not having been yet marled or clayed, the clover is apt sometimes to fail, which is also the case elsewhere, upon the same sort of land. When this happens, his majesty does what every other person in a similar situation should do; instead of letting the ground remain unproductive, the next year it is sowed with vetches, which are nearly as valuable as the clover, and wheat always grows remarkably kind after them.

"As to implements, the Norfolk plough is chiefly what is used; and upon a light soil, it is certainly preferable to any other. It ploughs a cleaner furrow, by completely moving the whole body of earth, and inverts it much better than any other plough; and to establish its superiority over the common ploughs of the neighbourhood, I need only add, that from its construction it is nearly the draught of an ox easier. There is likewise a Norfolk harrow, very useful for harrowing what are called brush-turneps, or any other turneps, preparatory to their being hoed.—I must be allowed, likewise, to mention the drill roller, which consists of cast-iron rings, made at the Norwich foundery, and slipt on upon a round piece of wood, as an axle tree. This is one of the best things that has ever been introduced for the preparation of the land for any sort of corn, where the soil will admit of its being used. By the corn being so well deposited, it takes better root, and at least one fourth of the quantity usually sown may be saved.

"The Flemish farm, which I have before mentioned, was so named from an intention, at first, of carrying on a system of husbandry similar to that practised in Flanders, which consists of an alternate crop for man and beast; but the soil being strong and cohesive, upon trial, it has been found to answer best under a four course shift, more like some parts of Gloucestershire; as thus—first year, wheat; second, cabbage or clover; third, oats; fourth, beans.—The quantity of arable

dred and sixty acres, or forty acres in a shift. There are two things observed upon this farm, which may be worth notice:—The first is the practice which has for these two years past been adopted, by taking off the tops of the beans just as the blossom is set; this not only improves the quality, but increases the quantity, and causes them to ripen sooner, which is a considerable advantage, by giving time to get the succeeding crop of wheat in perhaps a fortnight earlier. The other is, that of sowing clover early in the spring, among twenty acres or one half of the wheat, and bush-harrowing or rolling it. This has produced a very fair crop of clover the next year; and the other half, after the wheat, is winter and spring fallowed, and planted with cabbage. There is a double advantage resulting from this; that one half of this shift, so managed, becomes a summer crop, and the other half a winter crop; and by observing the next year to change the parts, by sowing the clover where the cabbage was before, the clover and cabbage do not come round upon the same ground but once in eight years.

" Cabbage has been tried several years, but his majesty's husbandmen never got into the right management of it till this year; but now the crop is remarkably fine.

" It will not be improper to mention, that the drum-headed cabbage is the best sort; that the seed should be sown in August, the plants first set out in November, and transplanted for good in July. The next thing to be noted is their application.—They are certainly inferior to turneps for fatting, but superior in the increase of milk, either of cows or ewes, and therefore they are particularly good where there is a dairy or a breeding flock of sheep; and I trust his majesty will, the next yearning season, try an experiment of which I have high expectation, which is to slice or quarter the cabbage, and feed the ewes with them upon such of the meadows as want manuring, which I flatter myself will be of inestimable service to the ewes and lambs, and be the means of increasing the next year's crop of hay considerably.

" The true light of viewing these improvements is to consider them as a sort of new creation to the public; for, as it is a fact not to be controverted, that the reduced number of acres in the park, from their improved state, support as many deer and other cattle as the whole did before, the produce obtained from the farms is all clear gain; and as the crop of wheat and rye from the 140 acres sown, upon the most moderate calculation may be set at 3,360 bushels, and allowing six bushels to a human mouth, this gives a yearly provision in bread for 560 people; to say nothing of the fatting off of forty oxen, the breed of 800 sheep, and the growth of at least 5000 bushels of oats and beans; all of which, it must be observed, goes in aid of the public market, as the work is done by oxen entirely.

" As more experiments are in future made, I may perhaps trouble the society with an account of them, as I am persuaded they cannot be registered any where else, to give them the credit, and to excite the imitation I flatter myself they may deserve: but for the present, I shall close my observations upon his majesty's farms, with a description of his mill, which I consider as the most benevolent thing that can be done for the poor, and which I most earnestly recommend to all gentlemen

is the first of all comforts to
and a saving of at least twen
cent. from what it would cost t
to buy it from the mealmen or sho
keepers.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient humble Servant,
"NATHANIEL KENT.

Craig's Court,
30th October, 1798."

MMUNICATION relative to the CAUSE of BLIGHT on FRUIT TREES
Y THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL, Esq. supplementary to that Gen-
EMAN'S PAPERS on ORCHARDING, inserted in the NEW ANNUAL
EGISTER for the years 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

[From the same Work.]

"SIR,

BEG you to present my compliments to the Society for Encouragement of Arts, Manures, and Commerce; and acquaint them, that to gain information on the cause of decay in enfeebled fruits, and make the system charding, which they have pa- and honoured by their Transactions, volumes is in my power, I spent the of September, 1797, in Glo- shire, had much conversation bject of fruits, and found it a l regret, that the valuable es of cider-fruits are mostly The stire is in the last stage ay; yet, from the appearance e trees now totally worn out, ust have been, in their me- health, noble trees. The ak is nearly gone, and there ny well-grounded fears en- for the golden pippin. whelp still remains in full

bearing, with many other of the valuable varieties in different stages of health.

"This information, collected on the spot, it is requested the fruit-growers will attend to; for I am persuaded, had my system of orcharding been introduced fifty years ago, many of the lost varieties might have been now in health; and by attending to that system, those still remaining may be retained much longer than in a state of unassisted nature. In my first paper I strongly recommended to the planters to choose the sorts which thrive in the neighbourhood, or are in health and full bearing in the county from whence they are to be brought; and from further experience I more clearly see the necessity of this junction.

"Shakspeare says, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men;' may I apply the thought to fruits? There appears at present a crisis in the state of apples; all the varieties of the russets and pearmains, with many

many others, are wonderfully going off. In a former paper I mentioned the Maidstone district as abounding in valuable fruits: they have materially failed from blight during the last three years. Several of the neighbours in East Farleigh took me to examine the respective plantations, and pointed out one orchard of about three acres, which produced the most beautiful crop; a finer parcel of fruit could not have been shewn. We each concurred in the cause; it is explained in the Orchardist, and would be repetition here, 'actual health arising 'from shelter, and cattle passing 'over the ground.'

"During the many years I was engaged in forming the Orchardist, I would not suffer a word to be taken from a book, for copyists are apt to mistake: all my observations are drawn from nature. But now I cannot expatiate on the system of the old varieties, better than is done by Marshall, an author of deserved repute, who, in his Rural Economy of Glocestershire, published in 1789, volume II. page 239, remarks: 'Engrafted fruits are not permanent, they continue but for a time.'

"T. A. Knight, esq. in his Treatise 'On the Culture of the Apple and Pear,' has shewn a wonderful and truly scientific regard for the recovery of the valuable old varieties, &c. and is now rationally attempting to produce new varieties, equal or superior to those we regret the loss of; and for the benefit of the world, I take the liberty of introducing an extract from a treatise he has published at Ludlow.

"In page 6, he says: 'The apple is not the natural product of any soil or climate, but owes its existence to human art and industry. The first varieties were no doubt introduced from the continent: the continuance of every variety appears to be confined to a certain period, during the early part of which only it can be propagated with advantage to the planter.'

"Mr. Knight, with a view to secure some new valuable varieties, says in his excellent work, 'I prepared stocks of the best kind of apple I knew, and planted six against a south wall, in extremely rich mould.'

"Thus far Mr Knight, through the whole of whose treatise there is much information. I allow that these six trees are the most beautiful both in stem and leaf I ever saw; and am ready to confirm the opinion, that they promise success: the sorts are, the golden-pippin, forest-stirre, the small rich marden apple, a very rich astringent yellow (but not acid) crab, and the yellow Siberia crab. These trees are planted to grow free and fine, that the fruit may be in the highest perfection, to produce valuable seed for raising new varieties; and the blossoms were regularly crossed according to the sexual system of plants, with the same attention as a nobleman would give to improve his breed of brood mares and colts, choosing the best qualities in each, as far as nature will admit. As varieties are terms hardly thought of out of the cider-countries, and little understood there, I beg indulgence farther to elucidate them as follows: Secure a new valuable kernel fruit, and from that engraft as best suits your sentiment. Allow me to call the first tree primogeneous or stock: all the grafts taken from this, or any of the descendants, will, for some generations, thrive; but when this first stock shall, by mere dint of old age, fall into actual decay, a nibility of vegetation,—

getation,—the descendants, however young, or in whatever situation they may be, will gradually decline; and from that time it would become imprudent in point of profit to attempt propagating that variety from any of them. This is the dogma which must be received: I do not expect a direct assent, neither do I wish it, for it should be taken with much reserve. I only hope that I have fully explained the system; it is a received opinion that a variety of apple may, according to its hardiness, continue from one to two hundred years, the pear longer. My friend Mr. Knight allows care and attention may preserve a tree perhaps half as long again, as when left to unassisted nature. Grant me this, and I ask no more: let those who doubt make the actual experiment, and the very attempt will carry conviction.

"To those unacquainted with the term variety as applied to orcharding, I cannot define or explain it better than a valuable new apple raised from seed pip, or kernel, which has been fortunately preserved by the distinction of the planter, and selected by him from some good appearance in the leaves, free growth of the wood, or beauty and straightness of the stem. Such a tree out of the cider countries is termed kernel fruit, that is, an ungrafted tree; and the apple commonly takes its name from colour or some inherent quality, as golden pippin, russet, cat's-head, &c.; or from the place where it was raised, as Farleigh pippin, New-town pippin, Court of Wick pippin. This last mentioned is by Mr. Billingsley, in the Somerset Report, page 124, as a new variety, and a favourite apple. In that neighbourhood he says, 'it originated from the pip of 'the golden pippin, and may be considered as a beautiful variety of that 'fruit. In colour and flavour it has 'not its superior. The tree is large, 'handsome, spreading, and a luxuri-'ant bearer, and on the whole can-'not be too strongly recommended.' The apple I saw at the Board of Agriculture, but then it was decayed by being over kept. His excellency Rufus King sent me a present of the New-town pippin, and what he called the Greening. I wanted the New-town pippin for the kernels: but when the fruit was cut, it was obvious, from the size of the pips, that the fruit had been gathered long before it was ripe, the better to convey it by sea from America. It does not seem to suit our climate as yet, except in warm situations, though I have heard it highly praised by the Americans. Miller remarks, a little proper attention will naturalise many foreign plants. I am sure it is wonderful how many different species of plants have been naturalised within my time. The most effectual way of doing it, is to keep the plants in health, and harden them by degrees.

"Mr. Knight's system and mine are in unison. He, as it were, attempts to create; I to preserve. Consider, what do I recommend? To secure shelter—destroy the moss—heal the wounds—check the baneful effects of canker—stop the oozing of gum; and by manuring the land, pruning and washing the tree, make it healthy, if it is not so old as to have lost the energy of growth. Fruit-trees may bear for years after growth has become almost stagnant; then the knife can do but little, nay, would be mischievous, if it lets in the cold winds. Medicine may keep a palsied man alive, but nothing in the healing art will make him young: therefore, what is attempted by way of science, should be

be begun in the early stages of the plantation, and so go on to the extreme of old age.

"Those the least conversant with vegetation know that the operations are nearly uniform. This induces me to mention, that in Hampton-Court gardens there is a vine of the Black Hamburgh, which fills a house 72 feet long, and 18 feet over, making an area of 1300 feet superficial of glass, under which there are more than 1800 bunches of grapes, all from one stem; and what is worthy observation, the branches farthest from the root produce the largest and clearest fruit. This vine is every year productive, merely from pruning, washing, and cleaning. The bunches are in the spring as regularly set out, and with as much attention, as the husbandman sets out his field crop. An encumbered tree never can attain its full size, or be in health; for when the free circulation of the sap is checked the tree becomes diseased, and most of the inward branches are torpid or rotten: in this state there remains no remedy but cutting them out. Now consider what a misfortune in gardening to have the powers of vegetation so lost, which properly directed would have kept the tree in health. My intention in introducing the vine here, is to show, that to whatever size nature can carry a fruit-tree by the assistance of pruning, washing, care, and shelter, each tree is capable of growing much larger, and from that must of course acquire better health. May I say, growth and health are almost synonimous; for, where there is a freedom of growth, each tree is little affected with canker or gum; neither would it be so much injured by insects, who, by preying on the leaves and blossoms, are now known to be a material cause of blight. I wish to enforce that actual health would to some measure prevent blight.

"There are many letters in my possession corroborating the opinions above advanced respecting the preservation of fruit-trees, which will be published when these papers are collected.

BLIGHT.

"It should be understood from the Orchardist, that each tree regularly tending towards bringing the tree into health, must be so far operative in preventing blight. Let us attempt to ascertain from what blight arises; I should suppose that whatever has a tendency to prevent the due impregnation of the blossoms, or injure the foliage of the tree, will in a certain degree cause blight. The farmers say my trees are blighted, and some of them imagine the insects are brought over in thick hazy clouds: be assured the flies, grubs, moths, insects, &c. do not come over in the winds from the Continent, but are bred at home from the eggs being deposited about the tree in summer and autumn. And respecting cold, it is not so much the intense cold which does the mischief, as an alternate succession from heat to cold; for when the sun has rarefied and expanded the air within the air-vessels, then the succession of frosty nights, heavy rains, cold winds, snow or sleet after a warm day, greatly tend to check the growth of the tree; and from the preceding warmth, these causes have more power to destroy the delicate formation and expansion of an infantine vegetation, and prevent a due impregnation of the blossom, without which there can be no fruit. Cold under-water and springs shoot the trees, and cause blight. Long drought, with

with drying winds, injure the farina, so that it imperfectly performs the office nature has designed it for. Other causes may predispose the tree to blight, as an overabundant crop the preceding year, which so exhausts the vital principle, that the tree has not sufficient strength to mature the fruit, and fill the bearing buds for the next spring: a want of free circulation of air causes blight.

"Under any of the foregoing statements, should the trees be old, in a declining state of health, or the branches covered with rotten bark, moss, &c. under which insects may have deposited their eggs; the eggs may also be within the buds, or worked round in ringlets on the last year's shoots;—I say, let the eggs be where they may, swarms of depredators will certainly issue to destroy the weakly foliage. On the contrary, where the trees are clean, and in health, insects are not so numerous, neither are they capable of being so destructive; for should they devour part of the opening buds and leaves, a healthy tree will have sufficient strength remaining to produce a slight crop of fruit. Young stock poorly kept through the winter, in a straw-yard, shall be covered with vermin; when the stock are turned into good pasture, and acquire health, the vermin drop off; not that they are tired with their situation, but the health of the creature will not allow them to continue any longer there. Similar circumstances are known to attend the trees.

"Observe, when rational means are made use of to give energy of growth to standard fruit trees, should the tree acquire the growth, the rotten bark, moss, &c. shall from that time gradually fall off, just as the vermin drop from the cattle. These are known facts, and easily tried: to account for them say, the cattle and trees are only getting into better health; this is the governing principle in both cases. As one means of establishing health in old trees, I recommend rubbing them over with oil: Mr. Fairman has for some time used oil to good effect; and I should now say, mix a little sulphur or tobacco dust with the oil, to give it the consistence of thin paint, which would have a tendency to offend the insects, and drive them from the trees. It is observable, these little creatures are particularly delicate and careful in choosing proper places to deposit their eggs, and secure such a nidus as may be fitting for the preservation of their future progeny.

"I, seven years ago, bought, by way of experiment, a handsome young tree, of the old varieties, the nonsuch; and planted it in a proper situation, saying it should not canker. The tree now is as clean and perfect as possible, merely from pruning and washing with soapsuds, and not permitting much fruit to grow, thinking it prudent first to form the tree before we expect fruit.

"I mentioned sulphur or tobacco-dust; but there are many cheap drugs, which could be easily applied to this purpose, particularly the bitter aloes. If those concerned would only order one large old detached tree to be made perfectly clean, it may be soon proved whether the idea will answer; at the same time a good coat of manure should be thrown over the ground as far as the roots extend.

"No mischief arises to fruit-trees until the warm weather commences, because, before that period,

insects are not hatched; but the same degree of heat, which will cause the sap to flow through the branches, and set the roots to work, is sufficient to hatch many of the insect tribe: others come out afterwards, and continue till near midsummer, by which the foliage is mostly eaten up. From this the planter runs a hazard for the next year, as there is hardly time, from midsummer for the tree so to recover as to fill the bearing buds, to produce a crop. I hope, with the aid of a little consideration, I have nearly proved that the insects in the chrysalis produce the mischief.

"I remain, Sir, with many good wishes for the continued prosperity of the Society,

"Your most obedient servant,

"THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL.

"*Hampton-Court, Nov.* 30, 1798.

POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

THOUGH the dun mist and driving rack
Awhile may hide the orb of day,
Aloft he keeps his radiant track
Burning with undiminish'd ray;
And soon before his gorgeous fire
The evanescent clouds retire,
Then, bursting forth, to mortal sight
His glories flash with keener blaze,
Dim with their force the dazzled gaze,
Sowing with flame divine th' empyreal fields of light.

II.

So while the low'ring clouds of fate
O'er Europe's torpid regions spread,
They seem enthron'd in gloomy state,
To hang o'er Albion's drooping head:
Supreme in glory yet she stood
Superior to the vap'ry flood.
And soon, before her kindling eye,
The scatter'd clouds dispersing fly,
In awful glory while appear,
Red with vindictive flame, the terrors of her spear.

III.

Around her coast, fenc'd by her guardian main,
Around Ierne's kindred shores,
Hark! loud Invasion to her baffled train
In yells of desperation roars.
Along the hostile deep they vainly try
From Britain's thund'ring barks to fly;
Their fleets, the victor's trophy, captur'd ride,
In future battles doom'd to combat on our side.

IV. Seas

IV.

Seas where deathless bards of yore,
Singing to the silver tide,
Wafted loud from shore to shore
Grecian art and Roman pride.
Say, when Carthage learn'd to vail
To mightier foes her lofty sail,
Say, when the man of Athens broke
With daring prow the Median tyrant's yoke,
Saw ye so bold, so free a band,
As Nelson led by Nilus' strand;
What time, at George's high behest,
Dread in terrific vengeance dress'd,
Fierce as the whirlwinds stormy course
They pour'd on Gallia's guilty force;
And Egypt saw Britannia's flag unfurl'd
Wave high its victor cross, deliv'rer of the world?

V.

See floating friendly in the wind
The Russian eagle with the crescent join'd;
And shall on earth Rome's cow'ring eagle lie
With ruffled plumage and with languid eye?
Imperial Austria, rouse! while Albion's fleet
Sweeps stern oppression from the main,
Send forth thy legions on th' embattled plain,
Till savage inroad turn to foul defeat;
Strike with united arm the blow,
Lay the gigantic boaster low;
O'er your astonish'd fields who strod,
Deforming Nature, and defying God!
So shall returning Peace again
Delight the renovated plain;
Peace, on the basis firm of Faith restor'd,
Wrung from Oppression's arm by Valour's conqu'ring sword.

The TIMES of CHIVALRY contrasted with those of MODERN REFINEMENT.

[From ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT, a POEM, by the REV. WILLIAM LISLE BOWLES.]

HAIL, solitary Castle! that dost crown
This desert summit, and supreme look down,
On the long lessening landscape stretch'd below;
Fearless to trace thy inmost haunts we go!

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n cares,
nd airs,
till lake lie,
med sky,
let lays,
ith tender touch displays!
ust and fair,
her glitt'ring hair:
the living waste,
a Taste
indling sense;
play, dispense,
r genial influence,

St. Aubyn, was tenanted by Sir Walter

were suggested by seeing instruments of
ly, but appropriately fitted up.

Such

Such is thy boast, Refinement; but deep dyes
Oft marr the splendor of thy noon-tide skies:
Then Fancy, sick of follies that deform
The face of day, and in the sunshine swarm;
Sick of the fluttering fopp'ries that engage
The vain pursuits of a degenerate age;
Sick of smooth Sophistry's insidious cant,
Or cold Impiety's defying rant;
Sick of the muling sentiment that sighs
O'er its dead bird, while Want unpitied cries;
Sick of the pictures that pale Lust inflame,
And flush the cheek of Love with deep deep shame;
Would fain the shade of elder days recall,
The gothic battlements, the banner'd hall,
Or list of Elfin harps the fabling rhyme,
Or wrapt in melancholy trance sublime,
Pause o'er the working of some wond'rous tale,
Or bid the Spectres of the Castle hail!

Reception of Psyche at the Palace of Cupid.

[From Cupid and Psyche, a Mythological Tale, from the Golden Ass of Apuleius.]

SHE wakes—and to her glad survey
Rise round her, high o'er-arching trees,
Whose branches gemm'd with blossoms gay,
Throw perfumes to the lingering breeze.

And, shaded from the noon-tide beam,
There slowly, slowly curling roll'd
Its silvery waves a lucent stream
O'er sands of granulated gold.

And in the centre of the wood,
Not such as kings inhabit here,
A vast and tower-flank'd palace stood,
Nor such as mortal hands could rear.

Of ivory was the fretted roof,
On golden columns proudly rais'd,
And silver carvings massy proof
The walls of ebony emblaz'd.

Round lustres wreaths of diamonds fix'd,
Their prismy rays profusely pour,
And amethysts with emeralds mix'd
Inlay the tessellated floor.

Voices, as distant music sweet,
That floats upon the evening wind;

"Lull to rest this causeless fear;
"Psyche! thou art mistress here.
"Happy beyond human measure;
"Slake thy thirsting soul in pleasure;
"Slaves to thy majestic lover,
"Air form'd sprites around thee hover,
"Ever for thy bidding stay,
"Instant thy commands obey."

—And ere the lingering word is said,
Quick as the lightning glance of thought,
With sumptuous fare the banquet's spread,
By her aërial servants brought.

And flute, and harp, and voice to fill
The choral harmony unite,
And make each rapt'ur'd nerve to thrill
And vibrate with intense delight.

Swiftly the happy hours are fled!
For night invites her to repose,
And on the silk-embroider'd bed
Her wearied frame the virgin throws.

Now darkness o'er the silent sphere
Her raven-tinctur'd reign assumes,—
She stops her breath, she chills to hear
The rustling sound of waving plumes.

All hush'd around—no friend beside,—
Her heart beats high with new alarms!
—The dreaded husband claims his bride,
And folds her in his eager arms!

Yet while thick shades are o'er them spread,
(How hard that lovely couch to scorn!)
Soft-gliding from the nuptial bed,
He flies before the golden morn.

While viewless harps incessant ring
To greet her on her bridal day,
And viewless minstrels gaily sing
The hymeneal roundelay.

And aye when Eve in grateful dews
Sheds odours from her dewy wings,
The unknown seeks his mystic bower,
And to the expectant fair one sings:

In frantic passion's giddy whirl
Past, quickly past, his transient stay,
He still eludes the curious girl,
And steals unseen, unfelt, away;

Ere from the bosom of the Night
Young Twilight scents the matin air,
And in her gray vest rises light
Spangled with gems her musky hair.

Energetic Effects of Hope on Youthful Genius.

[From the Pleasures of Hope, by T. Campbell.]

CONGENIAL Hope! thy passion kindling power,
How bright, how strong, in youth's untroubled hour
On yon proud height, with Genius hand in hand,
I see the light, and wave thy golden wand.

"Go, Child of Heaven! (thy winged words proclaim)
'Tis thine to search the boundless fields of fame!
Lo! Newton, priest of Nature, shines afar,
Scans the wide world, and numbers ev'ry star!
Wilt thou, with him mysterious rites apply,
And watch the shrine with wonder beaming eye?
Yes, thou shalt mark, with magic art profound,
The speed of light, the circling march of sound;
With Franklin grasp the lightning's fiery wing,
Or yield the lyre of Heav'n another string.

"The Swedish sage admires, in yonder bow'rs,
His winged insects, and his rosy flow'rs;
Calls from their woodland haunts the savage train
With sounding horn, and counts them on the plain—
So once, at Heav'n's command, the wand'rers came
To Eden's shade, and heard their various name.

"Far from the world, in yon sequester'd clime,
Slow pass the sons of Wisdom, more sublime,
Calm as the fields of Heav'n, his sapient eye
The lov'd Athenian lifts to realms on high,
Admiring Plato on his spotless page,
Stamps the bright dictates of the Father sage.

Shall

The fire of God, thy immortal soul of man?

"Turn, child of Heav'n, thy rapture-lighted eye
To Wisdom's walks, the sacred Nine are nigh:
Hark: from bright spires that gird the Delphian height,
From streams that wander in eternal light,
Ranged on their hill, Harmonia's daughters swell
The mingling tones of horn, and harp, and shell;
Deep from his vaults, the Loxian murmurs flow,
And Pythia's awful organ peals below.

"Belov'd of Heav'n! the smiling muse shall shed
Her mooolight hole on thy beauteous head;
Shall swell thy heart to rapture unconfin'd,
And breath a holy madness o'er thy mind.
I see thee roam her guardian pow'r beneath,
And talk with spirits on the midnight heath:
Inquire of guilty wand'rers whence they came,
And ask each blood-stained form his earthly name:
Then weave in rapid verse the deeds they tell,
And read the trembling world the tales of hell.

"When Venus, thron'd in clouds of rosy hue,
Flings from her golden urn the vesper dew;
And bids fond man her glimmering noon employ,
Sacred to love, and walks of tender joy;
A milder mood the goddess shall recall,
And soft as dew thy tones of music fall;
While Beauty's deeply-pictur'd smiles impart
A pang more dear than pleasure to the heart.
Warm as thy sighs shall flow the Lesbian strain,
And plead in Beauty's cat, nor plead in vain.

"Or wilt thou Orphean hymns more sacred deem,
And steep thy song in mercy's mellow stream;
To pensive drops the radiant eye beguile—
For Beauty's tears are lovelier than her smile;—
On Nature's throbbing anguish pour relief,
And teach impassion'd souls the joy of grief?

"Yes; to thy tongue shall seraph words be giv'n,
And pow'r on earth to plead the cause of Heav'n.
The proud, the cold untroubled heart of stone,
That never mus'd on sorrow but its own,
Unlocks a generous store at thy command,
Like Horeb's rocks beneath the prophet's hand.
The living lumber of his kindred earth,
Charm'd into soul, receives a quick birth,

Feels

Feels thy dread pow'r smoothen heart afford,
Whose passion-touch'd harmonious strings accord,
True as the circling spheres to Nature's plan;
And man, the brother, lives the friend of man!

"Bright as the pillar rose at Heav'n's command,
When Israel march'd along the desert land,
Blaz'd through the night on lonely wilds afar,
And told the path—a never-setting star;
So, heav'nly Genius, in thy course divine,
Hope is thy star, her light is ever thine."

The QUEEN of SHEBA'S TRIAL of the WISDOM of SOLOMON.

[From the PICTURES of POETRY, by ALEXANDER THOMSON, Esq.]

EPODE.

WHEN now Bathsheba's son
His fancy's course had run,
With loud acclaim the vaulted arches rung;
And Sheba's royal dame,
Whose praise was more than fame,
Extoll'd his tuneful skill with bruited tongue.
Then from her seat she graceful rose,
And that bright hour of triumph chose
Once more that Wisdom's sea to sound,
Whose depth she yet had never found.
In either hand a flow'ry wreath she bore;
Spontaneous one in Nature's garden grew,
And one by mimic Art's deceitful lore,
In all was form'd alike of shape and hue.
"Great King," she said, "call forth thy judgment's pow'r,
"And tell me, which is Art's, and which is Nature's flow'r?"

STROPHE.

The judge renown'd, whose threat'ning sword,
A mother to her child restor'd*,
Now felt his heart begin to fail,
And turn'd with rage and terror pale;
He look'd, and look'd again,
But all he found in vain;
So well could Art her garland weave,
As might the keenest glance deceive.
Till Vision, after many an effort vain,
In deep despair, the fruitless task resign'd;

* 1 Kings, chap. iii. 24.

And

And Doubt, fell tyrant of the troubled brain,
Took full possession of the monarch's mind,
Plung'd in a shoreless sea of thought profound,
And seiz'd his wand'ring eyes, and nail'd them to the ground.

ANTISTROPHE.

His peers beheld th' approaching shame,
And trembled for their master's fame;
Each bent on him a mournful look,
And each his beard with terror shook.
'Twas hard that he who knew
Each plant on ground that grew,
From the low hyssop on the wall,
To lofty Leb'non's cedar tall *:
'Twas hard that Wisdom's pride should thus be stain'd,
Be humbled thus, and by a female too;
That him, whose judgment had such triumphs gain'd,
So weak a trifle should at last subdue.
Arabia's queen, with secret pleasure smil'd,
And thought, at length, indeed, this mighty sage is foil'd.

EPODE.

But now the monarch tries
Again to lift his eyes,
And on the window darts a transient glance;
A band of busy bees
He there with rapture sees:
For Wisdom well can use the gifts of Chance.
With instant voice he gives command,
That one of those who nearest stand
The casement strait should open wide,
And leave these insects to decide.
He spoke, and it was done—the copious swarm,
With buzzing murmurs, fill'd the spacious hall;
And, led by Instinct's sure, unerring charm,
Upon the flow'r of Nature settled all.—
The admiring crowd resum'd his praise again;
And cried, that such a prince o'er all the world should reign.

The RETURN of CHRISTMAS welcomed, with REFLECTIONS on its ANCIENT FESTIVALS.

[From the HOP GARDEN, a DIDACTIC POEM, by LUKE BOOKER, L.L.D.]

——— CHRISTMAS! hail:
——— Throughout the world
Long may thy ancient harmless customs live;
And long be interchang'd thy greetings kind
Between poor mortal sojourners of life!

—For,

* 1 Kings, chap. iv. 33.

—For, hark! the cold North blows, and mutual aid
Is needed to defeat its cruel rage.
Heap high the fire; and, O ye Lares! smile;
And, Innocence! with Plenty, hither bring
Hilarity: while Friendship brims the cup
With home brew'd ale, and ev'ry welcom'd guest
Forgets the storm.—But ah! forget not, thou,
Steward of Heav'n! whose purse distends with gold,—
Forget not those who from the pitiless blast
But ill are shielded, and to whose pale lip
Enough of homeliest food scarce ever comes.
No blazing hearth is theirs,—no cheering draught
Of ale nectareous.—Yonder hut approach;
Thro' whose small trellis and old chinky walls
A few faint embers, coldly glimmering, shew
Distress which Pity will not view unmov'd,
Nor mercy unreliev'd—white-bearded age,—
Shaken not more by palsy than by cold;
A widow'd daughter solacing his woes,
Yet needing much herself a comforter;
A brood of orphans, whose sustaining sire,
Before his parent, death has snatch'd away:
Gone their last morsel too—long since:—behold,
They famish in despair!——Their humble latch,
O Christian! lift, and bless them—bless thyself!
Light in each face the smiles of wond'ring joy,
And in thy breast 'wake raptures, which no Muse
Can paint, and only Pity's self can feel.

Nor, at this season, shou'd or bird or beast,
Depriv'd of Nature's largess, be shut out
From thy benignant dole. The feathery tribe
That sadly silent, perch on rime-clad trees,
Their plumes all ruffled—lo! by hunger press'd,
They seek thy tutelage, and piteous crave
A timely pittance of unvalued crumbs.
This now supply: and, when the pow'r returns,
Their grateful warblings shall repay the boon.
Confine not to the red breast and the wren
Thy winter bounty: pensioners alike
Are birds of ev'ry wing,—the blackbird sweet
And thrush; tho' they, unbidden, make their free
Thy blushing fruit. *His* ear, alas! how surd,
Who prizes not such choristers;—who deems
No meet requital, for the tithe they claim,
Their dulcet symphonies!—Nor be denied
The felon sparrow, though he filch thy grain,
And pay no recompence in tuneful song.
—While frowns all nature, let whate'er can feel,
Feel comfort from the charity of man.

He

He wills it, who, at this inclement tide,
Benevolence brought down from highest heav'n,
And bade her dwell on earth with gentle Peace.
These, and what rites soe'er have power to smooth
The rugged front of Winter and impart
To mortals joy,—I welcome, whether held
Or sage or simple by an atheist tribe,
Who many a rite beneficent which Time
Hath sanctioned long, are eager to consign,
With God's own Sabbaths, to th'oblivious gulf
That, when thy reign, O sophistry! is o'er,
Their impious edicts and themselves shall whelm.

Gladly I greet thee, Christmas! then, benign,
Tho' Winter bring thee in his icy car,
When not a fountain murmurs, or a bird
Assays his song; when stretches wide and far
A snowy prospect, and thro' sunless skies
Infuriate tempests roll. Thrice welcome all
The heralds of thy coming—twilight days
Curtail'd and shadow'd by dun misty clouds;
The curfew-peal at eve; and, when fast sleeps
A busy world, the nightly serenade
Of vigil-band—now distant heard,—now lost,
The strain soft-dying on the wakeful ear,
Stol'n by th'enamour'd breeze.—How sweet the sounds
Of music, when the world is hush'd in sleep!
When silence paces with unsandal'd foot
The mossy lawn by Cynthia's silver light,
And Echo vainly listens in her cave
For somewhat to repeat!—At that still hour
Not void of charm is simplest minstrelsy—
The carol-ditty, sung from door to door,
Hymning a Saviour born.—Return, return,
Ye hallow'd happy times! when festive glee
Cheer'd ev'ry dwelling,—e'en the straw-roof'd hut,
By Affluence' bounty bless'd. Unfelt, the storm
Then blew: for Plenty and a blazing hearth,
To poverty and hoary age, supplied
A kind nepenthe for each outward ill.

Then, sliced in ample bowl, the gale-bun swam
In newly broach'd October.—Mirth, the while,
And buxom Frolic, or the royal game
Of goose, dilating the pur'd brow of Care,
Into convivial smiles.—How fleet the mind
Reverts to days of childhood!—bl[illegible]some days—
When Thought, beyond the present hour, ne'er stretch'd
Its anxious ken: when ev'ry day that dawn'd
Brought some new pleasure, and each night that clos'd

Gave

Gave dreams of finish'd bliss. A chequer'd scene—
Changeful as Spring, with sunshine, clouds, and show'rs—
Has life presented since:—Hope's airy bark,
Freighted with visions of ideal joy,
Now wafted smoothly by auspicious gales
To fairy-land; where Pleasure's laughing train,
Mid amaranthine groves and rosy bow'rs
Wander'd, oft beckoning, kind: my fond career
Now thwarted sudden by opposing tides,—
My rudder gone, and out in open sea,—
No friendly talisman to point my course,—
My little skiff assail'd by tempests rude,
Driven on shoals, or in the vortex deep
Of dark despair o'erwhelm'd.——But what the use
Of joy or sorrow 'twere unmeet to note.
Blessings unnumber'd Memory's tablet bears,
That bid me lift a thankful eye to Heav'n.
And what were evils deem'd, when sore they press'd,
Were, haply, choicer blessings in disguise.
—This now my sober wish—good-neighbourhood,
With its attendants—Peace, and moderate fare
Of what indulgent Providence bestows,
Oh yet be mine! as, since life's tranquil noon,
Hath been my happy lot—'Midst virtuous friends—
Enjoy'd, enjoying—let my social hours,
Unclaim'd by circling duties and the Muse,
Guiltless glide on: till Time's transforming touch
To silvery whiteness turn my remnant locks,
And He who gave, by unperceiv'd decays,
His own resume: perchance to bid me live
With Angel-friends,—associates lov'd on earth,
And re-united in the realms of bliss!

Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day.

[By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet-Laureat.]

STILL shall the brazen tongue of War
Drown every softer sound?
Still shall Ambition's iron car
Its crimson axles whirl around?
Shall the sweet lyre and flute no more,
With gentle descant soothe the shore;
Pour, in melodious strain, the votive lay,
And hail, in notes of peace, our monarch's natal day?
O seraph Peace! to thee the eye
Looks onward with delighted gaze;
For thee the matron breathes the sigh,
To thee their vows the virgins raise;
For thee the warrior cuts his course,
Through armies rang'd in martial force!

Though

Though distant far thy holy fanes be seen,
And mountains rise, and oceans roll between,
Yet every sword that war unsheathes
Serves but to make thy blest return more sure,
Thy glorious form more bright, thy empire more secure,
When northward from his wintry goal,
  Returns the radiant god of day;
And, climbing from th' Antarctic pole,
  Pours every hour a stronger ray.
Yet, as he mounts through vernal signs,
Oft with diminish'd beams he shines;
Arm'd with the whirlwind's stormy force
Rude March arrests his fiery course,
Sweeps o'er the bending wood, and roars
Infuriate round the wave-worn shores;
O'er the young bud while April pours
The pearly hail's ungenial showers;
Yet balmy gales, and cloudless skies,
Shall hence in bright succession rise;
Hence Maia's flowers the brow of Spring adorn;
Hence Summer's waving fields, and Autumn's plenteous horn.
From climes where Hyperborean rigours frown,
  See his bold bands the warlike vet'ran brings,
Rous'd by the royal youth's renown,
  Loud Austria's eagle claps her vig'rous wings;
  'Mid fair Hesperia's ravag'd dales
The shouts of war the Gallic plund'rers hear,
Th' avenging arm of justice learns to fear,
  And low his crest the insulting despot vails;
While their collected navy's force
Speeds o'er the wave its desultory course;
From Britain's guardian fleet receding far,
Their proudest wreath to 'scape, nor meet the shock of war.

Ode to Barine, paraphrased from Horace.

[From Original Sonnets on various Subjects, and Odes, by Anna Seward.]

Barine, to thy always broken vows
Were slightest punishment ordain'd;
  Hadst thou less charming been
By one grey hair upon thy polish'd brows;
  If but a single tooth were stain'd,
  A nail discolour'd seen,
Then might I nurse the hope that faithful grown,
The Future might, at length, the guilty Past atone.

But

But ah! no sooner on that perjur'd head,
With pomp, the votive wreaths are bound,
In mockery of truth,
Than lovelier grace thy faithless beauties shed;
Thou com'st, with new-born conquest crown'd,
The care of all our youth,
Their public care;—and murmur'd praises rise
Where'er the beams are shot of those resistless eyes.

Thy mother's buried dust!—the midnight train,
Of silent stars,—the rolling spheres,
Each god, that list'ning bows,
With thee it prospers, false one! to profane.
The nymphs attend;—gay Venus hears,
And all deride thy vows;
And Cupid whets afresh his burning darts
On the stone, moist with blood, that drops from wounded hearts.

For thee our rising youth to manhood grow,
Ordain'd thy powerful chains to wear;
Nor do thy former slaves
From the gay roof of their false mistress go,
Tho' sworn no more to linger there;
Triumphant beauty braves
The wise resolve;—and, ere they reach the door,
Fixes the faltering step to thy magnetic floor.

Thee the sage matron fears, intent to warn
Her stripplings;—thee the miser dreads,
And, of thy power aware,
Brides from the fane with anxious sighs return,
Lest the bright nets thy beauty spreads,
Their plighted lords ensnare,
Ere fades the marriage torch; nay even now,
While undispers'd the breath, that form'd the nuptial vow!

SONNET on the DECAY of HUMANKIND.

[From the same Work.]

BEHOLD that tree, in autumn's dim decay,
Stript by the frequent, chill, and eddying wind;
Where yet some yellow, lonely leaves we find
Lingering and trembling on the naked spray,
Twenty, perchance, for millions whirl'd away!
Emblem, alas! too just, of Humankind!
Vain Man expects longevity, design'd
For few indeed; and their protracted day

What

What is it worth that wisdom does not scorn?
The blasts of sickness, care, and grief appal,
That laid the friends in dust, whose natal morn
Rose near thain own;—and solemn is the call;—
Yet, like those weak, deserted leaves forlorn,
Shivering they cling to life, and fear to fall!

Elegy on a Young Lady, who died soon after her Marriage.

[From the first Volume of Mrs. West's Poems and Plays.]

ADMIR'D and lost, just welcom'd and deplor'd,
Com'st thou, fair nymph, to wake delight and grief;
Like Lapland summers, with each beauty stor'd,
Transient like them, and exquisitely brief?

Pale are thy coral lips, and clos'd thine eyes,
Expression sleeps, and harmony is mute;
The spoiler Death on each fine feature lies,
Like blasting cankers on the choicest fruit.

I took thy hand, it met my grasp no more
With kindly warmth, inanimate it fell;
I wept; but sympathy's mild reign is o'er,
Nor can that icy breast responsive swell.

To deck her tomb appropriate emblems find,
White roses blighted, with their buds embrac'd,
The frail acacia broken by the wind,
And myrtles shrivel'd by protracted frost.

Their wedded love, with tend'rest care, should stand,
And gaze upon the ruin death has made;
While weeping virtues weave the cypress hand,
And soothe with dirges the reposing shade.

There, whilst dissolving to its parent dust,
The eye reverts from what it once ador'd,
Till the archangel summoning the just
Shall call the sleeper to attend her Lord.

The lark shall o'er her chaunt his matin hymn,
And household red-breast woo his speckled mate;
The glow-worm too shall there at evening trim
His elfin taper in sepulchral state.

With love unchang'd, through many a varying year,
At stated seasons, friendship shall return,
To plant fresh pansies crown the honour'd bier,
To weed the thistle that o'erhangs the urn.

We rise progressively, we bloom and fade,
And having deck'd it occupy the grave;
Soon by the mourn'd the mourner shall be laid,
And ask the tribute she to others gave.

Vain in our pleasures, vainer in our cares,
Bound on the wheel of time we rise and fall;
Yet present wrong Eternity repairs,
The mighty empress and the judge of all.

The SAILOR who had served in the SLAVE TRADE.

[From the second Volume of POEMS, by ROBERT SOUTHEY.]

In September, 1798, a dissenting minister of Bristol discovered a sailor in the neighbourhood of that city, groaning and praying in a hovel. The circumstance that occasioned his agony of mind is detailed in the annexed ballad, without the slightest addition or alteration. By presenting it as a poem, the story is made more public,—and such stories ought to be made as public as possible.

HE stopt,—it surely was a groan
That from the hovel came!
He stopt and listened anxiously,
Again it sounds the same.

It surely from the hovel comes!
And now he hastens there,
And thence he hears the name of Christ
Amidst a broken prayer.

He entered in the hovel now,
A sailor there he sees,
His hands were lifted up to Heaven,
And he was on his knees.

Nor did the sailor so intent
His entering footsteps heed,
But now the Lord's-prayer said, and now
His half-forgotten creed.

And often on his Saviour call'd
With many a bitter groan,
In such heart-anguish as could spring
From deepest guilt alone.

He ask'd the miserable man
Why he was kneeling there,
And what the crime had been that caus'd
The anguish of his prayer.

Oh

ave done a wicked thing!
It haunts me night and day,
And I have sought this lonely place
Here undisturb'd to pray.

I have no place to pray on board,
So I came here alone,
That I might freely kneel and pray,
And call on Christ and groan.

If to the main-mast head I go,
The wicked one is there,
From place to place, from rope to rope,
He follows every where.

I shut my eyes,—it matters not—
Still still the same I see,—
And when I lie me down at night
'Tis always day with me.

He follows follows every where,
And every place is hell!
O God—and I must go with him
In endless fire to dwell.

He follows follows every where,
He's still above—below,
Oh tell me where to fly from him!
Oh tell me where to go!

But tell me, quoth the stranger then,
What this thy crime hath been,
So happily I may comfort give
To one that grieves for sin.

O I have done a cursed deed,
The wretched man replies,
And night and day and every where
'Tis still before my eyes.

I sail'd on board a Guinea man
And to the slave-coast went;
Would that the sea had swallowed me
When I was innocent!

And we took in our cargo there,
Three hundred negroe slaves,
And we sail'd homeward merrily
Over the ocean waves.

But

But some were sulky of the slaves
And would not touch their meat,
So therefore we were forc'd by threats
And blows to make them eat.

One woman sulkier than the rest
Would still refuse her food,—
O Jesus God! I hear her cries—
I see her in her blood!

The captain made me tie her up
And flog while he stood by,
And then he curs'd me if I staid
My hand to hear her cry.

She groan'd, she shriek'd—I could not spare,
For the captain he stood by—
Dear God! that I might rest one night
From that poor woman's cry!

She twisted from the blows—her blood,
Her mangled flesh I see—
And still the captain would not spare—
Oh he was worse than me!

She could not be more glad than I
When she was taken down,
A blessed minute—'twas the last
That I have ever known!

I did not close my eyes all night,
Thinking what I had done;
I heard her groans and they grew faint
About the rising sun.

She groan'd and groan'd, but her groans grew
Fainter at morning tide,
Fainter and fainter still they came
Till at the noon she died.

They flung her overboard; poor wretch,
She rested from her pain,—
But when—O Christ! O blessed God!
Shall I have rest again!

I saw the sea close over her,
Yet she was still in sight;
I see her twisting every where;
I see her day and night.

Go where I will, do what I can,
The wicked one I see—
Dear Christ have mercy on my soul,
O God deliver me!

To morrow I set sail again
Not to the Negroe shore—
Wretch that I am I will at least
Commit that sin no more.

O give me comfort if you can—
Oh tell me where to fly—
And bid me hope, if there be hope,
For one so lost as I.

Poor wretch, the stranger he replied,
Put thou thy trust in Heaven,
And call on him for whose dear sake
All sins shall be forgiven.

This night at least is thine, go thou
And seek the house of prayer,
There shalt thou hear the word of God
And he will help thee there!

LINES addressed to the BURNIE BEE *.

[From the ANNUAL ANTHOLOGY.]

BLYTHE son of summer, furle thy filmy wing,
Alight beside me on this bank of moss;
Yet to its sides the lingering shadows cling,
And sparkling dews the dark-green turfs imboss.

Here may't thou freely quaff the nectar'd sweet
That in the violet's purple chalice hides,
Here on the lily scent thy fringed feet,
Or with the wild thyme's balm anoint thy sides.

Back o'er thy shoulders throw those ruby shards
With many a tiny coal-black freckle deckt,
My watchful look thy loitering saunter guards,
My ready hand thy footstep shall protect.

Daunted by me beneath this trembling bough
On forked wing no greedy swallow sails,
No hopping sparrow pries for food below,
Nor evet lurks, nor dusky blindworn trails.

* A provincial name of the beetle *coccinella*, or lady-bird.

Nor shall the swarthy gaoler for thy way
His grate of twinkling threads successful strain,
With venom'd trunk thy writhing members slay,
Or from thy heart the reeking life's-blood drain.

Forego thy wheeling in the sunny air,
Thy glancing to the envious insects round,
To the dim calmness of my bower repair,
Silence and coolness keep its hallowed ground.

Here to the elves who sleep in flowers by day
Thy softest hum in lulling whispers pour,
Or o'er the lovely band thy shield display
When blue-eyed twilight sheds her dewy shower.

So shall the fairy-train by glow-worm light
With rainbow tints thy folding pennons fret,
Thy scaly breast in deeper azure dight,
Thy burnish'd armour speck with glossier jet.

With viewless fingers weave thy wintry tent,
And line with gossamer thy pendant cell,
Safe in the rift of some lone ruin pent
Where ivy shelters from the storm-wind fell.

Blest if like thee I cropt with heedless spoil
The gifts of youth and pleasure in their bloom,
Doom'd for no coming winter's want to toil,
Fit for the spring that waits beyond the tomb.

LINES to MR. OPIE, by MRS. OPIE, on his having painted for her the PICTURE of MRS. TWISS.

[From the same Work.]

HAIL to thy pencil! well its glowing art
Has trac'd those features painted on my heart:
Now, tho' in distant scenes she soon will rove,
Still shall I here behold the friend I love;
Still see that smile "endearing, artless, kind,"
The eye's mild beam that speaks the candid mind,
Which, sportive oft, yet fearful to offend,
By humour charms, but never wounds a friend.
But in my breast contending feelings rise,
While this lov'd semblance fascinates my eyes;
Now pleas'd, I mark the painter's skilful line,
Now joy, because the skill I mark was thine:
And while I prize the gift by thee bestow'd,
My heart proclaims I'm of the giver proud.
Thus pride and friendship war with equal strife,
And now the friend exults, and now the wife.

AMELIA OPIE, 1799.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1799.

THE year 1799 has produced but few publications which can properly be referred to the head of Biblical Literature and Criticism. In the "Critical Disquisitions on the 18th Chapter of Isaiah, in a Letter to Edward King, Esq. F.R.S. A.S. by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Rochester, &c." the reader will find the author's well-known learning and ingenuity employed in contesting some of the constructions of Scripture prophecy, in the "Remarks on the Signs of the Times," announced in our last volume, and in giving a new version, and a different interpretation from those of preceding commentators, of what bishop Lowth considered to be one of the most obscure predictions in the book of Isaiah. With respect to his lordship's criticisms on Mr. King, we remark, that they evince extensive reading, and a close investigation of the passages in question, and are frequently successful in illustrating the prophet's meaning, by pointing out the sense which his "words themselves offer, in preference to any that rests upon precarious assumptions, or more precarious imaginations." But with Dr. Horseley's translation, on the whole, we have not been so well satisfied as with that of Dr. Lowth, or of his emendator, the late Michael Dodson, Esq. Indeed we have no where met with a version of a considerable part of this chapter, which appears to us to be so just and natural, and free from obscurity, as what the last-mentioned author has modestly submitted to the judgment of his readers, after a comparison of the original with the Septuagint version and the Chaldee paraphrase. In his interpretation of this prophecy, the bishop of Rochester refers its fulfilment to future times, in opposition to the opinion maintained by Vitringa, bishop Lowth, and the ablest modern commentators, who have considered it to be predictive of the destruction of the numerous army of Sennacherib. This part of his lordship's work, likewise, will present to the reader numerous, novel and peculiar sentiments, which seem to have originated in his political views of things, and fervent antigallican spirit. He sees "nothing in the subversion of the Gallican church, but what is the cause of alarm to every church in Christendom." He pronounces it "easy to trace the pedigree of French philosophy, jacobinism, and Bavarian illumination, up to the first heresies." "French democracy, from its infancy to the present moment," he considers to be "a conspicuous and principal branch

at least of the western antichrist;" and he now sees "the adolescence of that man of sin, that son of perdition, who shall be neither a protestant nor a papist, neither Christian, Jew, nor Heathen; who shall worship neither God, angel, nor saint; who shall neither supplicate the invisible majesty of heaven, nor fall down before an idol." For farther particulars we must refer the reader to the work itself.

The two volumes of "Annotations on the Four Gospels, compiled and abridged for the Use of Students," are attributed, by common fame, to the Rev. Mr. Elsley, a clergyman in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He was encouraged to publish them, we are informed, by his diocesan, who rightly judged that they were calculated to afford valuable assistance to those biblical scholars whose libraries are necessarily on a contracted scale, or who have not leisure to follow the great mass of Scripture commentators in their various and minute disquisitions. We were surprised, however, on examining the list of men of whose labours the author has availed himself, to find several modern writers, domestic as well as foreign, who have eminently distinguished themselves as sacred critics, either entirely overlooked, or but seldom noticed: and in accompanying the author in his plan, we were led occasionally to wish that he had been more liberal in the exercise of his powers of compression. His work, notwithstanding, is entitled to a respectable rank in the class to which it belongs, of learned and useful compilations, and will secure to the author the thanks of the biblical student. The principal commentators from whom he has made his selections, are, Beausobre, Beza, Calmet, Le Clerc, Dupin, Erasmus, Grotius, P. Simon, Lightfoot, Hammond, Whitby, Mill, Doddridge, Bowyer, Owen, and Macknight. Prefixed to the Annotations is a copious introduction, containing much valuable matter, illustrative of the geography and history of the holy land, and whatever relates to the law of Moses, and the rites, customs, and traditions of the Jewish nation; the state and exposition of the text of the New Testament; the dispensation of Christ; the Christian fathers, critics, and ecclesiastical historians, &c. &c.

"The Sacred History of the Life of Jesus Christ, illustrative of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Harwood," is intended to present the young and uninformed with a short view of the order of time in which the events narrated by the several evangelists arose; illustrated with occasional notes. The authorities which he follows are respectable, though he might, with advantage, have increased the number on his list; and his performance is not ill adapted to impress the minds of those for whose use it is designed with a conviction of the authenticity of the evangelical records. Subjoined to the history is an index of parallel passages, which may be consulted with pleasure and profit.

The "Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, &c. by the Rev. Richard Graves, B. D." contains the substance of several discourses delivered in the chapel of Trinity college, Dublin. Its design is to vindicate Christianity from the frequently exploded charge of fanaticism, which modern unbelievers, with little discrimination, and with less modesty, incessantly object against that divine system.

system. The writings of M. Boulanger, published in Switzerland in the year 1791, in which that charge has been preferred, partly in the borrowed language of our English deistical writers, and partly in bolder and more presumptive terms than their school has thought proper to adopt, engaged our author to undertake his praise-worthy task; and he has discharged it in a manner honourable to his abilities as a scholar and logician, and to his feelings as a friend to liberality, candour, and piety. Mr. Graves had divided his work into six chapters, in which he proves; 1st, that the apostles and evangelists were not enthusiasts, because they did not embrace the Christian faith until they had themselves received sufficient evidence of its divine original; 2dly, from their not requiring faith in others without supplying them with sufficient evidence; 3dly, from their general conduct; 4thly and 5thly, from their writings.—The sixth chapter is employed in vindicating the doctrines of the gospel from the charge of enthusiasm. On the calm and dispassionate sceptic, who does not cherish his prejudices because they are prejudices, and who is not indisposed to listen to the still voice of reason, and to weigh the deductions of analogy, this essay is calculated to produce good effects.

Of the contents of the next work which we have to notice, our readers will be able to form some idea from its ample title: it is "Elements of Christian Theology, containing Proofs of the Authenticity and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, a Summary of the History of the Jews, a brief Statement of the Contents of the several Books of the Old and New Testaments, a short account of the English Translations of the Bible, and of the Liturgy of the Church of England, and a Scriptural Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. By George Prettyman, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bi hop of Lincoln; designed principally for the Use of Young Students in Divinity." in 2 volumes. The great deficiency, with respect to professional knowledge, which he frequently found in the candidates for holy orders, suggested to Dr. Prettyman the idea of these Elements; and from that class of persons they merit a grateful reception. Utility being the only object which his lordship had in view, he has not scrupled to borrow from other authors whatever suited his purpose, but with a due care to acknowledge his obligations. From adverting to this circumstance we were not disappointed on not meeting with any new matter in the volumes before us, either in respect to information, argument, or criticism. The subjects which are interesting to believers in revelation in general, whether churchmen or dissenters, occupy the whole of the first and a small portion of the second volume. The remainder of that volume is almost entirely devoted to an exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. In this exposition Dr. Prettyman, as the reader must naturally expect, will be found a zealous advocate for the constitution of the establishment of which he is a prelate, and for the conformity of its articles to the Scriptures, and to the opinions of the early Christians; consequently, to all sectaries, and, in particular, to those who fall short of the standard of orthodox belief, many positions will occur in these volumes, against which they will except, as well as proofs and reasonings which they will pronounce inconclusive or inadmissible. But the bishop's zeal is not mingled with bitte. ness

bitterness against those who recede from the national church; nor does it prevent him from making the acknowledgement, that it has not pleased God "to prescribe any particular form of ecclesiastical polity, as necessary to the attainment of eternal happiness." That "though there must be rules and orders for the proper discharge of the offices of public worship, though there must be fixed regulations concerning the appointment of ministers, &c. these things may vary with the other various circumstances of human society, with the extent of a country, the manners of its inhabitants, the nature of its civil government, and many other peculiarities, which might be specified." His exhortation to the candidates for orders, on the subject of conscientious subscription, redounds greatly to his lordship's honour, and is deserving of their serious attention. But we conceive that the list of books, which he recommends for their use, may be considerably amended; and that it would be so, in no small degree, by the insertion of the bishop of Landaff's collection of Theological Tracts. On the whole, we repeat it, these volumes merit a grateful reception from those for whose use they were principally designed.

The treatise "On the Scriptures, being a View of the Truth and Importance of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Unity of Design and Harmony of Doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, &c. by William Jesse, M. A." is another work which deserves commendation, whether we consider the design with which it was written, or, in general, the spirit in which it is executed. What will be found principally exceptionable in it is an asperity of language applied to sectaries, which is unworthy of the author, and, indeed, inconsistent with his liberal and manly sentiments on the nature of Christian love, in a Visitation Sermon which accompanies this treatise. The object of Mr. Jesse, in this work, is to encourage the study of the Scriptures in the English translation of the Bible. An appreciation of the value of that version, which is in general just, weighty arguments, recommending an attentive perusal of the Scriptures, an exposure of the prejudices which prevent the right understanding of them, free and pointed remarks on the imperfection of the reformation from popery, and on the methods adopted by most, if not all protestant sects, of interpreting the scriptures, a pious concern to guard against every species of abuse which disgraces the profession of Christianity, or degrades what the author conceives to be its important doctrines: these are the principal characteristics of the work before us, and entitle it to serious and respectful notice.

The same author's "Dissertation on the Learning and Inspiration of the Apostles," breathes a warm spirit of piety, and abounds in observations and remarks which richly deserve the attention of the clerical order. To the apostles he is disposed to attribute a greater share of learning than the mass of theologians have been accustomed to connect with their characters, and, of consequence, is less frequently led to ascribe the success of their labours to supernatural aid, than those who adopt a different hypothesis. But when the circumstances appear to him to warrant it, he by no means hesitates to resolve their instructions and advices into the effects of divine superintendency and direction. The deductions which

h he draws from his review
ıe history of the apostles, of
education, learning, and inspi-
n, are highly serious and im-
ınt, as are, likewise, his remarks
he influence of popular dis-
ses, delivered by men of talents,
in responsible situations in the
ch.

he treatise entitled "Deism
ıted, and Revelation Vindica-
; in three Parts, &c. by James
th," is a well-written, argu-
ıtative, and pleasing popular
k, on the subject of the deisti-
controversy, and will be of use
those young persons who have
leisure or opportunity for con-
ting larger publications on the
dences of revelation.

Mr. Cowe's little work "On the
vantages which result from
ristianity, and on the Influence
Christian Principles on the Mind
d Conduct," is chiefly practical.
is plain and impressive in its
m, and in its tendency proper
be classed among the defences of
e Christian revelation, founded on
intrinsic excellence and opera-
ve influence.

In our Register for the year 1780,
e announced the appearance of a
spectable little work, by Mr.
homas Barker, entitled "The
lessiah." We have now to ap-
rise our readers of the publication,
y the same author, of "The
cripture Doctrine of the Messiah;
'art II; being an Attempt, by an
mpartial View of the whole Evi-
ence, to determine which of the
)pinions concerning him, of those
vho are really Believers in Chris-
ianity, is the truest." This work,
lthough a continuation of a trea-
ise on the evidences of Christianity,
belongs more properly to the head
of polemical theology, as the reader
will conclude from the title. It is
distinguished by learning, candour
and modesty, and is chiefly em-
ployed in establishing, on the autho-
rity of Scripture alone, the middle
opinion, that the Son is inferior to
God, but superior to all other be-
ings, in contradistinction from the
notions of both of the Athanasians
and Socinians.

In our Register for the year 1796,
we inserted in our catalogue the
title and character of Mr. Hollis's
"Sober and Serious Reasons for
Scepticism." During the present
year that author has published "An
Apology for the Disbelief of Re-
vealed Religion; being a Sequel to"
the preceding Treatise. Indepen-
dently of such common objections
as fall under our concluding remark
in the volume above mentioned,
we were not a little surprised to
find that the author should, even by
implication, adduce the existence of
the African slave-trade, carried on
by people calling themselves Chris-
tians, as an argument against Chris-
tianity, because it is an evil which
has obtained only since that religion
has become known. Might he not,
with equal justice, allege against it
every other civil and moral out-
rage on the rights and feelings of
mankind, which has originated in
what is called the Christian world
since the reign of the emperor
Constantine? Might he not, with
equal fairness and weight, in point
of argument, (we do not put the
question ludicrously) ascribe to it
the fatal ravages of that disease,
which, many writers contend, the
Christian navigator, Columbus, im-
ported from America?

The "Letter to Three convert-
ed Jews, lately baptised and con-
firmed in the Church of England,"
is generally attributed to Mr. Jones
of Nayland, the biographer and
friend of the late bishop Horne,
and

and the fellow-disciple of that prelate in the Hutchinsonian school of theology. Independently, however, of some notions and phraseology peculiar to the author's class of religionists, within and without the establishment, this letter contains some able and satisfactory arguments to prove the Mosaic dispensation to be abolished, and the temporal expectations of the unbelieving Jews unwarranted, as well as pertinent and useful advice to the new converts.

By the last-mentioned author, likewise, hath been published, "A Discourse on the Rise and Intention of some remarkable Passages of the Scriptures not commonly understood; addressed to the Readers of a Course of Lectures on the figurative Language of the Holy Scriptures." The object of this work is to develop their supposed secret meaning, and to give a spiritual sense to some of the miraculous facts, of which an account is recorded in the Old and New Testaments. Seldom have we met with comments on sacred writ, founded on this mode of interpretation, which have not appeared to us to be highly "strange and visionary;" and those of the present author our judgments are incapable of distinguishing from this class. But the more fanciful and extraordinary they may appear to common understandings, the greater will be the satisfaction with which they will be received by those readers for whose edification they were chiefly designed.

With very different impressions from those created by the last-mentioned treatise did we peruse "Six Essays on Theological, to which are added Two on Moral, Subjects, by Thomas Ludlam, A. M." In our Register for the year 1797, we had the opportunity of introducing to our readers four essays by the same author, which we considered to be well calculated to oppose checks to the progress of fanaticism; such, likewise, is the tendency of some of the well-written pieces which compose the tract before us; and in others of them inquiries are pursued, of an interesting and important nature, on various religious and moral subjects. The first essay is on the word Truth, as used in the scriptures of the New Testament; the second treats of the terms Revelation and Inspiration, the third on the expression, "Christ being made a curse for us;" the fourth is on the nature of the Divine Being, as discoverable from his works or his word; the *fifth* essay is on the nature of human authority, considered as a proof of the truth of opinions, with remarks on Dr. Knox's Christian Philosophy; the sixth treats of the effects of the fall; the seventh discusses the difference between the powers and dispositions of the human mind; the eighth essay is on the nature and grounds of moral obligation; in which Dr. Paley's notion of the moral sense, advanced in his Lectures on Morality, is fully considered. These essays are distinguished by great liberality of sentiment, clearness and precision of ideas, and coolness of judgment; and, notwithstanding that we cannot always concur with the author in opinion, we think the mode of reasoning which he follows peculiarly adapted for the discovery of truth, and recommend it to the serious attention of religious controversialists.

The treatise intitled "Christian Institutes, &c. designed for Families, Students, and others, by a Clergyman of the Church of England," considered as a popular work,

is

is not injudiciously planned, and is executed in a manner which, on the whole, is favourable to the object of the author. That object was, "to bring into a short compass the most material points of doctrine in our creeds, &c. by the aid of such approved authorities and commentaries as the editor conceived might safely be relied on; that from hence a proper insight might be obtained into the principles of the Christian belief and practice; and that the reader might proceed with greater advantage, afterwards, to works of fuller illustration, and to expositions of a superior rank and character." To those members of our established church, who complain that the greater part of expositions and commentaries on the Creed and Common Prayer are either too learned, too prolix, or too expensive, for their use, these Institutes will prove an acceptable present.

"The Pastoral Care, by the late Alexander Gerard, D. D. F. R. S. E. Professor of Divinity in the University and King's College of Aberdeen, &c. published by his Son and Successor, Gilbert Gerard, D. D. &c." is a work of very considerable merit, which serious clergymen, of all persuasions, will read with pleasure and improvement.—The general divisions of the work are, the importance of the pastoral charge, its duties, and the qualifications requisite for the performance of those duties. These divisions are branched out into a variety of subdivisions, too numerous to be distinctly noticed by us, which comprehend much valuable instruction and advice relative to every part of the ministerial office, delivered in chaste and pleasing language, which breathes "a spirit of rational and elevated piety, and is marked by that candour and moderation which distinguished the author's character." Notwithstanding the numerous treatises which have been sent into the world under similar titles, or having the same object in view with that before us, we cannot but congratulate the clerical order, and, in particular, candidates for the ministry, that Dr. Gerard's Pastoral Care is now to be added to the list.

"The Importance of Religion considered, and the relative Duties inculcated, with Meditations, occasional Prayers, and Hymns," is the title of a little work designed to impress on young minds the principles of piety and virtue. In forming his plan the author seems to have benefited by Melmoth's excellent treatise on the Importance of a religious Life, and some of the earlier publications of the late Rev. William Law. Independently of some systematic notions and expressions which occur in it, we conceive it to be useful and deserving of recommendation.

Dr. Duncan's "Miscellaneous Essays, Naval, Moral, Political, and Divine," partake more of a temporal and heroic than of a spiritual and theological spirit, and are to be classed with the martial sermons and political harangues in which the present times have proved so fruitful.

Dr. Peers' "Minutiæ; or Little Things for the Poor of Christ's Flock;" under a quaint title, which may possibly recommend it to the description of readers for whom it is designed, consists of short meditations, founded on various texts of Scripture, which abound in effusions of ardent piety and pure Calvinism. The author's turns of thought and expression are frequently as peculiar as his title.

"Christ precious to those who believe,

believe, a Practical Treatise on Faith and Love, by John Fawcett, A.M." with many of the peculiar sentiments, and much of the appropriate phraseology, of the puritanical school, contains a fund of serious observations and useful reflections, by which every believer may profit. The position which the former part of the author's title implies is fundamentally Christian and Catholic. May no discordances, infallible human opinion, prevent those who hold it from showing the genuineness of their faith by their love!

Although differing widely from the author in some of his leading positions and incidental sentiments, we cannot but bestow our applause on the design and generally useful tendency of "The Christian Monitor for the Last Days, or a Caution to the professedly Religious against the Corruptions of the latter Times, in Doctrine, Discipline, and Morals, by John Owen, M.A." In the theological and political opinions which occur in this treatise Mr. Owen coincides with Mr. Wilberforce in his "Practical View," and the principles of that support which he affords to the measures of administration, and is a fervent and zealous advocate on their behalf. But what calls for our approbation, is the affectionate warmth with which he admonishes his readers against the scepticism and religious indifference of the times, the ardour with which he enforces an attention to the exercises of social worship and family devotion, and the inseparable connection which he uniformly supposes and maintains, of the moral duties of life, with genuine religious feelings. The greater part of the exhortations and reasonings of the Christian Monitor on these topics do honour to the author's head and heart.

Mr. Palmer, in his "Apology for the Christian Sabbath, &c. intended as a Defence of 'a Practical View, &c. by William Wilberforce, Esq." maintains the doctrine held by the last-mentioned gentleman respecting the obligation to the observance of the sabbath, as one of the institutions appointed by our Lord in his church, in opposition to those who contend that, by the introduction of the Christian dispensation, all sabbaths were abolished, together with the other rites and institutions of the Jewish ceremonial law. We cannot, however, pronounce the author victorious in the controversy. The precise point in question is very remote from that of the expediency and moral advantages of separating a particular day for rest and religious exercises. The example of the apostles and primitive Christians, and the practice of succeeding times, have humanely and wisely concurred in sanctioning such an appointment. Some of our author's hints, respecting the proper manner of spending such a day, may be perused with advantage.

Dr. Knox, in his "Considerations on the Nature and Efficacy of the Lord's Supper," has exhausted his learning and ingenuity in an attempt to support the modern semi-papistical notion of that rite, that it is a feast upon a sacrifice: but his arguments weigh light in our estimation, when opposed to those of some of the most distinguished dignitaries of our church, in favour of its being simply a commemorative act; and we could not repress our pity, while perusing his work, to observe the disrespect with which he has treated their memories, and the indirect insinuations which he has

has suffered to disgrace his pages, of their infidelity, or secret enmity to the establishment of which they were members, while he piously declines to sit in judgement on them.

The "Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. on the Doctrine of Hereditary Depravity, by a Layman," contains a very masterly refutation of that shocking notion, which represents man to be no better than a demon, and virtually accuses his Maker of injustice and malignancy. The author has examined and tried the subject in every point of view, and, by the satisfactory testimony of Scripture, fairly explained, and the clearest and most weighty reasonings, not entirely unmixed with gentle sarcasm, vindicated the honour of the wise and perfect governor of the world, and established the responsibility of the human character on the only ground that is tenable. We warmly recommend the serious perusal of his Letter, not only to those who have adopted the gloomy hypothesis of Mr. Wilberforce, but to those also who have conceived prejudices against revelation, because they suppose that it countenances an opinion so revolting to reason and sensibility.

Mr. Daubeny, in "An Appendix to 'the Guide to the Church,' in 2 vols." enters into a full and minute defence of the principles advanced in that work, in an answer to objections brought against them by Sir Richard Hill, bart. in his letters addressed to the author, under the title of "An Apology for Brotherly Love." In our last year's Register we announced the appearance of both the above-mentioned publications, and adverted to the principal topics in debate between these opponents. With respect to the Appendix before us, we have to remark, that besides a repetition and enlargement of the author's former reasonings in favour of our ecclesiastical establishment, and against the sin of schism, it contains a well-written and ingenious vindication of the Arminian sense of the thirty-nine articles, and a very able defence of the serious charges preferred in his postscript against those clergymen and laymen of the church of England who violate, without scruple, the rules of canonical obedience. We think, however, that our author, with advantage to his arguments, might have compressed them into a much narrower compass, and that they would not have been less forcible, nor less relevant to the main points in discussion, if they had been entirely unmixed with the language of modern politics. The general temper, as well as spirit of piety, which pervade these volumes, it would be unjust not to notice with approbation and praise.

Dr. Barry's "Friendly Call of Truth and Reason to a new Species of Dissenters," is chiefly addressed to some of the inhabitants of Reading, in Berkshire, who, after having been for some time instructed by a Calvinistical clergyman, formed themselves into a separate congregation, on his being succeeded by a minister in whose discourses the doctrines of predestination and election were not inculcated. From what we have been enabled to learn respecting the nature of the schism above-mentioned, it appears to be composed of the class of men who fall under the reprehension of Mr. Daubeny, and who are, certainly, much greater objects of jealousy to all well-wishers to our national establishment than those who are dissenters on

on principle, from its code of doctrines or of discipline. What effect has been produced on them, or any of them, by our author's serious and well-meant address, we have not been informed.

The "Vindication of the Church of England, intended as a Refutation of the Arguments advanced by Mr. Towgood in support of the Principles on which he grounds his Dissent, by T. Andrews," is written with a zeal in the cause for which he is an advocate, which cannot be said to have been exceeded by that of any preceding author in the same controversy. Many, however, have entered more fully and closely into the fundamental questions in debate between churchmen and separatists, and have argued with greater force and point on behalf of the establishment. It would not be repugnant to Mr. Andrews's feelings, nor, as he conceives, to the spirit of Christ and his apostles, were some of our dormant statutes called into action, which ordain wholesome severities for those who "declare or speak any thing to the derogation, depraving, or despising the book of Common Prayer, &c."

Some expressions in an "unpublished Charge of the Bishop of Salisbury to the Clergy of his Diocese," which, according to the report made of them in the Salisbury Journal, conveyed complaint of the assiduity of the dissenters in gaining proselytes, and of the principles which they inculcated, gave rise to a local controversy, in which several pamphlets appeared, written with ability and spirit, not to say acrimony, on both sides of the question. The greater part of them, however, abounding more in political than theological discussion, and not being entirely free from invidious personalities, do neither require nor merit particular notice in our annual catalogue. The most important of them were, "A Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury in Defence of the injured and insulted Cause of the Dissenting Interest," by a gentleman of the name of Wansey; "Remarks" on that Letter, by a Country Curate; "A Rowland for an Oliver," addressed to Mr. Wansey by a gentleman, under the signature of G. W.; and "Rights of Discussion, or a Vindication of Dissenters of every Denomination, with a Review of the Controversy, &c. to which are added, Hints for Pastoral Charges, by a Friend to religious and civil liberty."

Mr. Kingsbury, in his "Apology for Village-Preachers, or an Account of the Proceedings and Motives of Protestant Dissenters, and serious Christians of other Denominations, in their Attempts to suppress Infidelity and Vice, and to spread vital Religion in Country-Places, especially where the Means of pious Instruction among the Poor are rare," fully vindicates the description of persons above mentioned from the charge preferred against them, either by ignorance, prejudice, or malignant calumny, that the chief object which they have in view is of a political and insidious, not of a religious nature, and at the same time satisfactorily explains what are the causes which they wish to diffuse. In some animadversions which accompany it, on an anonymous "Appeal to the People," on the subject of his Apology, he discovers considerable superiority in point of information, argument, and temper, over his angry opponent.

In this part of our work we think it most proper to insert the title of Mr. Rowland Hill's "Journal of a Tour through the North of England and Part of Scotland, with Remarks on the present State of the

Established Church of Scotland, l the different Secessions thereon, together with Reflections on ne Party Distinctions in England; igned to promote Brotherly Love d Forbearance among Christians all Denominations: also some marks upon the Propriety of iat is called Lay and Itinerant eaching." This publication is ritten much in the strain of the urnals of the author's great preursors in the cause of methodism, hitfield and Wesley. To us it s afforded amusement: but by e class of Christians with whom r. Hill is connected in sentiment id familiarity, it will be perused ith more favourable and delightul impressions. Many incidental emarks which occur in it will proke the animadversions of ecclesiastics, in and out of the establishents on both sides of the Tweed.

Dr. Jamieson, in his "Remarks n the 'Rev. Rowland Hill's Journal, &c.' in a Letter to the Auhor," with much ability, and in a ommendable spirit of candour and Christian moderation, defends the rinciples and practice of the seeders from the northern established church against the strictures of our eccentric tourist. His observations, likewise, on that author's reflections n itinerant and lay preaching, if hey may not be thought satisfactorily to explode the benefits and policy of such missions for the propagation of the gospel at home, are not devoid of shrewd and just remarks.

The "Serious Considerations on the Signatures of Testimonials for Holy Orders," are perfectly congruous with the title which they bear, and well deserve the attention of those clergymen to whom candidates may apply for the certificates necessary previously to their being examined for ordination.

In our last year's Register we introduced to our readers Mr. King's "Remarks on the Signs of the Times:" during the present year that respectable author has published "a Supplement" to the foregoing work, with many additional remarks. These additional remarks are founded on some passages in the second book of Esdras, considered in connection with some of the predictions of Zephaniah and Zechariah, and, particularly, with the 18th chapter of Isaiah. In the quotations which he adduces from these authorities, according to the construction which he puts on their language, Mr. King is satisfied that the French expedition to Egypt, and the circumstances to which it has given rise, are clearly foretold, as events which are to precede the restoration of the Jews to their own country. The sense which the author has given to the prophetic language of Isaiah occasioned the criticisms of Dr. Horsley, of which we have made mention in a former article. In an Appendix to these 'Remarks,' Mr. King employs himself in correcting the misconceptions which have been entertained concerning his meaning in his last year's production, particularly in what he said relative to such discoveries in natural history and philosophy, and such recent political events, as appeared to him to be the leading features of the times designated in the book of Revelation, by the emblem of the pouring forth of the seventh vial.

"History the Interpreter of Prophecy, or a View of scriptural Prophecies and their Accomplishment in the past and present Occurrences of the World, with Conjec-

Conjectures respecting their future Completion, by Henry Kett, B. D." in 3 vols. is the title of a work of considerable merit and importance. Independently of some opinions and reasonings originating in systematic theology and modern politics, it contains much matter which deserves the serious notice of every believer in divine revelation, of every person who is disposed to be sceptical, but who has sufficient manliness and impartiality to inquire before he definitively forms his judgment. The first volume consists of a detail of the most important prophecies from the creation of the world to the destruction of Jerusalem, with an abridged view, according to the most improved interpreters, of the events which illustrate their accomplishment: the second and third volumes are devoted to an illustration of the prophecies relating to an Antichristian power, which the author distinctly applies to popery, Mahometanism, and infidelity. On the manner in which the latter branch of the Antichristian power is acting, and is to act, Mr. Kett expatiates throughout a considerable part of the third volume. The work concludes with the consideration of such predictions as, in the author's judgment, refer to the restoration of the Jews to their own land, and their conversion to Christianity: the general diffusion of the gospel; the final triumph of our Lord over all his enemies; and the universal happiness which is to take place under his glorious reign. Those readers who may not accord with Mr. Kett in many of his constructions, who may think that he is sometimes too limited, and at other times too assuming, in his application of the term Antichristian power, or who may conceive that, in forming his opinions respecting the speedy accomplishment of some of the enigmatical predictions of scripture, he has been determined by the hypotheses which he had previously devised, will, nevertheless, find much to interest and gratify them in the work before us.

The "Discourses of the Hon. and Rev. William Bromley Cadogan, A.M. late Rector of St. Luke's, Chelsea, &c. to which are now added, Short Observations on the Lord's Prayer, and Letters to several of his Friends, &c. with Memoirs of his Life, by Richard Cecil, A. M." will be an acceptable present to Calvinistical methodists, and to those professed members of the established church who are followers of such preachers as have assumed to themselves the modest title of awakened clergy. They breathe throughout an ardent devotional spirit, and they exhibit instances of great aptness and facility in the application of scriptural language, to illustrate or to enforce the author's peculiar tenets. Mr. Cecil's praises on the character and excellencies of his deceased friend are bestowed with a freedom which at least borders on profusion.

The "Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity: four by the late Rev. John Fell, of Homerton, and eight by Henry Hunter, D. D." offer to the reader very different specimens of pulpit compositions. Mr. Fell's Lectures are distinguished by plainness, perspicuity, and energy of style; Dr. Hunter's by that luxuriance of language, fireliness of declamation, and happy use of the interrogatory form of address, which are the well known characteristics of his popular discourses.

courses. A considerable part of Mr. Fell's lectures is employed in corroborating the evidence for Christianity, by authorities drawn from the Jewish Targums. We cannot think that in so doing he has called to the aid of his sacred cause any very powerful auxiliaries. Dr. Hunter's lectures are chiefly devoted to the elucidation of such proofs in support of the cause which he espouses, as are supplied by its internal evidence, its beneficial influence, and the superior value of the information which it conveys with respect to futurity.

Mr. Malham's "Twenty-two Sermons on doctrinal and practical Subjects," vol. II. with the exception of a political discourse, preached on the 30th of January, and two concluding ones on the Nativity and on the Trinity, are employed in explaining and enforcing such moral and religious topics as are of general concern and importance. The author's method is familiar and persuasive, his observations and remarks serious and useful, and his language simple and unaffected. The first volume of Mr. Malham's sermons was announced in our Register for the year 1792.

Mr. Bidlake's "Sermons on various Subjects," vol. II. are also to be referred to that class of public discourses, which, in their matter, are most unexceptionable and beneficial, and in their form and language, excepting, occasionally, when the author's poetical turn may be thought to have given to his prose too florid a cast, well adapted to produce the benevolent and pious effects designed by the preacher. "Practical piety, and the indispensable duties of morality, on the animating and steady principle of rational faith," are the subjects on which he has employed his pen, studiously avoiding every thing of a controversial nature. The first volume of this gentleman's sermons has escaped our notice.

The "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1798," at the Bampton Lecture, "by the Rev. Charles Henry Hall, B. D." are ushered into the world with very modest pretensions, the author professing only to attempt "to bring under one view, and to render generally intelligible, topics and arguments, which, in the writings of our best and ablest divines, have long ago been separately and thoroughly examined." They discover, notwithstanding, that comprehensive acquaintance with his subject, that judgment in selecting the most important points and circumstances which demanded elucidation, and that precision and perspicuity in the arrangement of his materials, and the deduction of his conclusions, which entitle the author to a very respectable rank among the Bampton lecturers. These sermons are nine in number, and are employed in pointing out "the previous steps, by which God Almighty gradually prepared the way for the introduction and promulgation of the gospel."

Dr. Barrow, in his "Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1799," at the Bampton Lecture, has deviated from the plan adopted by most of his predecessors, of pursuing some general argument through a connected series of discourses, and has chosen to examine the force of the common and popular objections against Revelation, in detached sermons, on single and distinct topics. His object has been "to reduce the substance of more learned disquisitions into more familiar forms, and to compress them into a narrower

compass; to collect from every quarter such arguments as appear the most apposite and decisive; and to present them recommended, if not by eloquence and erudition, at least by modesty and candour; if not by their depth and novelty, at least by their conciseness and perspicuity." Considered in these points of view, Dr. Barrow's sermons are drawn up with ability, judgment, and classical taste, and offer "to the young, the gay, and uninformed," considerations and reflections, which, in the present times, are peculiarly worthy of their attention, and delivered in impressive and conciliating language.

While perusing the collection of "Sermons on various Subjects, by the Rev. Richard Graves, M. A. &c." the members of the same profession with the author may derive much useful advice and admonition from a discourse which it contains on the clerical character. The distinction between religion and superstition, the subject of miracles, submission to the existing powers, and different moral topics, are discussed in the remaining part of the volume. On these various subjects Mr. Graves has delivered numerous judicious observations and important remarks, in a style and language, which, in general, deserve to be commended for perspicuity, ease, and correctness.

The "Sermons on various Subjects, by the Rev. Richard Marshall, A. B." possess the recommendations of good sense, pious animation, and an undeviating tendency to produce virtuous and useful impressions. Such recommendations entitle them to a better reception than if their sole merit rested on profundity and ingenuity of thought, or a more studied attention than the author has shown to the graces of composition.

The two volumes of "Family Sermons, by the Rev. E. W. Whitaker," are partly doctrinal and partly practical. In the doctrinal discourses the author undertakes to illustrate and maintain some of the mysteries of the established creed, the apostolic constitution of the English church, and the excellence of its liturgy. The practical sermons enforce the duties of piety, public devotion, family religion, and our general duties as men and Christians. Of the author's zealous attachment to the best interests of mankind, and sincere endeavours to promote them, no person can entertain the least doubt, who has perused the volumes before us. We cannot apply terms of praise to the style and language in which they are written.

The "Discourses on several Subjects, delivered in the English Church at the Hague, by Archibald Maclaine, D. D. &c." are pleasing specimens of those public addresses, which, for a long period, secured to the author considerable reputation, as an eloquent and useful preacher. One of them is devoted to a controversial subject; another is political, and was intended, although in vain, to excite among the Dutch a spirit of union and energy against the French, and in defence of the stadtholderian dignity and power. The rest of these discourses are taken up in explaining and enforcing the important practical truths and duties of religion. Among the numerous publications by our English divines of a similar discription, which are universally allowed to reflect honour on English literature, the discourses before us most certainly deserve to be mentioned in very

very respectful terms. The sentiments which they inculcate are judicious, pious, and benevolent; the remarks which occur in them are frequently highly instructive and interesting; and the language in which they are delivered is always neat and easy, and often animated and energetic.

The volume of "Discourses preached on several Occasions, by John Erskine, D. D. &c." is another publication which does honour to the talents and to the piety of the respectable author. It will not entitle him, indeed, to an exalted station among those popular orators whose compositions are distinguished by their superior correctness and elegance; but it will secure to him a respectable place in the class of judicious, serious, and instructive divines. Some of these discourses relate to the qualifications necessary for Christian teachers, the duties of the pastoral office, and other collateral subjects, and may be perused with profit both by the clergy and the laity. Others contain free, but candid, strictures on abuses in the constitution and practice of the northern ecclesiastical establishment, of which the author is a member. The remaining discourses, which compose the volume before us, are on miscellaneous subjects, and contain many valuable observations and useful interesting remarks.

The volume of "Sermons, by Edmund Butcher," has been published in compliance with the wishes of several members of a protestant dissenting congregation in London, to whom the author ministered in holy things for some years, until an infirm state of health obliged him to relinquish his pastoral connections with them. In the selection of his subjects, the author has judiciously confined himself to such as are of a practical and useful tendency; and his manner of treating these is pious, affectionate, and impressive. Occasionally his remarks and reflections possess more novelty and animation than we perceive in the common collections of this description. Subjoined to the sermons is a number of hymns, suited to the respective subjects discussed.

From among the numerous single sermons and charges of the year 1799, we can only select a very few for particular notice, which come recommended either by the peculiarity of the occasions on which they were delivered, the excellence of their matter, or the celebrity of their authors. In this number is "a Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, on Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1799, by Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham." This excellent discourse we insert with the higher degree of pleasure in our Catalogue, because, unlike the greater part of Fast Sermons which have been published for some years past, it is not composed of political declamation, or adapted to kindle or maintain either a spirit of national pride or of implacable resentment, but is, in sentiment and language, judiciously and piously suited to a day of public humiliation and repentance. From Luke, xiii. 1—5, the worthy prelate takes occasion to enforce the doctrine, "that Almighty God, in the dispensation of corrective evil which he is pleased to carry on in this world, punishes some in order to afford a warning to others; that, if those others do not take warning by the example, they shall assuredly fall by the same hands; incur, not perhaps in the same manner, but the same destruction, as they have seen inflicted; that the thus taking warn-

ing to themselves is the proper, the intended use and application of every signal calamity which comes to pass before their eyes; and, lastly, that, in a religious view, this is the only use that we are authorised to make of them." In applying this doctrine to the occasion on which his auditory was assembled, his lordship, with becoming freedom and dignity, reproaches the present age with having not made a proper improvement of the warnings of Providence, points out the notorious and incontestible proofs of the degeneracy and insensibility of the times, and, with much energy, calls for those changes in the religious dispositions of men's minds, and those fruits of genuine repentance without which we cannot expect the protection and blessing of the Almighty. For the sake of our Jerusalem, we wish that the venerable author may not have reason to exclaim with the prophet, "Who hath believed our report? and, to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?"

The "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, in the Years 1798 and 1799, by the Right Rev. Beilby, Lord Bishop of that Diocese," we have not been able to read with an entire acquiescence in all the opinions and positions of the author. We cannot believe with his lordship, "that there are societies among us instituted for the very purpose of propagating infidelity and profligacy through the island, more especially among the lower ranks of the people," since we have not a shadow of evidence for their existence stronger than what is supplied by the dreams and reveries of the ex-jesuit abbé Barruel; nor can we assent to his statement, that the circulation of such tracts as Paine's Age of Reason, and other infidel productions, must be attributed to "the combined efforts of a considerable body of men, united together for the purpose of corrupting the morals, and perverting the principles, of the people, and contributing each their share of labour and expense to so honourable and meritorious an undertaking;" partly because that statement is equally destitute of rational support with the article of belief above mentioned, and partly because we perceive no difficulty in accounting for such a circulation on natural and credible grounds. It may be resolved into the curiosity excited by the revival of a controversy, which had almost lain dormant for more than half a century, and which, besides, came recommended in a dress peculiarly adapted to catch the attention of the uninformed, the unthinking, and the unprincipled; and its extensiveness may in a considerable measure be accounted for, from the prosecutions which held them out to greater public notice than they would otherwise have obtained, and gave them and their authors a degree of popularity, which, if left to themselves, we do not think it possible for them to have acquired. We have no hesitation, however, in admitting, with his lordship, that the cause of infidelity has many well-wishers in these kingdoms, some of whom would not be very scrupulous in subserving its interests, *per fas aut nefas*: and we entertain apprehensions that, from the peculiar circumstances of the times, it is not at present a declining cause. We think, therefore, that Dr. Porteus has very honourably and usefully discharged one branch of his episcopal office, by the weight and fervour of his exhortations to his clergy,

to

be upon the watch against the ersaries of our holy faith; and the excellence and value of the ater part of the means which he ints out, for effectually counter- ting their hostile attempts. What says, in particular, on the subject the most prevalent impediments revelation; on that of private hortations for the purpose of moving the doubts of persons aggered in their religious prin- ples, and on the high import- nce of setting before their flocks atterns of good and exemplary ondnct, is deserving of the most erious consideration of the clerical rder.

The "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chichester, at the primary Visitation of that Diocese, in the Year 1798, by John, Lord Bishop of Chichester," con- tains excellent pastoral advice and admonition, relative to the necessary qualifications for, and the proper discharge of, the peculiar duties of the clerical office. When adverting to the former, the bishop, w th great propriety, recommends to his brethren a particular attention to the study of the Scriptures in their original languages, together with that of the laws, manners, doctrines, traditions, and history, of the Jews, and of the Christian ecclesiastical history from the apostolic times to the present. While enforcing on them the peculiar duties of their ministerial appointment, his lord- ship dwells, with earnestness, on two topics of unspeakable import- ance in respect to the influence and usefulness of the clergy; parochial residence, and catechetical lectures. In the censures which he passes on the negligence and disobedience to the canons of the church, which some clergymen discover with re- spect to these and some other points of conduct and character, to which he ascribes much of the depravity which is visible in the world, the bishop of Chichester uses much freedom and plainness of remark; but not more than the subjects war- ranted, and the circumstances of the present period loudly demand. Upon the whole, this charge de- serves to be ranked amongst the most serious and useful which have of late years proceeded from our episcopal bench.

In the department of Philoso- phy and Ethics, distinctly con- sidered, we do not recollect any publication which demands inser- tion in our annual list, except- ing "Ancient Metaphysics," vol. VI. This volume, which is entirely theological, is the last publication which lord Monboddo lived to finish, and contains his demonstra- tion of the being and attributes of God. Our readers have been made fully acquainted with the general character of our author's metaphy- sical labours, in the accounts which we have at different times laid be- fore them, to which we have given a reference in our Register for the year 1797. The multifarious mat- ter in the volume before us, which is intended to establish the argument *à priori*, on the principles of the ancient philosophy, and with a per- fect contempt of that of the mo- derns, who have not derived "their learning from Egypt, the parent country of all arts and sciences;" the peculiar and well known strain of the author's reasoning, and the equally well known singularity of his speculations, will sufficiently justify us in barely announcing the appearance of the present volume. Out of proper respect, however, to the author's memory, we must add, that the theological notions reflect honour on his piety and on his phi- lanthropy.

The "Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations, &c. by James Mackintosh, Esq." although partly of an ethical nature, relates chiefly to the science of jurisprudence, and has therefore been reserved by us for the list of treatises under the head of Government, Law, and Political Economy. It is introductory to a course of lectures delivered in Lincoln's-Inn Hall, during the present year, in pursuance of an order of the honourable society of that inn, from which a numerous attendance received very high gratification. It contains an outline of the plan designed to be filled up in those lectures; and whether considered in point of matter, or composition, is highly honourable to the learning, talents, and fine taste, of the author. Our outline of that outline must necessarily be inadequate to convey to our readers any proper idea of its merits: but it will enable them to form some judgment of the rich variety of entertainment which Mr. Mackintosh provided for his auditors, in tracing the connexion that subsists "between the most abstract and elementary maxims of moral philosophy, and the most complicated controversies of civil or public law." After some preliminary observations, he enters into a brief history of the progress and present state of the science which he has undertaken to illustrate, and enumerates, and characterises the ablest writers on the subject; paying to Grotius, who, by the advice of lord Bacon and Peiresc, first reduced the law of nations to a system, an eloquent and animated tribute of applause. In the next place our author details the plan of his lectures, which is divided into six parts: in the first, he proposes to give a simple and intelligible account of the powers and operations of the human mind. In the second, he intends to treat of the duties of private men towards each other, considered apart from the sanction of positive law. The third part is to be employed in considering man under the important relations of subjects and sovereign, or, in other words, of citizen and magistrate; under which will be investigated the forms and peculiarities of the most celebrated governments of ancient and modern times, concluding with those of the English constitution. The fourth division of the author's subject is to consist of a discussion of the general principles of civil and criminal law, and a comparison of the codes of Rome and of England. In the fifth part, Mr. Mackintosh proposes to treat of the laws of nations, strictly and properly so called; and in the sixth, of the diplomatic and conventional laws of Europe, exemplified in treaties, compacts, &c. with a view of their principles and of their consequences. We have been the more diffuse in our notice of this introductory discourse, on account of the importance and magnitude of the author's undertaking, and the promise which the work before us, and the author's well known abilities, afford, of a vast fund of instruction and entertainment, which, we hope, will not be confined to the attendants at Lincoln's-Inn Hall.

"The Politician's Creed, or Political Extracts, being an Answer to these Questions, What is the best Form of Government? What is the best Administration of Government? by a Lover of Social Order," vol. III. is the continuation of a work announced by us in our Registers for the years 1794, and 1795. It is now generally understood, that the ingenious Dr. Thornton, well-

known

own by other spirited publications, is the compiler of these volumes. In that now before us, such useful matter has been selected from some of our ablest political writers, and accompanied with a greater proportion of original observations and reflections, than in the author's volume last noticed by us; which will contribute to throw light on topics intimately connected with the improvement and welfare of society. The execution of the present volume, likewise, has considerably tended to redeem the good opinion which we expressed on the appearance of the first specimen of Dr. Thornton's labours in this patriotic undertaking. Among other subjects discussed in it are, the severity of our penal laws; penitentiary houses; the employment of convicts; transportation; the prevention of crimes; police; receiving of stolen goods; the receiving of base money; beggings; public establishments for the poor; the administration of justice with respect to the poor; slavery, &c.

In our Register for the year 1796 we noticed, in terms of that disapprobation which we shall ever express for them, the very censurable opinions attempted to be propagated by the author of "Thoughts on the English Government, addressed to the Quiet, Good Sense of the People of England;" and intimated that the parliament, in detestation of them, had chosen to subject the author, John Reeves, Esq. to a criminal prosecution. In our account of the Principal Occurrences of the year 1796, we have given a relation of the result of that prosecution, and of the condemnation passed on the work by an English jury; who, at the same time, taking into their consideration the whole form and phrasing of the indictment, and not being convinced that the author wrote and published with a seditious intention, very properly delivered a verdict of, 'not guilty.' During the present year Mr. Reeves, either not having the fear of public shame before his eyes, or commendably influenced by a zealous adherence to what he deems to be truth, of high political and patriotic importance, has published "Letter the Second," under the same title, in vindication of the principles avowed in the former letter. In this publication he does not retract any of the offensive expressions which had drawn on him public resentment, but endeavours to support the doctrines which they imply, by an appeal to the language used in the forms of pleadings in our courts of justice, and a curious construction of the words of courtesy in all statutes and acts of parliament, declaring them to be enacted by the king, by and with the advice and consent of his parliament. His reasonings on these grounds appear to us to be equally weighty with the quibbling which we have occasionally heard from advocates for a bad cause, in our law courts, or with the serious argument which we remember to have been used by Sir James Marriot, to prove that America was represented in the British parliament, viz. that in some old charters, or grants, it was described to be a part or parcel of the manor of Greenwich, within the county of Kent. The facts which Mr. Reeves adduces from the English history in corroboration of his reasonings, are twisted and bent, so as to be accommodated to the author's theory, with all the skill and ingenuity of an experienced professional pleader. But they do not afford him "a firm footing for establishing" his favourite opinions, and

"for exposing the notions that are vented as revolution-principles," by the consistent disciples of the whig school.

In the judgement above expressed we are ably supported by Dr. Woodeson, many years Vinerian Professor in the university of Oxford, in his "Brief Vindication of the Rights of the British Legislature, in Answer to some Positions advanced in a Pamphlet entitled, Thoughts, &c. Letter the Second." The arguments in this treatise, although confined within a narrow compass, are weighty and satisfactory; and prove, from the authorities themselves to which Mr. Reeves makes his appeal, that his doctrines respecting the power of the king and the two houses of lords and commons, particularly in the enacting or making laws, are not congenial with "the essential, legal, and operative words" of our statutes, considered in their true meaning, nor with the genuine spirit of the British constitution since the period when, according to Blackstone, it had arrived to its full vigour.

We do not consider the "Thoughts on the English Government, &c. Letter the Third," by the author of the two former, and which consist chiefly, of a letter to Dr. Woodeson, in reply to his Vindication, to be entitled to particular notice. While perusing them, with as much freedom from the bias of opposite opinions as we are able to exercise, they appeared to us to be more illogical and inconclusive than what the author had before written, and calculated to injure instead of benefiting his cause.

Major Cartwright, in his "Appeal, Civil and Military, on the Subject of the English Constitution, &c." delivers the sentiments of an independent, public spirited, and constitutional whig, on different subjects relative to the government, legislation, and permanent security, of his country. This appeal is divided into three parts. The first part is a re-publication of a treatise which was barely announced in our Register for the year 1797; the principal object of which is the right of British subjects to be universally represented in parliament. The second and third parts present us with a continuation of the author's arguments for the same plan; an able and pointed reprobation of the borough system; and additional reasons to those before given in different publications, for the author's favourite measure of arming the nation at large, on the plan of the ancient militia projected by Alfred. On these interesting subjects, major Cartwright's Appeal displays great profundity of historical and legal research, and presents to the reader a vast collection of valuable and important matter, which is frequently clothed in animated and eloquent language.

Mr. Dyer's "Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Doctrine of Libels, and the Office of Juror," like the other publications of the author, which have been noticed by us at the times of their appearance, contains much good sense, and many just remarks, dictated by an honest freedom of mind, and genuine benevolence of heart. It does not, however, present us with any novelty of information or argument, on the subjects mentioned in the title. One object which the author appears to have had in view was, to induce the jury, which should sit in judgement on Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, under the prosecution commenced against him for publishing his "Reply to some Parts of the Bishop of Landaff's Appeal to

the People of Great Britain," to try that gentleman's merits, by solemnly and impartially weighing his motives and his character, as well as the import of the passages selected by his prosecutors.

Mr. Friend, in his "Principles of Taxation," brings forward a number of ingenious calculations, and suggests a variety of hints, which may prove useful to the financier who wishes to pursue a fair and equitable system in apportioning the public burthens. His fundamental principle, that all the subjects of any state should be required to contribute to the public service in a just proportion to their means, is as incontrovertible as any axiom in morals. With respect to his subsequent remarks in the application of this principle, different opinions will be entertained by different politicians; but none which can impeach the patriotic and benevolent design of the author's labours. Much of what Mr. Friend has advanced, is intended to show the partial and inequitable operation of the income tax,—that solid system of finance, which, by its weight, threatens to crush the middle classes of society.

The "Three Essays on Taxation of Income, with Remarks on the late Act of Parliament on that Subject, &c." constitute an ingenious and well-written production, in defence of raising all the necessary supplies for government within each year, and of laying all assessments on income, with an entire exclusion of taxation on articles of consumption. But surely it would not be wise to relinquish a considerable revenue arising from many of the latter objects, which do not fall under the denomination of necessary articles for the sake of a theory that, although at first view it may appear beautiful and feasible from its simplicity, may prove inefficient and dangerous when brought to the test of experiment. We think this remark of the greater importance, from a conviction that the writer before us, and all the other advocates for an income tax, not excepting the minister himself, have been much too sanguine in their calculations of the advantages of such a financial measure. The author's observations on the national debt, the public funds, the probable consequences of the law for selling the land-tax, and on the present state of agriculture in Great-Britain, &c. offer numerous hints which deserve the attention of our political economists.

The reverend Mr. Beeke, in his "Observations on the Produce of the Income Tax, and on its Proportion to the whole Income of Great-Britain," &c differs widely from the minister in his calculation of the amount of the real income of the country, which he contends to be much greater than Mr. Pitt's statements allowed; while, at the same time, he diminishes that part of it which is taxable much below the quantum requisite for the vast product expected from the measure which has been adopted. In forming his statements, he appears to have made use of much commendable industry, and to have been influenced solely by useful and patriotic views. We leave his readers to decide respecting the accuracy of his data, and the justness of his conclusions. From what he lays down as important facts, respecting the extent, wealth, and population of this kingdom, the sanguine politician may be in danger of overrating its resources.

"The Terms of Public Loans which have been raised for the Public Service within the last Fifty Years, with

with an Introductory Account of the principal Loans prior to that Period; and Observations on the Rate of Interest paid for the Money borrowed by J. J. Grellier," is the title of a little treatise which appears to have been drawn up with care and accuracy, and will prove useful to persons whose property is vested in the public funds; as well as to historians, in appreciating the comparative financial merits of our chancellors of the exchequer.

In our last annual volume, we apprised our readers of the importance and value of a work entitled, "The State of the Nation with respect to its Public Funded Debt, Revenue, and Disbursement, &c." in two volumes, taken from the Reports of the Select Committee of Finance, appointed by the House of Commons. During the present year a third volume of that work has been published; concerning which it is sufficient to remark, that it possesses similar recommendations with the two preceding, and affords farther strong evidence of the great utility of that committee of inquiry which furnished materials for it.

The "Proposals for paring off the whole of the present National Debt, and for reducing Taxes immediately, by Henry Martins Bird, esq." are divisible into two parts; the first relating to that part of the national debt, which is held by British subjects; the second to that which is held by foreigners. With respect to the first part, after a variety of preliminary observations and statements relating to the value of real and personal property in Great Britain, chiefly taken from preceding calculators, Mr. Bird proposes that "every proprietor of landed or personal property shall give up a tax to put thereof to the stock holder, who shall make an equal sacrifice of his stock. By such a measure, he contends, that all that part belonging to British subjects would be discharged. The part of the national debt which is held by foreigners he would redeem immediately, at the current price of stocks, with a bonus of one per cent. on the sterling amount paid off; and for the purpose of such redemption, he would raise a new loan. The adoption of these proposals, he maintains, would create a saving to the public, in taxes, to the amount of nearly fourteen millions per annum, and, ultimately, a benefit to each individual, not less than equal to a return of ten per cent. on the value of the sacrifice made by him. Without disputing the justice and accuracy either of the assumptions, the calculations, or the conclusions of Mr. Bird, we cannot easily be brought to entertain the opinion, that even his "grand and glorious motive" for carrying his plan into execution, that of being enabled to prosecute the present war with increased vigour, will dispose many of our wealthy proprietors to vote for his mode of paying off the public debt.

Mr. Pope's "Measure productive of substantial Benefit to Government, the Country, the Public Funds, and to Bank Stock," we do not conceive to be distinguished by those marks of sagacity and policy, that will powerfully recommend it either to public notice, or to the favourable acceptance of the governors, directors and proprietors, of the Bank of England, to whom it is submitted. The form and substance of it is contained in the proposition following: "Let the

the bank of England (under the sanction of parliament) advance to government, this year, the sum of ten millions, at an interest of four per cent. and payable in ten instalments, on the security or credit of the general income tax for the ensuing year 1800—then to be optional in the bank proprietors to extend, or not, the loan to the year 1801—and so to every succeeding year as long as the tax shall exist." One probable, if not unavoidable, consequence of adopting such a measure must be, an immense increase of the quantity of paper money in circulation; an event which would not greatly contribute to the security of public credit. An extravagant administration might derive from it a temporary relief; but against the fatal consequences by which it might unexpectedly be followed, it would not be an easy matter to guard.

The "Thoughts on State Lotteries, &c. by a Young Gentleman," present to us ten different schemes, in all of which the exclusion of small prizes is made a fundamental principle. Such a plan, the author thinks, would effectually prevent the lower classes of society from adventuring; and by that means remove one of the principal objections to such financial resources. We think, however, that the plan would not produce the good intended, unless the price of tickets were at the same time raised so high, as that the smallest legal division should be too costly to be purchased by the present principal buyers of those articles. But such a regulation would prove destructive of all lotteries,—a catastrophe which the policy of modern states-men will assiduously endeavour to prevent, notwithstanding that we should rejoice in it, on account of the good moral effects to which it would lead.

Of the contents of the next article, its ample title will sufficiently inform our readers. It is, "The Report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons, relative to the Establishment, &c. of a new Police in the Metropolis, &c. and the Convict-Establishment: containing the Plans proposed for establishing a new Office of Police and Revenue in the Metropolis. Proposals for a new mode of employing Convicts. Plan of the new Building for employing and securing Convicts. Draft of a Contract between the Lords of the Treasury and Jeremy Bentham, Esq. for the said Purpose. The Establishments of the seven Police Offices, their Receipt and Expenditure. The Establishment, &c. of the Police Office, Bow-Street: Together with Observations on the System of transporting Convicts to Botany Bay; the Expence incurred thereby, and the Maintenance of the Colony." In this report, and in the papers which are added in an appendix, the reader will find much curious and interesting information, on subjects of general concern, in an oeconomical and in a moral point of view. The gross defects of the present system of police, and the enormous expences connected with the present mode of punishment for the correction and reformation of criminals, strongly suggest the necessity of a radical change in this branch of the politics of government. On the efficacy of one part of the change proposed in the report before us, that of establishing one grand board of police and revenue, according to a plan of which the outlines are therein described, we will not attempt to offer any decisive

sive opinion. But what we consider to be a strong presumptive argument in its favour, is the circumstance that it is, in a considerable degree, the result of the observations and reflections of an intelligent and active magistrate, to whose merits we paid our tribute of respect when noticing his treatise "on the Police of the Metropolis," in our Register for the year 1796." With respect to another part of the change recommended in this report, that of adopting Mr. Bentham's plan for employing and reforming convicts in solitary confinement, we have no hesitation in giving it our warm approbation. The advantages which have arisen from adopting similar measures, in different places, and particularly in the prisons of Pennsylvania, on which we had the opportunity of offering some remarks in our last year's Register, lead us to form very sanguine hopes of the benefits which society may reap from such humane establishments.

The "Thoughts on the Means of alleviating the Miseries attendant upon common Prostitution," express, in strong terms, the benevolent spirit in which they originated; the great unhappiness of that wretched state of life to which the author solicits the public attention; and the importance, in various points of view, of the object which he has undertaken to discuss. The remedy which he prescribes for the evil lamented, is the institution of a society, for the purpose of rescuing, in every stage, unfortunate females from their distressing situation, and of restoring them to virtuous habits, and to usefulness in the world. Such institutions, conducted under good regulations, are undoubtedly adapted to alleviate the miseries attendant upon common prostitution; on which account they merit encouragement and support. But we fear that their good effects are much less extensive and permanent than their humane friends generally suppose. Be that as it may, the complete cure of the evil can only be hoped for from a change in the moral habits of society, in the circumstances, and principles whence they spring, and in the institutions and laws by which they are regulated.

Mr. Saunders's "Observations on the present State and Influence of the Poor Laws, founded on Experience;—and a plan proposed for the consideration of parliaments, by which the affairs of the Poor may in future be better regulated, &c." bear honourable testimony to the author's good sense, benevolence, and public spirit; and offer a variety of remarks and hints, which are entitled to the respectful attention of those who laudably employ their time in devising methods for ameliorating the condition of the lower classes in the community. They are the result not only of his careful and judicious examination of the opinions of preceding writers upon the subject, but of his own experience, while discharging for two years the duty of overseer in a populous parish in the vicinity of the metropolis. One measure which he proposes appears to us to promise such advantages, that we think it worthy of distinct notice: viz. the separation of the duties of overseer from those of collector, and the placing of the parochial funds in the hands of a treasurer. Such an alteration of the present system would preclude the objections which induce men of respectability and influence to submit to a pecuniary mulct, rather than undertake the important office of overseer, as it is

now

generally constituted; and
, doubtless, tend to prevent
of those abuses of power, and
ers of ignorance and incapa-
of which we hear frequent
ery general complaints.

"Account of the proceed-
f, the acting Governors of the
of Industry in Dublin, for
Years, &c." offers striking evi-
of the advantages to be de-
from the superintendance and
al exertions of men of weight
nformation in managing the
rns of the poor. By the pru-
l and humane measures which
overnors adopted, astonishing
s of expence were effected,
the comforts of the poor
in no instance abridged, but,
ne contrary, considerably aug-
ed, and extended. We re-
nend to our readers the pe-
of their admirable regulations;
we wish, with them, that many
ar institutions may be formed
the model exhibited in the
lin House of Industry, of which
e doors are open to the distressed
ery description, without certi-
e or recommendation (children
excepted), and all who have
been compelled to enter, are
harged on expressing a wish—
that cannot be too often
d." The words "compelled
nter," in the above quotation,
r to the situation of vagrants
beggars who are sent by the
istrates into the house, to be
there for a term to labour.

he "Reports of the Society for
ting the Condition and in-
sing the Comforts of the Poor,"
e been increased during the
ent year by the appearance of
seventh, eight, and ninth num-
intended to form part of a
od volume of these economical
ers. We have already, in our
last, and the preceding year's Re-
gisters, so fully explained the ob-
jects of this truly benevolent and
valuable society, and the nature of
those subjects on which their la-
bours are employed, that it is un-
necessary for us to enter into any
particulars respecting the contents
of the reports before us. Like the
preceding, they are well adapted
to assist in disseminating such use-
ful and practical knowledge with
regard to the poor, and to provide
that class of the community with
such inducements to exertion and
good order, as may have a happy
effect in encouraging and main-
taining the prevalence of industry,
prudence, morality, and religion,
among the great mass of our fellow-
subjects."

"Who'll change Old Lamps for
New?" is the whimsical title, bor-
rowed from the story of Aladdin
in the Arabian Nights' Entertain-
ments, of a serious, and not ill-
written treatise, in the dialogue
form; in which the author is
chiefly employed in defending the
payment of tythes, for the support
of the clergy, according to its pre-
sent constitution, in opposition to
every proposed alteration, and, par-
ticularly, in opposition to a plan
lately suggested of selling the tythes,
in the same manner with the land-
tax. On the latter subject his ar-
guments are most forcible and im-
portant. A corn-rent, in this au-
thor's judgment, would be the least
exceptionable substitute for tythes,
were any circumstances to arise
that should render an alteration
necessary. But he deprecates the
hazard even of such a change; and
pleads for the continuance of things
as they are, on the grounds of pre-
scription, and the mischiefs of in-
novation.

The "Proposal for restoring the
antient

ancient Constitution of the Mint, so far as relates to the Expence of Coinage, &c." by the Rev. Beeby Riding, B. D." has not enamoured us of the wisdom or policy of the measure for which he has so elaborately. The author's arguments for enhancing the nominal value, or diminishing the intrinsic standard, of coin, we consider to be of no great moment when placed in opposition to those of the author of "Thoughts on a new Coinage of Silver," noticed in our last year's Register. His work, however, will supply the reader with some curious and interesting information relative to the ancient history of the mint of this kingdom; and many of his suggestions, in "the Outline of a Plan for the Improvement of the Money, and for increasing the Difficulty of Counterfeiting," are certainly deserving of consideration.

Mr. Tatham's "Political Economy of Inland Navigation, Irrigation, and Drainage, &c." consists of extracts from preceding writers on those subjects, interspersed with observations and reflections by the author; projects for employing the surplus population, capital, and finances, of this country, in forming canals and encouraging inland navigation in foreign countries, and particularly in America; plans of canals for insulating London, enlarged from those of the late Mr. James Sharp; tracts on wet-docks for the port of London, &c. &c. Those readers who have not met with the treatises on inland navigation, by Messrs. Phillips, Fulton, and Chapman, and the other publications relative to the different schemes for wet-docks, &c. from which Mr. Tatham has borrowed with great freedom, will be much interested and entertained by the volume before us.

Count Rumford's "Proposals for forming by Subscription, in the Metropolis of the British Empire, a Public Institution for diffusing the Knowledge and facilitating the general Introduction of useful Mechanical Inventions and Improvements, and for teaching, by Courses of Philosophical Lectures and Experiments, the Application of Science to the common Purposes of Life," are worthy of the character of the author, as an enlightened philosopher and indefatigable philanthropist. For the particulars, we must refer to the proposals themselves. We have inserted their title in our Catalogue, in order to have an opportunity of congratulating the public on the foundation, under an incorporating charter from the crown, of such an institution as the worthy author projected; which has met with an unexpected strength of support, highly honourable to the spirit of the times, and from which very beneficial consequences may fairly be expected. We rejoice to learn that it is becoming fashionable, with people of rank of both sexes, to patronise the new establishment.

The "Syllabus, or Abstract of a System of Political Philosophy, &c. by Robert Acklom Ingram, B. D." we notice in this place, on account of a dissertation prefixed to it, "recommending that the study of political economy be encouraged in the universities, and that a course of public lectures be delivered on that subject." The adoption of such a plan, as an appendage to the lectures usually delivered to undergraduates, would form a valuable improvement in the present mode of academical education, and be particularly useful for pupils designed for public life and the profession of the law. May we

not hope that the ardour which prevails for facilitating the acquisition of every branch of valuable science, will induce our universities to look beyond the limits which the practice of our ancestors prescribed for elementary tuition? They may safely make such an advance, without incurring any hazard of approaching towards those modern empirical systems of education, which only contribute to produce a precocity of intellect.

The Law publications of the year 1799 were, a new edition of "The Reports of the most learned Sir Edmund Saunders, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, of several Pleadings and Cases in the Court of King's Bench in the Reign of Charles II. &c. With Notes and References to the Pleadings and Cases, by John Williams, Serjeant at Law," vol. I.; "Reports of adjudged Cases in the Court of Common Pleas, during the Time Lord Chief Justice Willes presided in that Court, together with some few Cases of the same Period determined in the House of Lords, Court of Chancery, and Exchequer Chamber, taken from the MSS. of Lord Chief Justice Willes, with Notes and References to prior and subsequent Decisions, by Charles Durnford, Esq.;" "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, in Michaelmas Term 1798, by Charles Durnford and E. H. East, Esqrs.;" "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Common Pleas, in Michaelmas Term 1798, by John Bernard Bosanquet and Christopher Puller, Esqrs.;" "Reports of Cases argued and ruled at Nisi Prius, in the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, from Easter Term, 38 Geo. III. 1798, to Hilary Term, 39 Geo. III. by Isaac Espinasse, Esq." vol. II.; "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, commencing with the Judgments of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Scott, Michaelmas Term 1798, by Charles Robinson, LL.D. Advocate," vol. I.; "Report of the Judgment of the Court of Admiralty on the Swedish Convoy," by the same author; "Juridical Arguments and Collections, by Francis Hargrave, Esq." vol. II.; "Thesaurus Juridicus, containing Decisions of the Court of Equity upon Suits, and of Parliament upon Petitions and Appeals, with Resolutions of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer on Matters of the Revenue, &c. by Richard Whalley Bridgman, Esq." vol. I.; "An Abridgment of the Modern Determinations in the Courts of Law and Equity, being a Supplement to Viner's Abridgment, by several Gentlemen in the respective Branches of the Law. Vol I.—Abatement—Bye-Laws; vol. II. Canons—Creditor and Debtor;" "A Digested Index to the seven Volumes of Term Reports in the Court of King's Bench, (by Durnford and East), containing a concise Statement of all the Points of Law determined in that Court from Michaelmas Term, 26 Geo. III. 1785, to Trinity Term, 38 Geo. III. 1798, inclusive, with Tables of References, &c. by T. E. Tomlins, Esq.;" the ninth and tenth Volumes of "A complete System of Pleading, comprehending the most approved Precedents and Forms of Practice, &c. with an Index to the principal Work, &c. as well as an Index of References to all the ancient and modern Entries extant, by John Wentworth, Esq.;"

Esq.;" "A Collection of Decrees, by the Court of Exchequer, in Tythe Causes, from the Usurpation to the present Time, &c. by Hutton Wood, one of the six Clerks of the Court of Exchequer," volumes three and four, which complete the work; "Practical Forms, being chiefly designed as an Appendix to the Practice of the Court of King's-Bench in personal Actions, by W. Tidd, Esq.;" "The Solicitor's Instructor in Parliament, concerning Estate Bills and Inclosure Bills, containing the standing Orders of both Houses of Parliament relative thereto, &c. by Charles Thomas Ellis;" a new edition, with additions, of "A Treatise on Equity, with the Addition of Marginal References and Notes, by John Fonblanque, Esq.;" in two volumes, an improved edition of "The Crown Circuit Companion, &c. with additional References to modern Authorities, by Thomas Dogherty;" a new edition, revised, corrected, and greatly enlarged, of "A Treatise on the Law of Mortgages, by John Joseph Powell, Esq. in two volumes;" a new edition, with considerable additions from printed and manuscript cases of "A Treatise on the Law of Awards, by Stewart Kyd, Esq.;" "A Treatise on the Law of Legacies, by R. S. Denison Roper, Esq.;" "A Treatise on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Checks on Bankers, Promissory Notes, Banker's Cash Notes, and Bank Notes, by Joseph Chitty, Esq.;" "A Treatise on Copyholds, by Charles Watkins, Esq." volume II; "The Case upon the Will of the late Peter Thellusson, Esq. by Francis Vesey, jun. Esq;" "An Enquiry into the Question, whether the Brother of the paternal Grandmother shall succeed to the Inheritance of the Son, in preference to the Brother of the paternal Great Grandmother, &c. by Charles Watkins, Esq.;" "The Lord Thanet's Case, considered as to the Question whether the Judgment be specific or arbitrary, with the fullest reports of the Cases on the Subject, by W. Firth, Esq.;" and "Observations on the Office of Constable, with a View to its Improvement, in a Letter to Patrick Colquhoun, Esq."

Among the few Mathematical productions of the year are "The Elements of Mathematical Analysis, with Notes demonstrative and explanatory, and a Synopsis of Book V. of Euclid, by Nicholas Vilant, A. M. F. R. S. E. and Regius Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews." This work may be considered as an outline or "Abridgment of part of a comprehensive System of the Elements of Mathematical Analysis, common and fluxionary, and now almost finished," which we are to expect from the same hand. From the preface we learn, that it was originally printed upwards of twenty years ago; since which time it has undergone "various alterations and material improvements." We cannot say, however, that in its present state it is so perfect a production as the author's abilities might, without much additional labour, have rendered it. In this remark we chiefly allude to its form and arrangement, which are less systematical and regular than were desirable in a work of this nature. In other respects it possesses claims to considerable merit; and particularly on account of the perspicuity with which the principles of the different propositions are

are laid down, and the legitimacy of the demonstrations in general. By a correction of the defect above mentioned, it would be rendered well adapted to the design of the author, which was to afford students a concise and easy introduction to algebra. Mr. Vilant's Synopsis of Euclid exhibits an ingenious reduction of the fifth book of that geometrician into the language of algebra.

The "Treatise on Spherical Geometry, containing its fundamental Properties, the Doctrine of its Loci, the maxima and minima of Spherical Lines and Areas, with an Application of these Elements to a Variety of Problems, by John Howard," is a valuable introduction to this branch of pure mathematics for students who are masters of the first six, and the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid. The author's arrangement of his work is judicious and distinct; and his demonstrations, in general, are precise and perspicuous. Those mathematicians who are attached to astronomical researches, will find the burthen of their studies considerably lightened by an accurate knowledge of this too much neglected doctrine of the ancient geometricians.

The "Account of the Operations carried on for accomplishing a Trigonometrical Survey of England and Wales, from the Commencement, in the Year 1784, to the end of the Year 1795, begun under the Direction of the Royal Society, and continued by order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance," volume I. was originally published in different numbers of the Philosophical Transactions, and has been noticed by us under the respective years in which the papers which compose it made their appearance. These papers are now republishing, in a collected form, revised, corrected, and altered, in consequence of the acquisition of fresh information, and new data from which to compute the arguments, and with the purpose of giving the whole an appearance of uniformity, by captain William Mudge, F. R. S. and Mr. Isaac Dalby. The volume before us contains the measurement of the base on Hounslow Heath, in 1784; the trigonometrical operations in 1787; and the trigonometrical surveys in 1791, 1794, 1795, and 1796; illustrated with twenty-two well executed copper-plates.

For the "Result of two Series of Experiments towards ascertaining the respecting Velocity of floating Bodies, varying in Form, and towards determining the Form best adapted to Stability, or possessing most Power of resisting the Force of the Wind to carrying Sail, by Charles Gore, Esq." we must refer our readers to the author's treatise, and the accompanying plates, which are necessary to its illustration. His observations on the experiments detailed, convey useful hints to the constructors of ships, and were, doubtless, received with pleasure by the Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture, to whom they are addressed.

The "Observations on the intended Tunnel beneath the River Thames, showing the many Defects in the present State of that Projection, by Charles Clarke, F. S. A." consist of severe, not always very liberal, and sometimes frivolous strictures of Mr. Dodd's "Reports, with Plans, Sections, &c." of which we made favourable mention in our last year's Register. While perusing

using them, we met with remarks on the difference of pressure on arches, according to the different solidity of the surrounding soils, which merit the consideration of Mr. Dodd, so far as they relate to the form of the projected excavation. To engineers we must refer it to decide, whether Mr. Dodd's scheme of a cylindrical tunnel, or Mr. Clarke's proposal of perpendicular side walls, supporting an arch of equilibration, &c. all the circumstances of the situation considered, the best adapted to the plan in question. But we have not met with any arguments in Mr. Clarke's treatise, which tend in the least to convince us of the impracticability of carrying Mr. Dodd's grand design into execution; and the contemptuous light in which that author has attempted to exhibit it, is utterly unbecoming a true lover of science, and friend to public improvements.

"The Coal Viewer, and Engine Builder's practical Companion, by John Curr, of Sheffield," is the production of an able mechanic, who appears to have had much experience in the construction of the different kinds of works and machinery used in the conducting of coal mines, and whose directions and calculations promise to prove of considerable use to persons engaged in such undertakings. The principal subjects on which the author enlarges are, the conveyance of coals under ground, with descriptions of machines and rail roads contrived by himself; proportions of the different materials used in constructing fire engines; tables of their several powers and expences; tables of the quantity and weight of coal in a statute acre, and general estimates of the expence of opening collieries. This work is illustrated by numerous descriptive plates.

Of the utility and importance of the next article which we have to announce, our readers will be able to form a judgment from its title, and the preliminary notice that it has received the approbation and sanction of the commissioners of the customs. It is "A practical Book of Customs, with the Excise, upon all Foreign Articles imported; wherein is exhibited, at one view, the consolidated Customs and Branches as levied since that period; with the Law which imposed them, Date of its Commencement, total Duty paid, and Drawback now allowed; also Duties outwards, Bountles and Allowances on British Goods exported, those on foreign fisheries, the Duties Coastwise, the Tonnage and London Dock Duties; and every Commercial Alteration and Addition, to the 17th of October, 1799. With Tables of Scavage, Baillage, &c. The whole intended to inform and assist Commercial Concerns in general. Published by Edward James Mascall, Long Room, Custom House."

The "Marine Pocket Dictionary of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German Languages, with an English-French and French-English Index; being a Collection of a great variety of the useful Sea Terms in the above Idioms, by Henry Newman;" in two volumes, 12mo. is a work on which no small degree of labour has been expended, to render it at once abundant in information, concise in its form, and, as far as we are able to judge, idiomatically correct and accurate in the respective languages mentioned in the title. To every

ry naval officer it must prove useful and very acceptable sent.

In military tactics, the most imrtant publication of the year cons of "Remarks on Cavalry, by Prussian Major-general of ussars, Warnery, translated from Original." This work is in eat estimation among those miary officers at home and abroad, o rank high for science in their ofession; and has been rendered o English by brigadier-general ehler, of the royal artillery. The servations and instructions which presents to the reader, as will be pposed from the celebrity of the nslator and author, are interestg and important; and are acmpanied by numerous plates, exanatory of the several positions commended, or illustrative of e various species of cavalry in fferent European, African, and siatic nations.

"The Light Horse Drill, deribing the several Evolutions in a rogressive Series, from the first udiments, to the Manœuvres of ie Squadron, designed for the se of the Privates and Officers of ie Volunteer Corps of Great-Briin," part II. completes an useful ork, of which part I. was noticed our last annual volume. The lates which illustrate the part efore us are twenty-four in numer.

The "Instructions for the Drill, nd the Methods of performing the ighteen Manœuvres as ordered for is Majesty's Forces, by John Rusel, Brevet-Captain and Paymaster, nd late Adjutant in the West ondon Militia," illustrated by hirty-two plates, and the "Review f a Battalion of Infantry, including he eighteen Manœuvres, &c. by obert Smirke, junior." illustrated by twenty-three plates, are both of them works distinguished by perspicuity and correctness, and will be found of material use to young soldiers not experienced in British military discipline.

The "Instructions for the armed Yeomanry, by Sir William Young, Baronet, a Captain of armed Yeomanry in the County of Bucks," and "the few Minutes and Observations for the Use of the Gentlemen and Yeomanry, by William Allen, Adjutant of the Herefordshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry," deserve to be recommended as useful little manuals of such military lessons, and rules of conduct, "as belong to the spirit, purpose, and practice" of British soldier-citizens.

Though of interesting works in Philosophy and Medicine the present year seems to be unusually wanting, we shall according to our custom, begin with the Philosophical Transactions, and with the astronomical papers in this collection. To have left Mr. Herschel in the rear, though his communications may be in this year less numerous and important, would have been ungrateful for what is past, and particularly so, as we can already anticipate valuable additions to science, from his labours, in our next and the following volume. In the Philosophical Transactions, he has only communicated his "fourth Catalogue of the comparative Brightness of the Fixed Stars;" but a most valuable and important work by this excellent astronomer, is published separately, at the expence of the Royal Society, viz. "A Catalogue of the Stars contained in the second Volume of the Historia Coelestis, not inserted in the British Catalogue, with an Index to point out every Observation in

that Volume belonging to the Stars of the British Catalogue," an immense and most useful labour. After this, Mr. Kelly's "Practical Introduction to Spherics and Nautical Astronomy," though highly useful as an elementary work, will appear trifling; and professor Lax's "Method of finding the Latitude of a Place by means of two Altitudes of the Sun, and the Time elapsed between the Observations," of less importance than it really is. Mr. Walker's "Introduction to Astronomy," is truly trifling. A very excellent paper occurs in the Transactions of the year, by Mr. Vince; it is the Bakerian Lecture "on the unusual horizontal Refraction of the Air, with Remarks on the Variations to which the lower Parts of the Atmosphere are sometimes subject." The uncommon reflection is very scientifically explained. The subject of the refrangibility of different rays of light has lately been agitated in separate works, rather than in the Philosophical Transactions, as we shall particularly mention in our next volume. We can only now, in point of time, notice Mr. Crisp's ingenious little tract "on the Theory of Vision, with an Inquiry into the Cause of the single Appearance of Objects seen with both Eyes;" but, though the arguments are ingenious, we do not think them conclusive. Count Rumford's paper, in the Transactions, "on the Weight ascribed to Heat," merits, like the count's other works, particular attention; and, we may add, that, on the minutest examination, heat appears destitute of weight. His "Institution for diffusing Knowledge and facilitating the general Introduction of Mechanical Inventions," is too well known in this metropolis, as it has been some time in train of execution. Mechanical attempts have, however, flourished in the present year; and, among the publications of this kind, we must mention, with respect, Mr. Dodd's "Reports, with Plans and Sections of the proposed dry Tunnel from Gravesend in Kent to Tilbury in Essex." This bold undertaking, which will be of singular utility, has met, as may be supposed, with numerous difficulties, which, we believe, are now nearly overcome. The other works of this kind are, the "Mechanic's Guide, or a Treatise on the Laws of Motion, as they relate to Wheel-Machines," by Mr. Bigland. Mr. Williamson's "Essay on the Leyden Vial explained on Mechanical Principles," is connected with this subject only by name, and merits very little attention.

M. de Chemant's "Treatise on Artificial Teeth," is connected with the ingenious contrivances of the mechanic and the chemist. The construction of the model depends on mechanical principles, of peculiar nicety, and the formation of the teeth, which imitate nature even in apparent blemishes, is a chemical work. In reality, the teeth are of porcelaine, well adapted to the deficient part of the jaw. Mr. Hatchett's "Experiments and Observations on Shell and Bone," in the Philosophical Transactions, explain not only the constituent parts of the teeth, but of the different bony and shelly substances, and are nearly connected with Mr. Home's article "on the Teeth of the Elephant and the Sus Æthiopicus," with Mr. Corse's "Account of the different Species of the Elephants, and their

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Mode of Dentition," in the same volume. This gentleman's observations on the manners, &c. of the elephant, communicated to the Royal Society, deserves also particular commendation.

From the elephant we may ascend to man, and must particularly notice Mr. White's excellent little treatise on "The regular Gradation of Man" in different climates and situations, showing the gradual changes from the human skull to that of brutes, and pointing out the varieties, which may be almost styled different species. The natural history of man also makes a considerable part of Mr. Smellie's second volume of the "Philosophy of Natural History," which consists of detached essays, rather than of one general plan, pursued through the whole, and is not a work of very considerable importance. We must step hastily downwards in the scale, to notice Mr. Abbott's two most splendid volumes of "The Lepidopterous Insects of Georgia," published by the president of the Linnæan Society, with an elegance and beauty never surpassed, and seldom equalled. The respiration of the amphibia is explained more satisfactorily than before in Dr. Townson's Tracts, which contain a variety of information on different parts of natural history, though not of very considerable importance. Spalanzani's Tracts are chiefly those translated into French by Senebier, and relate to the natural history, chiefly, of microscopic animals. The intestinal worms are described at some length, and with great accuracy, by Dr. Hooper, in the fifth volume of the Medical Memoirs; and his paper adds greatly to our knowledge of the form and structure of these little animals. Marine worms, eaten by fish, are most commonly the cause of the effects attributed to the fish itself, which is usually styled poisonous, as Dr. Thomas has shown in the same collection. Mr. Hort's "New Treatise on Leeches" must be mentioned in this place, though meriting little particular notice. Of the more general works of natural history we must mention Dr. Shaw's new publication, two volumes of which have only appeared, and these relate to the quadrupeds; but the work is intended to comprise animals of every kind. From what we have seen, we think he has shown great judgment in the compilation; and the plates are spirited and elegant. We shall again notice this work, and fear that we have now anticipated the publications of another year.

It is remarkable, that in Botany we have scarcely seen any professed works, though of the year 1800 we shall be able to notice several important ones. Major Velley's "Coloured Figures of Marine Plants, found on the South Coast of England," is an accurate and elegant work, which treats also of their fructification. In the Transactions is a paper on a similar subject, "The Fœcundation of Vegetables," by Mr. Knight, and in the same collection is the account of a submarine forest on the east coast of England; for which, though scarcely connected with the present subject, we shall not find a fitter place. We must look, therefore, for the accessions to our botanical knowledge in the collections and travels. The 5th volume of the Asiatic Researches has furnished some valuable additions to the stock; particularly some descriptions of plants found in the Pegu empire, by Dr. Buchanan, who accompanied major Syme;

and an account of the urceola elastica, a vine which furnishes a milky juice that concretes into an elastic gum, resembling in all its properties the chamutchouc. Peyrouse's Voyage contains an account of some new species of vegetables; and from Mr. Pewlecke's new volume relating to the natural history of Devonshire we might have expected some additions to botanical science, if, on recurring to him for that purpose, we had not found every expectation disappointed. Sonnini's Travels into Egypt, which have appeared in an English dress, contain much information on the vegetable and animal kingdom; while M. de Liancourt's Travels in America, and M. Faujas de St. Fond's Travels through the Highlands and Hebrides, are chiefly confined to mineralogical accounts, which are numerous and valuable. Mr. Jameson's "Outlines of the Mineralogy of the Shetland Islands and Arran," is more decidedly connected with the fossile kingdom. These works will again occur: they are only now incidentally mentioned, as part of our present subject. Mr Kirwan's "Geological Essays" form a valuable addition to a science, from its abuses fallen into disrepute; we mean cosmogony. But it is only in disrepute because it has been directed by fancy rather than observation. The museum of Leiske, bought by the university of Dublin, has greatly assisted that gentleman in his researches; and the catalogue of that museum by Karsten, published in two 8vo. volumes in this year, owes much of their perfection to his attention.

To Mr. Kirwan we are also indebted for a valuable work on the "Analysis of Mineral Waters," in which he has brought together whatever chemistry, in its most improved state, has taught us on the subject. The fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Medical Society here terminates on the Harrowgate and Weigglesworth waters, by Dr Garnett, professor of chemistry in Cosmo Rumford's new Institution. We have two Introductions to Courses of Chemistry, by Messrs. Aikin and Mr. Henry. "The general View of the Nature and Objects of Chemistry," by the latter, the title of his lecture deserves much commendation. Another lecturer, Dr. Beddoes, has published a collection, entitled "Contributions to Physical and Medical Knowledge, chiefly from the West of England." We shall again mention it in a medical view, but we now speak of it as containing some crude opinions on heat and light, by a Mr. Davy, ushered in with great pomp as a wonderful discovery, which the author has since wisely abandoned. It is only singular how they could have been for a moment adopted. In the Philosophical Transactions we find some ineffectual attempts, by Mr. Cell, to decompose the acid of borax; some "Experiments" by Mr. Biggin, "to determine the quantity of the tanning principle and gallic acids in different barks;" and a very useful paper by Mr. Tennant on the "nature of some limestones, of a very inferior quality as manures:" they contain, it seems, a large proportion of magnesia.

Aërial chemistry has not made any great progress during this year in England. In the "Contributions" of Dr. Beddoes we find only some remarks on the medical effect of different airs. Aërial applications, and medicines chiefly owing their effects to the nature of the air which they contain, have been pompously the
period. We have already alluded

to the proposed method of curing this venereal disease by acids and oxygenated medicines; and the experiments have been continued, as well as the liberal controversy in consequence of the diversity of the results. We say *liberal* controversy, as we shall have to record some disputes of a very different nature, though the present is occasionally attended with a little acrimony. So far as the inquiry has proceeded, in the course of the present year, it seems that the credit of the remedies has gained little ground. Some cases have most probably been cured, but they are few, and seemingly equivocal: while, on the other hand, those who have failed have been reproached with some reason, for not adapting their doses originally directed. The use of factitious airs, in pulmonary consumption, seems declining, as, like every other medicine, they have been often unsuccessful: but Mr. Cavallo, in his treatise "on the Medical Properties of Factitious Airs," has collected all that has been ascertained with any certainty. Dr. Carmichael Smith has recommended, and supported by his own success, as well as that of others, the utility of nitrous vapour in destroying contagion in ships: but this method has met with opposition, and perhaps will not be found eminently useful. Mr. Williamson's "Hints on the Ventilation of Army Hospitals and Barracks" may furnish a more useful corrector of contagion.

Of the other remedies recommended, our account will not be long. The santhoxylon, as we find in the 5th volume of the Memoirs of the Medical Society, has been useful as an anodyne and antispasmodic. Mr. Whitaker has revived the former recommendations of the willow bark, by introducing another species, the broad-leaved willow, as a tonic. Dr. Currie's "Reports on the Effects of Water, cold and warm, in Fevers," are truly valuable, though the seeming novelty of cold ablutions in fevers have been formerly employed in malignant remittent. In the Memoirs of the Medical Society, spirit of wine is recommended as an application to burns. Mr. Sandford's treatise on "the Medicinal Effects of Wine and Spirits" is, however, rather dietetic than medicinal. The "Alimentary and Medical Synopsis" unites both objects, and is a very valuable compendium, of which we unfortunately have yet received only one volume. Its author, if report speaks true, is Dr. Pearson of Birmingham; a gentleman to whom we are also indebted for the Thesaurus Medicaminum, a new edition of "Medical Prescriptions" formerly mentioned by us with respect. Dr. Moseley's "Treatise on Sugar" contains a good account of what is known of this singular concrete, both as a medicine and a part of diet. This substance, which was so much the object of Dr Rollo's and Mr. Cruikshank's disquisition, in the former author's treatise on the "Diabetes Mellitus," is further examined in a new edition of his work, published in the present year; and it has drawn some remarks from Dr. Girdlestone, who has noticed a little inaccuracy in one of the cases published, and added an historical sketch of the disease. Of the other controversies we must notice those of the cow-pox, the metallic tractors, and the Cæsarean section. Dr. Pearson has published the result of his observations on the cow-pox; and, from the full discussion which it has received, the numerous experiments which have been

been tried, the prejudices against it, prejudices which we have ourselves felt, are evidently wearing away. The new disease is milder, safer and free from infection, except by contact. Mr. Perkins still urges the metallic tractors on our notice; but they have more often failed than succeeded at Copenhagen; and Dr. Haygarth, by employing slate pencils, painted wood, &c. has endeavoured to show, that the imagination has a great, if not the only share, in the cures. Mr. Perkins has replied with some success; and the new experiments, with the Galvanic battery, may probably lead to a farther elucidation of the real power of the tractors. The other subject of controversy is more unpleasing: it relates to the propriety of performing the Cæsarian section in general, and particularly in an instance that occurred in the neighbourhood of Manchester. Mr. Symonds, Mr. Hull, Mr. Ogden, and the gentlemen of the Manchester Lying-in hospital, are the parties; and it has been conducted, in numerous pamphlets, with great personal virulence. From a case recorded by Mr. Barlow, in a new collection, entitled "Medical Records and Researches, from the Papers of a private Medical Association," it appears, that the operation has been lately performed with success; but, in the Manchester case, though it was indispensable, it failed. When professional disputes end in personal quarrels, it is not easy to decide even on the facts which are the principal subject. Dr. Jackson's "Cautions to Women in a State of Pregnancy," are of a milder and more benevolent kind; and Dr. Ferriar's new volume of "Medical Histories" contains an improved mode of treatment in one of the diseases consequent on parturition, the lymphatic swelling of the leg. The other subjects which he considers, with particular ability, are the croup and the pertussis; for the latter he recommends small doses of arsenic. Mr. Kelson, in his little "Treatise of common Colds", seems to consider them as exclusively arising from miasmata. But Dr. Sutton has endeavoured to show, that what we usually consider to be the frequent consequence of neglected colds, viz. pulmonary consumption, originates from disorders in the bowels. Dr. Bed does, in his treatise on this latter subject, examines it more popularly, and from an inquiry into the places and among the trades where it is most prevalent, or not known, traces the origin of phthisis precisely to obstructed perspiration from incautious exposure to cold or too cold dress. "Phthisiologia" contains an account of the same disease and its remedies, in verse—we mean in rhyme. One other disorder of the breast remains which has been attended to in the course of this year, by Dr. Parry, the angina pectoris which he considers as a species of syncope, in consequence of an ossification of the coronary vessels of the heart seemingly without sufficient reason. From dissections, Dr. Hamilton has published a new and greatly-enlarged edition of his "Treatise on the Hydrophobia," in two volumes, containing every thing known on the subject.

An old copy of Dr. Cullen's Clinical Lectures of 1765—66, has been published during this year, seemingly taken with little correctness, and printed with less. Yet Dr. Cullen's opinions are always valuable: and even at that early period we see the rudiments of a system afterwards so well matured. We are led from hence, by an easy clue, to

s "Third Dissertation which affords us high Fordyce was a pu- and supports his ctrines in general, servile copyist; in he is truly original, some expectation work so gene- A putrid malig- occurred at War- with the treat- Lipscombe; but it that merits remark. Birmingham, has very judicious ac- Bilious Fevers of Gibson "On with an Account Quassy and Na- Medical Cases his "Medical Cases Salivation in Jaun- on Hæmorrhage," the course of the A bilious disease, worst form, has in America, the and we shall mention as on this subject as red to us. Mr. An- deavoured to distin- autumnal remittent of the true yellow fever dies, which he called and, from the facts published by the delphia, it appears to orted fever. Dr. Rush, me of the Medical ds his practice of opious bleedings in from experience and ing in proportion to but we know that ged in America this nce and had the re- successful as the re- have been generally motion, been of

course lessened. Some authors, particularly Dr. Moseley in his Treatise on Sugar, thinks it rather of a pestilential nature, and proposes active bleeding and purging. Of the plague itself we have a judicious account from Dr. Mertens, in an English dress, and in an ably compressed form. Some excellent observations on these diseases occur in a work published this year on mortal diseases, translated from Dr. Ontyd. Of the more general works in medicine, we may mention the continuation of Dr. Duncan's "Annals of Medicine;" the new form of the Medical Commentaries; an elegant little work by Mr. Walker, entitled "Memoirs of the Science," and a short history of Medicine, viz. a very incomplete "Medical Biography," by Mr. Hutchinson, a judicious "Table of Symptoms," and some very valuable popular advice, entitled "Medical Admonitions and Opinions." from Mr. Parkinson, entitled "Medicinæ Compendium" is much too short to be of importance.

In Surgery, the publications are very few. Mr. Sherwen has republished his "Remarks on the Diseased contracted Urinary Bladder." And Mr. J. Foote has published some cases in recommendation of the Vesicæ Lotura. Dr. Butter, a tract on the venereal gonorrhœa, which he calls the venereal rose; and Cruikshank's "Remarks on some of Mr. John Hunter's Opinions." Mr. Ware has described an operation for the cure of fistula lachrymalis, considerably different from the common one; and has collected five different treatises on the diseases of the eye. Mr. Home's Croonian Lecture, in the Philosophical Transactions of this year, is on the eye and its functions. He finds the iris truly muscular, the pupil transparent; the structure of the

the nerves, fibrous; and the fibres continued, seemingly without any pulpy matter interposed. In other respects, anatomy has received no very important additions. Mr. Bell's "System of Dissections" is continued; and, in morbid anatomy, there are some elegant plates published by Dr. Baillie, in successive fasciculi, very well executed. In the Philosophical Transactions is an account of the dissection of the child with a double head, described in a former volume, when the brains were found to be distinct, separated by a duplicature of the dura mater. In pathology there is a curious account, by Mr. Cooper, in the "Records of a Private Medical Association," of an obstruction of the thoracic duct, by a substance resembling that of scrofulous glands; and, in comparative anatomy we find, in the Philosophical Transactions, the dissection of an hermaphrodite dog, which appeared to be only a defective formation: and Mr. Home seems to think, with some reason, that a real hermaphrodite does not exist.]

The first work we have to announce among the Historical publications of the year 1799, is an "Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia, extracted and translated from the Jehan Ara, a Persian Manuscript, by William Ouseley, Esq." This epitome of Persian annals is an exact, and, as far as was consistent with the idioms of the English and Persian tongues, literal version of the first chapter, of the second section, of the Tarikh Jean Ara; containing the history of the kings of Persia, before the prevalence of Mahommedanism in that country. Considered in this point of view, it cannot fail of proving highly acceptable to oriental scholars, and to true antiquaries. Mr. Ouseley however, modestly states, that "it presents itself to the public without any affectation of intrinsic importance, and merely as the herald of another" larger and more interesting work, now in preparation, under the title of "Illustrations of Persian History and Antiquities or an Attempt to reconcile the ancient History and Chronology of Persia (according to the Date and Traditions preserved in Manuscripts of that Country) with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Records." This arduous undertaking promises to be so fruitful in information and entertainment, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of laying before our readers, in the words of the author, an outline of what it is intended to comprise. As far as major Ouseley has been enabled to judge from the materials already collected, the whole will form two large quarto volumes, ornamented and illustrated with maps and views, plates and inscriptions, medals and gems, engraved alphabets of ancient characters, and specimens of writing, fac similies from miniatures in manuscripts, &c. The following are the designed contents of these volumes: 1. "An introductory essay on the study of Persian history, and romance. 2. A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts which have furnished materials for the work. 3. That section of the Leb al Tewarikh which contains the antient history of Persia, from Calumuras to Yezdejerd; given in the original Persian, with an English translation on the opposite pages. 4. The illustrations of Persian history, &c. in which are collected, from all the manuscripts above enumerated, the various traditions and anecdotes of each king's reign; collated with

these

tion in pronouncing his history of Hindostan to be a valuable accession to our stores of useful and entertaining knowledge.

The "View of the Russian Empire, during the reign of Catharine the Second, and to the Close of the present Century, by William Tooke, F. R. S. &c." in three volumes, is a work which cannot fail of a favourable reception from the English reader. Of Mr. Tooke's qualifications for such an undertaking, and the peculiar advantages which he derived from a long residence in Russia, his intimacy with the principal literary characters in that country, and his freedom of access to the libraries and collections of the scientific and œconomical societies at Petersburgh, our readers may be able to form some judgment, from the observations which accompanied our notice of his Life of Catharine II. in our last year's Register. The work before us commences with an advertisement, and introduction; in which Mr. Tooke enumerates his sources of information, and gives an interesting account of the recent travels of several learned men, undertaken by the command and at the expense of the late empress, in order to ascertain the exact features, and the real condition, of the various countries and people comprehended under her government. The substance of their observations and remarks is interwoven in our author's narrative. Mr. Tooke's volumes are divided into twelve books, consisting of numerous subdivisions, of the contents of which we have room only to insert the following general account. 1. A geographical description of the Russian empire. 2. An historical view of the nations which constitute it. 3. The physical state of the inhabitants. 4. The several ranks and classes of the subjects. 5. The Russian government. 6. The military and naval forces of the empire. 7. The revenues of Russia. 8. The imperial colleges and the condition of the subjects. 9. The vice-royalists into which Russia is divided. 10. Productive industry. 11. Manufactures and trade. 12. Commerce. On these multifarious subjects, the author has collected together a vast mass of instructive and entertaining matter, which is, in general, selected with proper discrimination, and arranged, in the principal and subordinate parts, with judgment and perspicuity. We hope, however, to find in the future impressions of this work, which we doubt not the public will repeatedly demand, improved by the necessary addition of a copious index.

The "Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, by N. W. Wraxall, Esq." in two volumes, are written, like the author's Tours, in the epistolary form. Besides curious anecdotes and facts relative to many distinguished characters, who were living when he drew up his Memoirs, and which motives of delicacy prevented him from publishing before their decease, he has collected together a variety of authentic particulars, illustrative of memorable public events, the political situation of affairs, or the state of manners in the countries through which he travelled, which will prove of no small use to future historians of the times. The government, military transactions and private life of Frederick the Second, the public and private life of the late king of Poland, of Maria Theresa, and of Joseph the Second employed a considerable share of

Mr

Wraxall's attention and in-
isies, and afforded him an op-
rtunity of supplying his readers
th much interesting information
d amusement, which they will
t meet with in any preceding
blications. In exhibiting the
dominant features of the cha-
ters which he paints, he has often
en particularly successful. Mr.
raxall's style and language are
ncise and perspicuous, in general
rrect and elegant; and always
imated and pleasing.

From the "Fragments of Scot-
h History," by an anonymous
thor, the student who wishes to
come thoroughly acquainted with
e state and progress of society in
s island, at different periods, will
ceive considerable information
d entertainment. They consist
desultory reflections, selected
m notes which occurred during
e perusal of some volumes of
story; of the diary of Robert
rrel, containing an account of
e public incidents which fell
thin the author's knowledge, or
arsay, from 1532 to 1605; and
republications, from scarce con-
mporary pamphlets, of the ac-
unts of the expeditions into
otland, by the earl of Hertford,
1544, and in 1547, after that
blemen had been created duke of
merset. The three last men-
ued articles will be chiefly valu-
le for the assistance they afford
ascertaining the exact chrono-
gy of the period to which they
fer. The "desultory reflections,"
e the result of extensive and very
rious reading, not regularly di-
sted, as their title imports, and
awn up in a style which, from its
pciseness and abruptness, ap-
proaches more nearly to the form
aphorism than of historical
rrative and dissertation. They
embrace, however, a great diver-
sity of topics, under which the au-
thor has collected together much
curious and interesting matter,
which will amply repay the reader
for the trouble of perusing them;
and they are accompanied by an
useful Appendix, containing copies
of ancient charters, grants, letters,
and other original documents.

In our Register for the year 1794,
we announced the appearance of
Mr. Heron's "History of Scot-
land, from the earliest Times to
the Æra of the Abolition of the
hereditary Jurisdiction of Subjects
in Scotland, in the Year 1748,"
vol. I. Since the notice which we
took of that work, we understand
that the author has completed his
plan by the publication of five ad-
ditional volumes, which we have
not seen, and which, therefore, we
must leave to the judgment of those
who have perused them.

During the present year Sir John
Sinclair has completed his "Statis-
tical Account of Scotland, drawn
up from the Communications of
the Ministers of the different Pa-
rishes," by the publication of the
21st volume. The 20th volume
made its appearance in the year
1798, and the six preceding it at
different periods after the publica-
tion of our Register for the year
1794, when we last called the at-
tention of our readers to this exten-
sive, elaborate, and valuable pro-
duction. After the opinion which
we have repeatedly expressed of the
nature and importance of this work,
it is needless to state any thing
more with respect to the volume
before us, than that it contains ad-
ditions and corrections of the for-
mer accounts sent to the author,
a general appendix, and a copious
index, divided into three parts; the
first containing an enumeration of

the subjects treated; the second, e names of the persons; and the rd, the names of the places men- n'd in the whole work.

The idea of publishing the History of the Union of Scot- d and England, stating the Cir- mstances which brought that ent forwards to a Conclusion, d the Advantages resulting from to the Scots, by the Reverend enezer Marshall," seems to have en suggested to the author, by the asures lately pursued for the rpose of bringing about a similar on between Great Britain and land. To such readers as are acquainted with the grand rk of Defoe upon the subject, d the discussions of later histo- ns, particularly those of Dr. So- erville, his narrative and remarks y convey useful information. t those who are tolerably conver- nt in the labours of our principal storical and political writers, Mr. arshall's treatise will not afford y new light; neither will it be and to recommend itself to them the graces of composition.

Mr. Wood's "General View of the is ory of Switzerland, with a parti- lar Account of the Origin and Ac- mplishment of the late Swiss Re- lution," is another work which ay be perused by the less-informed asses of readers with pleasure and ofit, and which appears to have en drawn up to gratify the curio- y and interest generally excited the recent state of things in that untry. It is divided, as may be rmised from the title, into two rts. The first part consists of a mpilation from various English, ss, and French authorities, and ntains a brief abstract of the cient history of Switzerland, of e Helvetic confederacy, and of e late government of each can- ton, which is neither injudicious, nor, on the whole, ill-written. The second part, which details the causes and circumstances that produced or accompanied the late revolution, is less satisfactory and unexceptionable. It does not sufficiently explain the grounds of the dis- fection of the inhabitants to their old form of government; and it is not so far unmixed with the leaven of temporary and party politics, as that it can be entitled to the praise of dispassionate and impartial history. We despair, indeed, of meeting with such a history, until the angry spirit, occasioned by the oppo- site views entertained of the prin- ciples and measures which have contributed to bring about the late changes on the continent, shall have subsided.

The "Annals of the French Revolution, or a Chronological Ac- count of its principal Events, with a Variety of Anecdotes and Cha- racters hitherto unpublished; by A. F. Bertrand de Moleville, Mi- nister of State: translated by R. C. Dallas, Esq." in four volumes, will prove valuable to historians of the revolution, on account of the ad- vantages which the author derived from his public situation, of being intimately acquainted with the po- litics, views, and plans of, at least the royal and aristocratical actors on the scene. The whole work is divided into forty-five chapters. The first volume contains such as detail the contests, incidents, and most remarkable public speeches and addresses, from the period of the dismission of the archbishop of Sens, to that of the fermentations occasioned by the discussion of the question of the Veto. The second volume presents us with an ac- count of the various debates in the national assembly, and of the pro-

gress

series of events, from the period last mentioned to the celebration of the festival of the federation. The third volume carries on the annals from the federation to the death of Mirabeau; and the fourth, from that critical event to the dissolution of the constituent assembly. Prefixed to the work is an introduction, containing a short sketch of the successive revolutions which have taken place in France since the death of the king, and subjoined to it is an appendix of state papers, and other documents. In these annals, as may be expected, a very different view is given of the principal occurrences during the revolutionary career from that which appears in the writings of republicans as well as of the state and manœuvres of the different parties, and of the principles and intentions of the royalists and anti-royalists, who sustained the leading parts in the great drama. If, as we conceive, in drawing up this view, and in the observations and reflections which accompany it, M. de Molleville cannot be acquitted of strong prejudices in favour of the old order of things, and against those who occasioned its subversion, it would, nevertheless, be unjust to question his veracity with respect to such facts as fell within his own cognizance, or to deny that attention is due to the relation of others, which he avows to have received from credible witnesses. The dispassionate historian, by a comparison of them with the opposite statements and remarks of contemporary annalists, will be enabled to supply us with a more faithful and accurate representation of the events, and principal characters who appeared in the revolutionary contests than has yet been offered to the public. Mr. Dallas appears to have acquitted himself with fidelity in the office of translator.

The "Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government, 1798, by Richard Duppa," is a very interesting little work, which proved the more acceptable to the British public, on account of the ignorance that generally prevailed among them with regard to the particular facts and occurrences of which it has given a narration. Mr. Duppa was at Rome, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies as an artist, when the death of general Duphot supplied the French directory with a pretext for revolutionising the ecclesiastical state. In that city he continued after the arrival of the French army, and the planting of the tree of liberty on the capitol, "until repeated warnings obliged him to seek for safety by retreat; and, from motives of personal curiosity alone, procured information, from the most authentic sources, of the private conduct of the French, and was witness to most of their public transactions." The relation which he has given of that conduct, and of those transactions, is unaffected, concise, and perspicuous, and is written with great appearance of truth, with impartiality, and good temper. It is a valuable record of "facts subservient to general history," illustrated by original papers, an excellent plan of Rome, reduced from Nolli's, a map of the ecclesiastical state from that of Boscovich, and other plates. The perusal of it will at once excite in the reader's mind, indignation at the invariable rapacity exercised by the French, contempt of the gross superstition, cowardice, and abject servility of the descendants from the heroes of antiquity, and admiration at the humiliating measures accompanying

the overthrow of that corrupt establishment which, for a long series of ages, had deluded and tyrannised over the greatest part of the Christian world.

The "Narrative of the Deportation, to Cayenne, of Barthélemy, Pichegru, Willot, &c. in consequence of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4th, 1796), &c. from the French of General Ramel, formerly Commandant of the Legislative Guard," will also be appealed to as a document by future historians, on account of the celebrity of the characters to whom it relates, and the uncontradicted and generally acknowledged truth and accuracy of the facts and representations which it contains. It will assist in elucidating the events of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, which was distinguished for oppressive injustice and the most daring violation of principle. But what will be found more generally interesting, is the account which it gives of the barbarous and unmanly treatment shown to the banished persons, on their journey from Paris to Rochfort, during their voyage across the Atlantic, and in the fort of Sinamary, within the government of Cayenne; and of the hardships and sufferings sustained by those who survived their miseries, while effectuating their escape from that prison to Surinam; whence they came to England, where they experienced a degree of humanity and kind attention, which they acknowledge in very delicate and grateful terms. The facts recorded in this narrative, likewise, throw considerable light on the general character of the deported, and of their enemies who had usurped the powers of government in France. The manner in which it is written, is unaffected, frank and temperate, in a degree that, considering the peculiarly irritating circumstances in which the author and his friends were placed, will powerfully call for the praise and confidence of the reader.

In our Catalogue of the Foreign Litterature of the year 1797, we announced the publication, in France, of a valuable and interesting historical detail of "The Campaigns of General Bonaparte in Italy, in the Fourth and Fifth years of the French Republic (1796 and 1797), by a General Officer." During the present year that work has been translated into English, by T. E. Ritchie, who has given it a more regular form than in the original, by consolidating the public papers, written by different hands; and who has also added a well-written narrative of the operations of the French armies on the Rhine, which he has compiled from the public dispatches of the different generals. This work is embellished with a map of the seat of war in Italy, and a portrait of Bonaparte.

The "Memoir of the Operations of the Army of the Danube under the Command of General Jourdan, 1799, taken from the MSS. of that Officer," translated from the French, offers some curious documents to the public, explanatory of the causes of the disasters which befel the French armies in Germany, in the last campaign of that distinguished commander. From the narrative which he has given, and the papers to which he appeals, it appears, that his reverses of fortune is not to be attributed to a deficiency in his military skill or courage, but to weakness or treachery in the government, and their subordinate agents. Accord-

in

ng to his statements, which have not been contradicted, the plan of operations which he had formed was approved, and the directory "ordered the generals to fight, but without affording them the means to insure victory." With sixty-six thousand men he was commanded to engage an hundred-and-twenty thousand; and his inadequate force was rendered still more ineffective, by the abuses and peculations of the contractors for the army, appointed and patronised by Scherer, the minister at war. The proofs which he has brought forward of these facts appear to us to "give a triumphant answer to the false assertions" of the directory, intended to represent the general to be solely culpable for the defeats sustained by the republican armies, and are narrated with the unvarnished plainness and bluntness of an old soldier.

The "History of the Campaigns of Count Alexander Suwarow Rimniksky, Field-Marshal-General in the Service of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, translated from the German of Frederic Anthing," in 2 volumes, has been published in the French as well as English language. Of the authenticity of this work we are enabled to form little judgment beyond what can be gathered from its correspondence with the accounts which the Russian government has from time to time permitted to transpire, of the movements of its armies to carry into execution its gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandisement, and with the horrible relations which have been propagated throughout Europe, by witnesses to the bloody honours which Suwarow acquired at Oczakow, Ismael, and ill-fated and reputation few characters of modern times have equalled that general, and still fewer in the prodigal expenditure of human victims, by which he earned his laurels. To those who are curious to trace the steps by which he gradually arrived at the summit of his glory, and who can accord with the author in the warm panegyrics which he bestows on the actions of his hero, and on his employers, these volumes will afford much gratification. Prefixed to them is a preliminary sketch of the private life and character of general Suwarow; in which we were not a little surprised at finding him described to be "sincerely religious, not from enthusiasm, but from principle," and embracing the opportunity, when circumstances allow him, on Sundays and holydays, to "deliver lectures on subjects of piety to those whom duty calls to an attendance upon him."

The "Investigation into our present received Chronology," by an author who signs himself "A Friend of Truth," is intended "to point out and prove several essential errors, of very considerable magnitude, contained in the period of time comprehended between the birth of Abram and the birth of Christ; insomuch, that although it is over reckoned materially in two instances, yet, upon the whole, it is evidently under-reckoned, as much as 115 years, viz. that Christ was born in the year 4119, and not in the year 4004." In establishing his proof of these errors, the author lays down a series of propositions, which he supports by arguments, chiefly founded on the supposed infallibility of the dates of the Hebrew Scriptures, as they stand in our present copies. There are

ever, who will grant to the a
his requisite data, without w
his conclusions must be inad
sible.

" The Royal Tribes of Wa
by Philip Yorke, Esq." is a sensi
and well-written work, in whi
chronology, genealogy, and bio
graphy, are judiciously blended to
gether, so as contribute to the in-
formation and entertainment of the
reader. To the inhabitants of the
principality, who are more parti-
cularly interested in its history and
antiquities, Mr. Yorke's labours will
prove chiefly acceptable; while
they will afford gratification to
every Englishman, who wishes to
obtain such accurate information
as the libraries of the curious and
choice MSS. only can supply, re-
specting the prejudices, actions, and
characters, of leading men, among
the aborigines of this island. One
article, which will engage the at-
tention of such persons, is the ge-
nealogy of his present majesty,
George III. which is clearly traced
up to Cadwalader, the last king of
the Britons; and from which may
be shown that " he is right heir, in
lineal succession, to the British,
Cambro-British, Anglo-Saxon, An-
glo Norman, English, and Scotish
kings." This work is embellished
with several elegant engravings of
illustrious persons who were natives
of Wales.

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In enumerating the Biographical
publications of the year 1799, we
shall pay our first attention to such
as are of a collective form. At the
head of these we find a specimen
of a new undertaking in this pleas-
ing and popular line of writing,
entitled " General Biography, or
Lives, Critical and Historical, of
the most eminent Persons of all
Ages, Countries, Conditions, and

We add, that th
will not dispute
character. Their
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form liberality and candour in the reflections and remarks which occur in them, and to those recommendations of composition and language, which were to be expected in the productions of writers of such established reputation. "Besides the references to authorities occasionally given in the substance of articles, at the end of every one are printed, in italics, the names of all the authors who have been consulted in compiling the narrative. But it is to be understood, that, in general, the authors have derived from these sources the matter of fact alone, not the sentiments and reflections." The lamented death of Dr. Enfield has obliged Dr. Aikin to associate with himself other coadjutors in this undertaking, of similar principles and a like spirit.

The next work which we have to announce is entitled "Biographia Medica, or Historical and Critical Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the most eminent Medical Characters that have existed from the earliest Accounts of Time to the present Period, with a Catalogue of their Literary Productions, by Benjamin Hutchinson," in 2 volumes. This work consists chiefly of abridgment, and in many instances a verbal copy, from prior publications, particularly Mangetus, Le Clerc, Freind, Dr. Aikin, the Biographia Britannica, the General Biographical Dictionary, and the accounts prefixed to the works of different medical men. Some of the articles have been drawn up from private communications, and contain interesting information and remarks, well arranged and pleasingly written; but we have not much praise to bestow on the work as a whole. From the haste in which it was evidently compiled, several names have been omitted, which ought to have found a place in a publication with the title of that before us. With respect to those that are admitted, likewise, in point of information it is frequently too meagre and scanty, and, in point of composition, unequal, and sometimes negligent to a very blameable degree. We censure this author the more freely, because his work affords evidence of his ability, with proper care and attention, to have produced a much more valuable and satisfactory performance.

The two volumes entitled "Biographiana, by the Compiler of Anecdotes of Distinguished Personages," of which the different volumes have been noticed by us in the order of their appearance, may properly be considered as a continuation of that amusing and instructive compilation. Besides curious extracts and entertaining anecdotes, collected from scarce books and personal inquiries, the volumes before us contain many original articles, either drawn up by the compiler from documents with which he was furnished by his friends, or presented to him in the form in which they appear in this collection, that will abundantly repay the reader for the trouble of perusing them. The indefatigable and worthy collector of these Biographiana, Mr. William Seward, to the great regret of his numerous friends, soon after their publication paid the last debt of nature.

The object of Mr. Adolphus, in his "Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution," in 2 vols. is to sketch the lives of the principal actors in the French revolution, and to trace the influence of individuals in producing events which have filled the world with astonishment,

l for which historical parallels sought in vain," and also "to ch the nature, spirit, and ten-cy of those principles which ributed to the success of san-ne innovators, who, under a tence of meliorating the condi-n of mankind, meditated the version of social order." While secuting his plan, he has dis-yed a considerable share of dili-ce in the collection of facts, much ingenuity in such an ap-ation of them as favoured his ntion of holding out the revo-on in France, and the most con-uous characters who have con-uted to its rise and progress, in odious light. But in his selec-n, combination, and comparison, the different accounts which e reached us of that event, in judgment of the motives of the ous parties, in his reflections, luctions, and language, he ap-rs rather in the character of a lous political partisan, than that an impartial historian and un-ased dispassionate biographer. e principal characters which he undertaken to delineate, exclu-of the unfortunate Louis XVI. his family, are those of Bailly, set, Chabot, Clootz, Danton, moulins, Dumouriez, Fabre Pantine, the marquis de Favras, ert, Henriot, Lepelletier de St. eau, Manuel, Marat, count beau, Necker, the duke of ns, Paine, Pétion, and Robes-e.

e "Biographical Anecdotes e Founders of the late Irish ion, including Memoirs of ost conspicuous Persons con-in that foul and sanguinary iracy," are stated in the title to have been "impartially by a candid observer." author's candour, however, will be called in question by readers equally loyal with himself; and the information, which his hastily and ill-written pages convey, is neither sufficiently important, nor interesting, to engage more than slight and temporary notice.

The "Sketches of Irish Political Characters of the present Day, showing the parts they respectively take in the Question of Union, what Places they hold, their Characters as Speakers, &c. &c." are written with greater pretensions to talents and intelligence than the last-mentioned publication. The author, likewise, appears less under the influence of party prepossessions than the self-named candid observer, while detailing such memoirs and anecdotes of distinguished Irish characters, in and out of parliament, as will prove gratifying to general curiosity.

The "Public Characters of the year 1799—1800," constitute the second volume of a work announced in our last year's Register, under the title of "Biographical Memoirs of eighty living public Characters, &c." The present volume contains memoirs of forty seven public or literary men, who are held up to notice either by the stations which they fill, or the productions which they have committed to the judgment of the world. As to the manner of its execution, it is sufficient to observe, that what was stated by us respecting the merits of the "Biographical Memoirs," is applicable to the continuation now before us.

"City Biography, containing Anecdotes and Memoirs of the Rise, Progress, Situation, and Characters of the Aldermen and other conspicuous Personages of the Corporation and City of London," is the title of a performance which

curiosity

curiosity may have induced many citizens of that extensive metropolis to peruse; but from which their stock of knowledge and information respecting their neighbours cannot have derived any valuable accession.

From the "Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius VI. and his Papacy, down to his Retreat into Tuscany, translated from the French." in 2 vols. we have received much desirable information, combined with a proportionate share of entertainment. A faithful account of the reign of that pope cannot but prove generally acceptable, because of the striking concatenation of circumstances presented in it, that contributed to give the last fatal blow to the temporal power of the bishops of Rome, and to render their dignity no longer an object of envy. The author of the memoirs before us appears to have drawn his materials from authentic sources, and to have been intimately acquainted with the most secret incidents and intrigues of the times: he, likewise, affords evidence, in his narrative and reflexions, of being governed by a commendable spirit of impartiality and candour. His work is divided into thirty-two chapters; in which, besides curious details relative to the public and private life of the sovereign pontif, the reader will meet with a variety of interesting particulars concerning the state, administration, and policy of the late papal government; its connection and disputes with different European courts, and, in particular, with those of Vienna, Florence, and Naples; the predisposing and immediate causes of its downfall, and the revolution of Rome. In these volumes, likewise, will be found a full and satisfactory account of Pius's celebrated attempt to drain the Pontine marshes which was to a considerable degree, though not completely, successful, and which will be considered by posterity as a highly meritorious and patriotic undertaking. The translator of these memoirs appears to have discharged his task with fidelity to the spirit of the original.

In the "Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel, and of John Christopher Smith," we have met with little that is new, relative to the former, worthy of being added to the particulars in Dr. Burney's sketch prefixed to his account of the commemoration of Handel. Mr. Smith was the son of John Christopher Schmidt, the copyist, steward and companion of Handel. He was, likewise, the scholar of that great master, his successor in conducting the oratorios, and a respectable though not popular composer. Such particulars concerning him as are most interesting, either in relation to his character and manners, or his connection with the musical world, are collected together in this treatise, and now first published, for the benefit of some of his relations. Subjoined to the anecdotes are select pieces of music, composed by Mr. Smith, which are well spoken of by better judges of such productions than we profess ourselves to be.

The "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Comber, D. D. sometime Dean of Durham, &c." have been compiled from the original manuscript of that learned and respectable clergyman, by his great grandson, Thomas Comber, A. B. Dr. Comber was distinguished, among the writers of the last century, as an able and strenuous advocate for the doctrines, liturgy,

id discipline of our established urch, and was a frequent, cor- spondent with Tillotson, Sharp, rnet, Hicks, Cave, Lake, and ier eminent contemporary di- ies. In the work before us, a nute detail is given of the cir- nstances of his life, of his vari- promotions, and of those com- ndable traits of character that e to consecrate his memory, ch reflects honour on the an- is pious respect for his worthy storr, if, from the manner of xecution, it may not be thought title him to a high rank among ious and elegant biographers. is work, likewise, a laborious not uncandid view is given of Comber's various productions, ll printed as manuscripts, and t account of his literary cor- ndence, which embraces ma- rious particulars relative to riod in which he lived.

" Memoirs of the life of s Macklin, Esq. principally ed from his own Papers and randums, by James Thomas an, of the Honourable So- f Lincoln's Inn," in 2 vols. us with a much greater of interesting and enter- anecdotes of that theatrical and more minute informa- pecting the circumstances of ite life, than have appeared different preceding publi- which have professed to his biography. They will ribute to throw consider- it on the history of the the greatest part of a cen- l on the character and me- veral contemporary actors e uncommonly long pe- hich their hero flourished. or, however, is too pro- unqualified in applying ge of panegyric to the subject of his memoirs, and too much prejudiced against some emi- nent performers, who were the ob- jects of Mr. Macklin's jealousy and spleen, to be entitled to the praise of candour and impartiality. His work, likewise, is rendered tedi- ously prolix by repetition, and the insertion of unnecessary or irrela- tive matter; and the arrangement of the whole is essentially defective with respect to order and perspi- cuity.

The "Memoirs of Colonel Ed- ward Marcus Despard, by James Bannantine, his Secretary when King's Superintendant at Hondu- ras," afford sufficient evidence of the important services which that gentleman formerly rendered to his king and country, of the acknow- ledgments from men in power, that "they were not forgotten, and would receive their reward," and of the hardships attending his fruit- less and unsuccessful attempts, for nearly eight years, to get his ac- counts with government settled. But they afford no insight into the causes of his arrest under the sus- pension of the habeas-corpus act, and his detention in close confine- ment without having any specific charge preferred against him. In time, it is to be presumed, the mys- tery in which his fate, and that of many other state prisoners is in- volved, will be explained; and we shall be able to judge with greater certainty concerning their merits or demerits, and those of their pro- secutors, than at the present mo- ment.

The last article which we have to insert in our biographical list contains an extraordinary account of an extraordinary character, well known at the bar of the Old Bai- ley: but, if we are to credit his own statements, the object of con-

malseration in some of those circumstances which exposed him to criminal prosecutions. It is "The Life of Major J. G. Semple Lisle, containing a faithful Narrative of his alternate Vicissitudes of Splendour and Misfortune, written by Himself." With respect to the authenticity of some parts of the author's relation, those particularly respecting his transactions in foreign courts and foreign armies, and the confidence placed in him "by the most potent princes in the world," his readers must form their own judgment from the testimony which he lays before them. His account of his adventures in Brazil, which wears the appearance of truth, and his observations on the country, the character, customs, and manners of the inhabitants, &c. are interesting and amusing, as are, likewise, many of the anecdotes interspersed throughout the whole of his work.

Under the head of Antiquities and Topography we find "Some Observations upon the Vindication of Homer, and of the ancient Poets and Historians, who have recorded the Siege and Fall of Troy, written by J. B. S. Morritt, Esq. by Jacob Bryant." A considerable part of this treatise consists of verbal criticism, and trivial debate, which do not appear to us to affect the grand points at issue between our author and his opponent. It contains, likewise, frequent complaints of a want of candour in Mr. Morritt's criticisms and remarks, for which we cannot perceive any just foundation: and such insinuations against either his veracity, or the industry of his researches on the scene of the Trojan war, as we know not how to reconcile with the liberality of the scholar, and unbiassed searcher after truth. We are sorry that this controversy should have degenerated into a war of words, and a provocation to acrimonious and personal altercation: and sincerely hope that we shall hear no more of it.

"Iter Britanniarum, or that Part of the Itinerary of Antoninus which relates to Britain, with a new Comment; by the Reverend Thomas Reynolds, A. M." is a work in which the author has employed much learned labour, and ingenious conjecture, with the design of elucidating a valuable remain of classical antiquity, which our most profound and able commentators have not left unincumbered with difficulties and obscurities. In pursuance of his plan, he avails himself of the labours of his predecessors, from Talbot, who wrote in the reign of Henry VI. to our modern Whitaker; and of the light afforded by the Roman antiquities discovered in different parts of this country during the present century; and of the surveys of roads, traveling dictionaries, and improved maps, which late years have produced. We will not venture to assert that, with these helps, he has brought forward an opus palmarium, completely and satisfactorily illustrative of the Roman itinerary, and superseding the necessity of farther investigations; neither will we say that in the whole of his reasonings, he appears entirely free from such embarrassments as are removeable by the different hypotheses of some contemporary writers. We think him entitled to much praise, however, for the industry which he discovers, and for the candour with which he freely acknowledges that his work is the result only of "close set labour," and that the interpretation for which he sometimes con-

tends has only a great probability, but does not appear positively conclusive."

In this department of our Register we have been accustomed to introduce our notice of the different volumes of the "Asiatic Researches," on account of the connection of their principal contents with the study of the history and antiquities of Asia. During the present year the fifth volume of that valuable work has been received, and reprinted in this country, in continuation of that series of "Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces, &c." selected from the Bengal Transactions, and announced by us in the order of their appearance. In the volume before us will be found several scientific papers, belonging chiefly to astronomy and natural history, some of which afford abundant evidence of the useful purposes to which those studies are applied in our oriental dominions. But the articles which more particularly demand our notice, are such as relate to the history and manners of nations, chronology, and antiquities. Of this kind are interesting historical remarks on the coast of Malabar, with some description of the manners of its inhabitants, and a curious account of two Fakeers, by Jonathan Duncan, Esq. an enumeration of Indian classes, and an essay on the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmens especially, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. and illustrations of the identity of the origin of some of the eastern nations deduced from comparative vocabularies of their languages, or observations on their alphabetic systems, by Francis Buchanan, M. D. and Captain John Towers. The chronological papers consist of a learned and ingenious essay on the chronology of the Hindus, by Captain Francis Wilford, in which their fabulous pretensions to an antiquity of a much earlier date than that of the Hebrew chronology are satisfactorily exploded; and some valuable remarks on the principal æras and dates of the ancient Hindus, by Mr. John Bentley. Of the articles belonging to the head of antiquities, the most important and curious are remarks on the names of the Cabirian deities, and on some words used in the mysteries of Eleusis, by Captain Francis Wilford; an account of some ancient inscriptions found near Ellura, on the western side of India, and deciphered by the same gentleman; an account of the temple of Shoemadoo Praw, by Captain Michael Symes; and an account of a pagoda at Perwuttum, extracted from a journal of Captain Colin Mackenzie. What is above enumerated of the contents of the present volume will be sufficient to apprise our readers of the richstores of instruction and entertainment in which it abounds.

In our Register for the year 1796, we introduced to our readers a treatise entitled "Vestiges of Oxford Castle, &c. by Edward King, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A." which was offered by him to the public, as a prospectus or specimen of an intended larger work, the chief object and design of which we briefly explained. During the present year, the learned and worthy author has published the first volume of that work, under the title of "Munimenta Antiqua; or, Observations on Ancient Castles, including Remarks on the whole Progress of Architecture, Ecclesiastical as well as Military, in Great Britain; and on the corresponding Changes in Manners, Laws, and Customs, tending both to illustrate modern History, and to elucidate many interesting

ing Passages in various ancient Classic Authors." This volume, which abounds in learned investigations, and a vast variety of curious facts and entertaining matter, is confined to the earliest periods in Britain, before the invasion of the Romans; the days of primeval simplicity and rudeness; the days of druidism, and of patriarchal manners. It commences with an examination of the history of the works constructed by the ancient Britons, their huts, towns, and strong holds; and is afterwards divided into seven chapters. The first chapter treats of aboriginal fortresses, and hill-fortresses in general, and concerning caves and hiding-places; and will assist the student in antiquities in distinguishing the British, from the Saxon, Danish, and Roman encampments, or fortresses, for which they are frequently mistaken. The second chapter presents us with an ingenious and interesting account of stones of memorial; and the third with discussions on circles of memorial, of observance, and of observation. The fourth chapter treats of sacred circles, with altars of oblation; and contains a particular and curious illustration of the celebrated druidical remains at Stonehenge. In the fifth chapter Mr. King discusses the subject of cromleches, which he decides to have been altars, intended for human sacrifices. In the sixth chapter he is employed on the subject of barrows, cairns, and kistvaens: and in the seventh, on those of logans, or rocking-stones, tolmen, and bason-stones. From this enumeration of its contents, our antiquarian readers will be abundantly sensible of the rich treat provided for them in the volume before us: and we can assure them that they will not rise from its perusal, without warm acknowledgments to the author, for the learning, industry, and accuracy which he has bestowed upon it. The typography of this volume is highly splendid; and many of the numerous plates which illustrate it are executed in a style of peculiar excellence.

The "Account of the Abbey Church of Bath, illustrative of the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of that Building," is the third in number of those splendid publications, by the order, and at the expence, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, intended to illustrate the style of architecture, and particularities of building in the principal ancient churches of England. This church is selected "as being the last building of any magnitude erected in this country, in a style purely Gothic, and almost the only one which remains in the state in which it was originally designed. The engravings, which are ten in number, of a large folio size, are by Basire, from drawings of Mr. Carter, the architect, to whom we owe the accompanying description of the short account of the abbey. In our last year's Register, when announcing the "Account of the Cathedral Church of Exeter," we erroneously stated that it was the first of this series of engravings of our principal ecclesiastical buildings, forgetful of the "Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster," noticed in our Register for the year 1795.

The "History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, by the Reverend John Milner, M. A. F. S. A." in 2 vols. is a work which displays much learned labour and antiquarian skill, united with no small portion of credulity, and prejudices in favour of the ancient religion of

this country that have disqualified the author for the office of a dispassionate relator of its ecclesiastical annals, and faithful painter of some of the most distinguished characters which occur in them. It is so voluminous, and comprehends so many prolix discussions relative to the various events in general British history, that we shall not attempt to lay before our readers any analysis of its contents, and shall confine ourselves to little more than such remarks on them as are of a general kind. That the author discovers a considerable share of learning, diligence, and of the true spirit of an antiquary, will not be denied by the reader, who candidly follows him in his recital of the History of Winchester, from its earliest probable origin, through the various periods of its advancement and prosperity, of its revolutions, decline, and decay. He may differ from Mr. Milner in his judgment of the causes to which he ascribes the principal events, and object to the colouring given by him to different transactions, and the sentiments which he advances. He may, likewise, detect mistakes and errors from which Mr. Milner's work is not exempt, any more than those of preceding writers, in whom he has sometimes confided too implicitly: but he will, at the same time, award him a due share of praise for the mass of valuable and important local information which he has collected from a great variety of authorities, and for many judicious antiquarian remarks, particularly on the subject of Gothic architecture. That Mr. Milner is liable to the charge of credulity, the absurd fabulous legends which he has admitted into his pages, the dreams or inventions of monkish writers in the darkest and most superstitious ages, bear ample testimony; and that his prejudice as a catholic unfitted him from being the dispassionate historian of the ecclesiastical events which fell within the scope of his inquiry, we conceive will abundantly appear from the general turn of representation, reasonings, and remarks, which pervade his whole work. The characters of the most strenuous advocates for priestly power are the uniform subjects of his eulogium; while those who opposed their usurpations are as uniformly traduced and vilified. Laborious vindications, or palliations, are attempted of some of those events which are the greatest blots in English history. Falsehood, misrepresentation, or absurdity, are without scruple or discrimination attributed to Carte, Hume, Guthrie, Rapin, &c. and some of the most illustrious defenders of civil and religious freedom are consigned to gross obloquy. These circumstances greatly detract from the value of Mr. Milner's History of Winchester. The volumes before us are illustrated by twelve well-executed engravings.

Soon after the publication of the last-mentioned work, appeared "Reflections on the Principles and Institutions of Popery, with Reference to Civil Society and Government, especially that of this Kingdom, &c. by John Sturges, L. L. D. Prebendary of Winchester, Chancellor of the Diocese, &c." We shall not enter, in this place, into a particular account of this work, which involves in it several topics of a theological and political nature; but content ourselves with observing, that Dr. Sturges's Reflections contain a judicious and satisfactory refutation of many objectionable statements and remarks

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in the History of Winchester, and an able vindication of some excellent characters from the aspersions cast on them by the author of that work. Dr. Sturges has not unaptly characterised Mr. Milner's history, as far as respects the ecclesiastical part of it, when he says that, "before the Reformation, it tends to countenance all the legends, to recommend all the institutions and to support all the pretensions of the Roman church, while it stood alone and unopposed in this kingdom; and after that period, it takes the form of an apology for that, and a satire on the reformed church established here by law, carrying on a constant comparison, which always tends to the advantage of the one, and the disadvantage of the other. To most of the persons concerned in any transactions, or placed in any situations which regard religion, it is surprising how faithfully he dispenses commendation and censure in exact proportion as they approach nearer to his standard of perfection, the Roman faith, or recede farther from it."

The "Letter to the Reverend John Milner, &c. by Robert Hoadly Ashe, D. D." contains an animated and successful defence of the merits and writings of Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, the celebrated champion of civil and religious liberty, and formerly bishop of Winchester, against "the false and illiberal aspersions" attempted to be fixed on them in the history of that city. What particularly calls for the animadversion and pointed reproof of this relation of the worthy bishop, is the insinuation that he was employed, living and dying in "undermining the church of which he was a prelate."

"The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Shoreditch, and Liberty of Norton Falgate, in the Suburbs of London, by Henry Ellis, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford," is a work on which the author appears to have bestowed uncommon industry, both in collecting his materials, and in compiling them so as to afford much information and entertainment to the inhabitants of those districts, and to readers in general. His wish, indeed, not to overlook any object, circumstance, or character, of which an account may prove gratifying to every species of innocent curiosity, has sometimes led him to an unnecessary minuteness of detail concerning particulars, which many will think, with us, might have been omitted without any injury to his work. On the whole, however, it is a valuable and interesting production, and entitles the author to a respectable situation among our writers on topography. We have not much praise to bestow on the illustrative plates which accompany it.

"The History of Berwick upon Tweed, including a Short Account of the Villages of Tweedmouth and Spittal, &c. by John Fuller, M. D." was originally compiled for insertion in the supplement to Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland. It presents us with little information relative to the former state, benefactions, and antiquities, of that celebrated town; but is chiefly employed in a description of the circumjacent scenes, and public buildings, and in an account of its present constitution and government, municipal and ecclesiastical establishments, manufactures, and improvements which have taken place, and are progressively increasing, in its local condition, and connexion with the commerce and economy of the British empire at large.

large. On these subjects it will be found to afford much desirable information. Several neatly executed engravings embellish this history.

Mr. Denholm's "History of the City of Glasgow," will furnish travellers to that place with a pleasing and apparently faithful account of such objects as are worthy of attention in the city and its environs; and, if he is disposed to contemplate the rich or sublime beauties of northern scenery, will prove acceptable from a sketch which is added "of a Tour to Lochlomond, and the Falls of the Clyde, forming a complete guide for the use of strangers." This little work is ornamented with several neat engravings.

In our Register for the year 1797, we announced a work offered to the world as "An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespear Papers, exhibited in Norfolk-Street." During the present year the author has published another bulky volume on the same subject, entitled "A Supplemental Apology, &c. being a Reply to Mr. Malone's Answer, which was early announced, but never published; with a Dedication to George Stevens, F. R. S. S. A. and a Postscript to T. J. Mathias, F. R. S. S. A. the Author of the Pursuits of Literature, by George Chalmers, F. R. S. S. A." This work is partly designed to repel the charge of ignorance concerning Shakespeare insinuated against Mr. Chalmers by Mr. Stevens, and partly to chastise some wits and critics who have presumed to laugh at the author's credulity, or to differ from him in their judgment on questions of literary curiosity. And we can assure the patient reader, that he will meet in it with much curiosity and interesting information, particularly in reference to the history of the stage, the office of master of the revels and the studies of Shakspeare; but intermingled with a sufficient quantity of dull and heavy quotations, hypothetical and absurd reasoning, dogmatism, self-conceit, and petulance. With this volume, we hope, that all discussion relative to the shameless forgery which gave rise to it will terminate.

Among the collection of Voyages and Travels published during the year 1799, is "a Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean, in the Years 1738 and 1739; written by himself, illustrated with several Engravings of ancient Buildings and Inscriptions, with a Chart of his Course, &c." published by John Cooke, M. A. chaplain to his lordship, and one of the chaplains of Greenwich hospital. This voyage was undertaken by the noble author at the early age of nineteen, and reflects honour on the attention then paid by him to objects interesting to the historian and statesmen, or gratifying to literary curiosity. But we cannot say that his lordship's observations on them are very profound and instructive, or that they supply us with much information, which was not, before the period of his voyage, to be collected without difficulty from ancient and modern authors. And later travellers have supplied us with such full and minute accounts of the countries which the author visited, of the customs and manners of the inhabitants, and such laborious investigations of the remains of antiquity which they contain, as might have superseded the necessity of this publication. We confess, likewise, that we were much surprised, while perusing the voyage before us, at perceiving the uniform coldness and apathy with which

which the author appears to have passed over scenes most renowned for interesting events and characters, and brilliant exploits in classical story. The noble earl's route was from Genoa to Leghorn, Capri, Elba, Corsica, Sardinia, Gaeta, Naples, and through the Faro of Messina to Catania and Syracuse. From Syracuse he proceeded to Athens, the most considerable western islands of the Archipelago, and Constantinople. From Constantinople he visited the coast of Asia, the eastern islands of the Archipelago, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria. After a considerable stay in Egypt, he returned along the African coast to Malta; whence he sailed to Lisbon, and from thence to Gibraltar, the coast of Spain, Minorca, and Genoa, where his voyage terminated. The engravings which accompany this volume are little more than outlines of buildings, and copies of inscriptions without interpretations. Prefixed to the work are memoirs of the noble author's life, by the editor; which discover the hand of a partial friend, who has carefully kept out of sight the most reprehensible features of his private character.

Of the "Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, undertaken by Order of the old Government of France, by C. S. Sonnini, Member of several scientific and literary Societies, and formerly an Officer and Engineer in the French Navy," two English translations have been published from the original French. The first of these was presented to the public by Henry Hunter, D. D. in three volumes octavo, illustrated with forty engravings, and a large map of the country, from d'Anville. As the doctor used uncommon speed, and availed himself of assistance in order to gratify as much as possible the general impatience to see this work in English, his version is not always so correct and uniform as were to be wished. On the whole, however, it is not ill executed, any more than the plates which illustrate it. The other translation appears with superior recommendations, especially to wealthy purchasers. It forms a splendid quarto volume, ornamented with engravings, of which many are highly elegant and beautiful. It is, likewise, the result of greater attention and care than Dr. Hunter's translation; but is disgraced by the angry, contemptuous, and illiberal terms which the anonymous author has been pleased to use, when speaking of that gentleman's talents and performance. So much for the merits of these respective versions.—M. Sonnini was sent to Egypt in the year 1778, under the auspices of Louis XVI, to obtain accurate information respecting the state of that country, with a view, according to some writers, only to the improvement of science and commercial arrangements; but if we may believe others, to a projected expedition to Egypt, at least equally interested and indefensible with that under Bonaparte. Be that, however, as it may, the object of the author in publishing it is, "to exhibit a view of Egypt, so as the French shall have found it; to depict the manners of the different tribes who inhabit it; to describe the wreck of august monuments scattered over its soil; to delineate some traces of the rich attire which nature has displayed," in its beautiful and fertile scenery; in a word, to present a sketch of this portion of Africa, before it shall have changed its appearance," in consequence of that civilisation which

the author predicts his countryman will cause "to succeed gross and ferocious ignorance." And it is but justice to acknowledge, that his labours prove him to have been an intelligent and observant traveller, as well as indefatigable in fulfilling the design of his mission; and that they supply us with much curious and valuable information. This work is divided into fifty-four chapters of which the first seven are employed in preliminary remarks, and an account of the author's voyage from France to Genoa, Elba, Palermo, Malta, and Alexandria. The next thirty chapters are devoted to a description of Lower Egypt; its productions and natural history; its inhabitants, antiquities, &c.; the author's adventures among the Bedouins, in visiting the celebrated Natron lakes and Coptic convents in the western desert; and of the city of Cairo, its government, revolutions, customs, manners, commerce, military and moral character of the Mameluks, &c. Of the remaining chapters, the greater part are descriptive of the author's journey to Upper Egypt, into which few French travellers have penetrated; the circumstances which prevented his projected journeys into Abyssinia; the Nubian caravans; his visit to an Arabian prince; the state of surgery, practice of physic, and diseases in Egypt, &c. &c. From the whole we have received useful additions to our knowledge of a country, which is at present, and will probably in future often prove, the theatre of important political and military transactions; and we have at the same time been entertained by the author's manner, when his subjects do not confine him to dry detail and scientific remarks.

The "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the Year 1792 to 1798, by W. G. Browne," are chiefly valuable for the novel and important information which they convey respecting districts in the interior of Africa, which before his adventrous and perilous journey had been unexplored by Europeans, and the light thrown by them on the eastern geography of that vast peninsula. In his account of Egypt, indeed, of its topography, history, government, antiquities, commerce, inhabitants, and recent occurrences, he has collected together a variety of new facts, observations, and anecdotes, which serve to improve the knowledge to be acquired from the travels of Sonnini; and in his route through Syria, and the centre of Annatolia, to Constantinople, he has added some interesting particulars to the remarks of preceding travellers. But Mr. Browne's laborious and hazardous expeditions through the African deserts are what will particularly engage the attention of his more informed readers. The first of these was undertaken with the view of discovering the remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon; in which he came to Siwa, answering in many respects to the description given by the ancients of the Oasis in which that temple was built, and containing ruins, evidently Egyptian, that may not improbably be the remains of that celebrated fane. The arguments, at least, in favour of this hypothesis, appear to us to be more weighty than those which can be advanced in opposition to it. Mr. Browne's most interesting journey, however, was in company with a caravan of Jelabs, or slave-merchants, to the empire of Dar Fur, in the interior of Africa, several degrees to the westward of the kingdom of San-

hear, and in about the same northern latitude. This country the author was not permitted to quit, through the jealousy of the government, for the space of nearly three years; during which time he met with a variety of extraordinary adventures, and had the opportunity, from personal observation, and diligent inquiries, to collect much curious and instructive information. We cannot particularise the heads under which it is included, but must refer our readers to the work itself. Subjoined to these travels are illustrations of maps which accompany them, itineraries, meteorological tables kept at Dar Fur, and remarks on the errors of preceding writers. Mr. Browne's style and language are sometimes turgid and affected, in a very blameable degree; and expressions have occasionally escaped from his pen which can neither be reconciled with decency nor liberality.

At the time when Mr. Browne quitted the empire of Dar Fur, on the eastern side of the vast peninsula, Mr. Mungo Park was prosecuting his "Travels in the interior Districts of Africa, performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797," on the western side. These travels were pursued by Mr. Park, under instructions, on his arrival at an English factory on the banks of the river Gambia, "to pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient; to ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river; to use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns and cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombuctoo and Houssa; and afterwards to return to Europe, either by way of the Gambia, or by such other route as, under all the then existing circumstances of his situation and prospects, should appear to him to be most advisable." In pursuance of these instructions Mr. Park penetrated nearly an hundred miles into the interior of Africa, with a degree of resolution and perseverance in sustaining unexampled privations and hardships, of patience under indignities, and of ardour and good sense in his observations and inquiries; that eminently qualified him for fulfilling the wishes of his employers. But the union of these talents did not enable him completely to execute his instructions. In consequence of the robberies and cruelties of the Moors, through whose territories he was unfortunately obliged to pass, and the subsequent hatred shown to him as a Christian by such of them as he found scattered among the various negro tribes, as well as their misrepresentations of the object and design of his journey; after being permitted only to enter the suburbs of Sego, a large town, and the capital of the kingdom of Bambarra on the Niger; and pursuing for some days the course of that river he was reduced to a situation which rendered his farther progress impracticable, and obliged to return by the way of the Gambia. By being enabled, however, clearly to ascertain the course of the Niger, and by his observations and inquiries, he has confirmed the disputed assertions of ancient writers, and furnished us with valuable additions to our geography of the African regions. For an account of the author's preparations for his arduous enterprise; of the various, and many of them highly affecting, incidents which befel him in his pro-

gress; the different scenes which he passed through, and their productions; the different nations which he visited, their character, disposition, manners, amusements, arts, &c. we must refer to his plain unvarnished narrative, which wears every appearance of the strictest fidelity, and cannot fail of greatly interesting the reader. In an Appendix we are presented with the entire geographical illustrations of Mr. Park's journey, by major Rennel, inserted in the proceedings of the African Association, of which we gave an extract among the selections in our last year's Register; and the work is also illustrated by some plates, together with a map of the author's route, compiled from his observations; a general map, showing the progress of discovery and improvement in the geography of North Africa; and a chart of the lines of magnetic variation in the seas around Africa, by the above-mentioned able geographer.

Major John Taylor's "Travels from England to India, in the Year 1789, by the Way of the Tyrol, Venice, Scanderoon, Aleppo, and over the large Desert to Bassora, &c." in two volumes, will prove entertaining to readers in general, and a very useful companion to those whose engagements may lead them to undertake an over-land journey to our Oriental colonies. To the first volume is prefixed a long and well-written introduction, in which the author takes a survey of the different communications that have taken place between Europe and the East, from the time of Alexander the Great to the present day, and examines into the advantages resulting from them to society at large. The rest of the volume describes the various accidents attending the major's expedition, until his arrival at Bombay; interspersed with pleasing and instructive remarks on the different people and places visited by him, as well as lively and curious anecdotes. In the second volume, amidst a variety of miscellaneous matter, will be found an account of the route by Suez, with remarks on the Red Sea, &c.; instructions for gentlemen going by land for India, and for passing the desert; a detail of the expenses, of the articles necessary for such a journey, of the current money of the different countries, of proper precautionary measures for the preservation of health, &c. on the value of which, to the Oriental traveller, it is quite needless to enlarge. These volumes are illustrated by maps of the countries between Great Britain and the East Indies, and of major Taylor's route.

In our account of the literary productions of the United Provinces during the year 1793, we announced the publication of "Voyages from Zealand to the Cape of Good Hope, &c. in the Years 1768—1771," by the late Dutch rear-admiral Stavorinus. Since the appearance of that work, his papers have furnished his friends with the particulars of a second expedition to the East, commencing in 1774, and terminating in 1778, which they have committed to the press in continuation of the former publication. It is with pleasure that we have to introduce to our readers an English translation of the above-mentioned articles, by Samuel Hull Wilcocke, under the title of "Voyages to the East Indies, by the late John Splinter Stavorinus, Esq. with Notes and Additions by the Translator; the whole comprising a full and accurate Account of all the present and late Possessions

sessions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope; illustrated with Maps," in three volumes. The first of these volumes contains an account of the author's voyages to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal. In the second volume we have a description of his second expedition to the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia, and his voyages thence to Samarang, Macasser, Amboyna, and Surat. The third volume presents us with a continuation of the author's remarks and observations made at Surat, and his voyages at different intervals, to Batavia, the Coast of Malabar, the Cape of Good Hope, and Europe. During these voyages, Mr. Stavorinus, who appears to have possessed much intelligence, and a spirit of diligent investigation, was enabled to collect much novel and interesting information, respecting the different places which he successively visited, their history and government, political and commercial importance, productions, inhabitants, manners, and customs, &c. &c. which is a valuable addition to what has been supplied by former writers. And the translator has rendered the work in its English dress of still greater worth, "by notes and additions which he has made, collected from every authentic source within his reach; from the accounts of other travellers, from other Dutch writers, from authentic documents, manuscripts, and statements, and, in a few instances, from oral information: which, in the present situation of affairs, cannot fail of being extremely interesting." To the whole is added an Appendix, containing curious papers relative to the regulations, commerce, and dividends, of the Dutch East-India company; extracts from the Herbal of Oldelard, formerly superintendant of the company's garden at the Cape; and a sketch of the life of the late Dutch governor-general Reinier de Klerk, who gradually rose by his merit to that rank, from the humble situation of a common sailor in a Dutch East-Indiaman.

The "Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, compiled from Journals of the Officers and the Missionaries, &c." was undertaken in subserviency to the benevolent and commendable design of a religious society in this country, of propagating Christianity among heathens and barbarous nations. The scenes which they fixed upon for their first exertions, were Otaheite, were they recommended the chief efforts to be made, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Sandwich and Pelew islands; subject to the discretion of captain Wilson, so far as changes in the situation of those Islands, or other circumstances, might render alterations, with respect to the places of settlement, necessary or expedient. The number of missionaries embarked on this design amounted to thirty; of whom four were ordained ministers, and the rest chiefly manufacturers, or working tradesmen. Six of them, likewise, were accompanied by their wives. In the volume before us, we have an interesting account of the circumstances attending their voyage to the places of their destination; of their friendly reception by the inhabitants; of the incidents which took place after their arrival; of their incipient settlements at Otaheite, Tongataboo, and Ohihitahoo, or Santa Christina; of their progr

learning the language, and acquiring the confidence of the natives; and of the sanguine hopes entertained by them of a favourable issue to their undertaking. At so early a period, any decision on the justice of these hopes would be premature; as would any opinion of the fitness of the missionaries for the object in view, before their abilities have had time and scope for a fair trial. Their conduct, however, in general, as far as is here related, appears to have been conciliating, prudent, and exemplary: and if they should not succeed in converting the South-Sea islanders to Calvinistic Christianity, which is the system of their articles, language, and religious addresses, they may, by the introduction of useful arts, and the inoffensiveness of their manners contribute to their gradual civilisation; and by that means prepare their minds for the reception of the simple principles, and pure morality, of the Gospel. Prefixed to this voyage is a judicious and well-written discourse on the geography and history of the South-Sea Islands, compiled from the publications of preceding authors; and in an Appendix is given a more full and minute account than has yet appeared of the island of Otaheite, its government, remarks on society, property, inhabitants, religion, customs, amusements, natural history, &c. The narrative of this missionary voyage is illustrated with some excellent maps and charts, and elegant views.

The "Travels through several Provinces of Spain and Portugal, by Richard Crohier, Esq. Captain in the late 99th Regiment of Foot," are the production of a gentleman who was captured, with his regiment, by the combined French and Spanish fleets, in the month of July 1780, and sent prisoner on his parole to Arcos, a town in the interior of Andalusia. It was during a short stay at Port St. Mary's, where he was landed, his progress from that place through Xeres to Arcos, his residence at that town for about three months, and his subsequent route by land for Lisbon, that he collected the materials for his work. His scope for inquiry, and his opportunities for obtaining information, cannot, therefore, have been very extensive. But he appears to have made the most of his situation, and to have viewed the objects which presented themselves to him with an inquisitive discriminating eye; and he his drawn up his descriptions of the scenes through which he passed, and related the adventures which he met with, and made his remarks on the government, character, customs, and manners of the people among whom he was a traveller, with a mixture of intelligence and liveliness by which we have been both amused and informed.

The following publication might perhaps be assigned with most propriety to our department of miscellaneous articles; but as the author has chosen to write in the character of a traveller, we shall introduce our notice of it in this place. It is entitled "Letters written from various Parts of the Continent, between the Years 1785 and 1794; containing a variety of Anecdotes relating to the present State of Literature in Germany, and to celebrated German Literati; with an Appendix, in which are included Three Letters of Gray's, never before published in this country. Translated from the German of Frederic Matthisson, by Anne Plumptre." These letters, which are written without any plan

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or connexion, embrace a great variety of subjects, historical, descriptive, critical, and miscellaneous. But the most interesting and entertaining of them are such as include narratives and anecdotes, which serve to illustrate events in modern history, or to bring us acquainted with the characters of living German authors of celebrity. At the same time it should be remarked that the praise which Mr. Matthisson bestows upon the literary men to whom he was introduced, is so profuse and indiscriminate, that it may be proper in some instances to hesitate, instead of implicitly yielding to his judgment. The letters of Gray, which bear strong internal evidence of their genuineness, were written to his intimate and confidential friend Bonstetten, and were, it seems, refused to Mr. Mason when he wrote the life of our poet.

The "Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, with an authentic Account of Lower Canada, by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt," in two large 4to. volumes, constitute a work of much greater importance and value than are attributable to the generality of publications under similar titles. It is written much in the manner of Arthur Young's "Travels undertaken more particularly with a View of ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, &c. of France," of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1792; and furnishes the reader with a vast mass of geographical, commercial, political, and œconomical information, the result of attentive remark and diligent judicious inquiry. With the information which he conveys, the author has interwoven a variety of anecdotes and adventures that have afforded us much amusement, and pictures of the manners of the inhabitants which are, in general, impartial and pleasing. He has likewise introduced into his work a number of political remarks and reflexions, of which the greater part are dispassionate, liberal, and judicious. We except from that character almost every thing that the author has said relative to Britain, and British politics; in which he has betrayed inveterate prejudices, and a rancorous hatred against a nation that afforded him a friendly and hospitable asylum after he had escaped from the murderous hands of his own countrymen, which reflect little credit on his grateful or manly feelings The first volume contains the duke de Liancourt's travels from Philadelphia to Lake Ontario, and the British settlements in Upper Canada. Lord Dorchester, who was apprised of his animosity against England, and of the danger of admitting such a person to associate with the disaffected French inhabitans of Lower Canada, would not permit his entrance into that province. From Upper Canada our author pursued his route by Albany to Massachusets, the district of Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, and Philadelphia. The second volume consists of tours from Charlestown, through Virginia and Maryland, to Philadelphia; from that place, chiefly by sea, to Providence, New Hampshire, and thence, after reaching Hudson's river, by a western course, to New-York; different tours to the Federal City, through the state of Delaware, the eastern part of Maryland, and to the different parts of the Jerseys; miscellaneous matter written under the article of Residence in Philadelphia, and general

observations on the American states. These travels appear to have been faithfully translated from the original French, by Mr. Newman, and are accompanied by such maps as are necessary to illustrate them.

Of Mr. Weld's "Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797," there are two impressions; one in an elegant quarto volume, illustrated by sixteen neatly executed maps, plans, and descriptive engravings; the other in two volumes, octavo, with the same plates. Mr. Weld is a native of Ireland, who, when the late storms that were gathering over that country, "rendered it impossible to say how soon any one of its inhabitants might be forced to seek for refuge in a foreign land, was induced to cross the Atlantic, for the purpose of examining with his own eyes into the truth of the various accounts which had been given of the flourishing and happy condition of the United States of America; and of ascertaining whether, in case of future emergency, any part of those territories might be looked forward to, as an eligible and agreeable place of abode." The narrative of his travels is written in the epistolary form, and describes his progress through the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and the two Canadas. From the result of his observations and inquiries, he has not been led to present to his countrymen a favourable picture of the new world, which he left, "without a sigh, and without entertaining the slightest wish to revisit it." And in forming his judgment of the people and country, he does not appear to have been influenced by pre conceived prejudices against them; but, in our opinion, by the disappointment of too highly raised expectations, by the impossibility of obtaining those comforts and accommodations in travelling that are readily commanded in this country, and by a dissimilarity in customs and manners not easily reconciliable with the habits of Britons. Mr. Weld's Travels, however, will be found to afford much information and entertainment. If, in the former respect they are not so valuable as the last mentioned article, they will prove more acceptable to general readers, from the greater ease and better temper in which they are written, the more pleasing descriptions which they contain of natural scenery, and the author's more simple delineation of popular manners. Mr. Weld's style is not free from blemishes and incorrectness.

In our last year's Register we barely announced, among the articles in French literature, "Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides, chiefly illustrative of Sciences and the Arts, Natural History and Manners, by B. Faujas Saint Fond," in two volumes. During the present year that work has appeared in a well-executed English version, with some variation in the title, which, as it is more fully explanatory of the contents of the author's volumes, we shall insert. It states that they present us with "Mineralogical Descriptions of the Country about Newcastle; of the Mountains of Derbyshire; of the Environs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, and St. Andrews; of Inverary, and other Parts of Argyleshire; and of the Cave of Fingal." These travels are chiefly valuable for the scientific and economical observations occurring in them; the former

of which are favourable to the Neptunian hypothesis; and the latter affording hints, by which our highly improved manufactories may profit. But they will be found entertaining and flattering to Britons, from the impressions which they describe the author to have felt, on viewing the numerous objects of utility or curiosity, which arrest the attention of inquisitive foreigners in every part of this country; the mines, manufactures, spirit of enterprise, order, and œconomy, which are the foundations of our greatness; and the striking scenes of grandeur or of beauty, which abound both in the northern and southern parts of our island. The respectable tribute, likewise, which the author pays to our philosophic and literary characters, the handsome terms in which he speaks of the hospitality and friendly manners which he experienced, and the good humour which pervades his whole work, will not contribute to render the perusal of his travels less pleasing to our countrymen.

The two volumes of "Rambles through Ireland, by a French Emigrant, translated from the French of M. de Latocnaye, by an Irishman," contains the remarks and observations of an eccentric, but inquisitive and lively, pedestrian traveller, during an excursion of eight or nine months, through the greatest part of that country, to which he carried with him numerous and very respectable letters of recommendation. We read them, not without receiving entertainment, and some information, particularly respecting "the remotest and wildest part of the country, where the national character may be supposed to have been least strangers." According to the translator, he has painted his countrymen as they are. The picture which he presents of the higher ranks is honourable to their public spirit, generosity, and hospitality; and that of the lower classes much more pleasing than we have been accustomed to receive from the pencils of foreigners.

The "Letters of a Traveller, on the various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, containing Sketches of their present State, Government, Religion, Manners, and Customs, &c. edited by Alexander Thomson, M.D." consist partly of compilations from writers of respectability, and partly of information obtained by the author in his visits to countries seldom frequented by European tourists. The *mélange* is not unskilfully prepared, and, by young readers, may be consulted with pleasure and profit.

Mr. Warner's "Second Walk through Wales, in August and September 1798," is conducted on the same plan, and is equally pleasing and entertaining with his former volume, of which we gave an account in our last year's Register. To travellers through the principality, both volumes will prove serviceable, in pointing out the objects most worthy of their notice, in supplying them with an abstract of their history, and in beguiling the fatigues of their journey by amusing narratives.

Mr. Pratt's "Gleanings in England, descriptive of the Countenance, Mind, and Character of the Country," volume IV. are a continuation, in the same manner and spirit, of his work noticed in our Register for the year 1795. That his pages still continue to be sometimes highly interesting and enter-

but we cannot conceal that at other times we were oppressed with langour by the author's prolixity and verbosity. If Mr. Pratt devotes the same proportionate share of attention to other parts of the kingdom that he has done to Norfolk, in the present volume, in order "to present a just and honourable idea of this important country, as a whole, from—not a mechanical, not a methodical,—but fair and liberal survey of its parts, taken in several journeys upon its animated surface, with descriptions from immediate objects and reflexions, moral, natural, political, or personal, either in connexion with, or arising out of, them," it will not be easy to form a conjecture of the magnitude to which his work must swell.

The hon. Mrs. Murray's "Companion and useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, and to the Curiosities in the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, &c." will more than answer the expectations which may be formed from its modest and unassuming title. The particular and judicious directions and information which she has given to travellers constitute the useful part of her work; and to these she has added pleasing and animated descriptions of the natural scenery, delineations of character and manners, and lively anecdotes, which will gratify and amuse the reader.

"The Balnea, or an impartial Description of all the popular Watering Places in England, interspersed with original Sketches and incidental Anecdotes, &c. by George Saville Carey," may serve as an entertaining companion and guide to the visitors of those scenes, either for the purposes of health or of pleasure. His remarks on them, however, and their frequenters, are sometimes too severe and cynical; and the puns and jokes, which he introduces, such as will not always be relished by readers of refined taste. Several of his pages are employed in proving, we cannot say with decisive evidence, that his father wrote the song of "God save the King."

The short "Journal of a Tour to Scarborough," from Wisbech, will afford information and pleasure to those who may pursue the same route with the author. But he must have been very self-complacent, or very jocular, when he introduced into it the following question addressed to the critics in the Monthly Review: "Which is the most piquant *bonne bouche*, the foregoing pages, or Dolly's beef-steaks?"

The Political publications of the year 1799, if we except such as relate to the state of things and subjects discussed in Ireland, have been fewer in number, and of less importance than during several preceding years. This is to be attributed in some measure to the expensive prosecutions carried on against booksellers, who were so unfortunate as to receive into their shops for sale publications which excited the indignation of the attorney-general. The impossibility of examining every work which should pass through their hands in the course of trade determined some of the most respectable of that class not to publish any treatise of political complexion; and others carefully to exclude such as should not favour and support ministerial politics. By such determinations a considerable delay was occasioned

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in the appearance of a vindication of "the Secession from Parliament" of the opposition members, by the reverend Mr. Wyvill, which must be allowed to be an able, temperate, and constitutional production, by those who may not feel the force of the author's arguments. Such a secession, when the peculiarity of circumstances requires it, he maintains to be consistent with the law and usage of parliament, and to be the constitutional mode of appeal from a minority to the sense and reason of the community at large.

The "Thoughts on Government, with a short View of the comparative political Freedom enjoyed in France, America, Britain, &c. by George Watson, Esq." are employed in showing that the British constitution is more perfect, and likely to endure longer than any other constitution in the world. So far from entertaining apprehensions of evil consequences from an extension of the regal influence, the author asserts his belief, "that, if not properly restrained, the superior influence of the people will swallow up the power of the crown."

"The Rise, Progress and Consequences, of the new Opinions and Principles lately introduced into France," will prove acceptable only to superficial and credulous readers; and the "Historical View of the Rise, Progress, and Tendency, of the Principles of Jacobinism, by the Reverend Lewis Hughes, B. D." to the admirers of the abbé Barruel's reveries, from which it is a professed compilation.

The "Appeal to Man, but particularly addressed to the British Government, with an Institute of Government, &c." is a strange compound of mysticism and democracy, in which the Author, in the plenitude of his wisdom, labours to persuade his majesty's ministers to establish similar forms of government in the British colonies and dependencies, with what have awakened their jealousy and apprehensions when adopted in a neighbouring country.

"The Conduct of Great-Britain vindicated against the Calumnies of foreign Enemies and domestic conspirators, &c. by Charles Tweedie, Junior," is the composition of a juvenile, but ingenious and lively writer, who has shown himself not sparing in declamation, and vituperative rhetoric, while endeavouring to convict the French of the crimes of commencing the present bloody and ruinous war, and of frustrating all attempts at negotiation for peace.

The "Observations on the Political State of the Continent, should France be suffered to retain her immense Acquisitions, &c." are the production of a well-informed and able writer, who is a strenuous advocate for the continuance of war with the French republic, until her conquests in Belgium and Italy are wrested from her grasp. In endeavouring to point out the necessity of such protracted hostility to the safety of Europe, he is supported by the authors of "Thoughts on the Interference of Great-Britain with the Political Concerns of the Continent;" of "Arguments for a Coalition against France;" of "Considerations on the Impolicy of treating for Peace with the present Regicide Government of France;" and of "the Necessity of destroying the French Republic, proved by Facts and Arguments, translated from the French, by the Author." Mr. Bowles's "Retrospect" consists of a republication of the different tracts in which that author

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s endeavoured to persuade his untrymen to exert repeated and reased vigour, for the destruc-n of the French republic and of ench republicans.

Sir Francis d'Ivernois has con-buted his efforts to the same cause an "Historical and Political Sur-y of the Losses sustained by the ench Nation, in Population, A-iculture, Colonies, Manufactures, d Commerce;" the chief object which is to show, that the re-urces of the French republic for rrying on the war are extinct.

Francis has repeatedly encou-ged our war-loving statesmen by same kind of consolatory intel-ence; but, unfortunately, the ogress of events has not corre-nded with his ingenious calcula-ns. If we may credit, however, e author of "Tests of the National ealth and Finances of Great-Bri-n," whatever be the state of the ench treasury, our resources for rrying on the war are progressive-increasing; for the increase of es, of which no person can en-tain a doubt, in his estimation, is incontrovertible proof of the in-ease of national wealth. Mr. Rose, ewise, has endeavoured to stimu-e our exertions against France, by A brief Examination into the In-ease of the Revenue, Commerce, d Manufactures of Great Britain, m 1792 to 1799;" in which he has ered a specious and flattering pic-re of the flourishing state of our ances, to comfort us under the se-re pressure of our public burthens. The other articles which belong this department are, "The Dutch pedition vindicated, with brief bservations on the Emigrants;" The Failure of the French Cru-le, or the Advantages to be de-ed to Great Britain from the Restoration of Egypt to the Turks, by Eyles Irwin, Esq.;" a satirical "Extract from an Account of cer-tain poor Persons in London, who cannot pay their Income-Tax, with Observations, and a Plan for their Relief;" "The Origin of insidious Arts of Jacobinism, a Warning to the People of England, &c. by Francis Wollaston, Rector of Chi-selhurst;" and Mr. David Rivers's rancorous and malignant "Obser-vations on the Political Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters, &c."

In Irish politics, we meet with "An Examination into the Discon-tents in Ireland, with Remarks on the Writings and Interference, *ex officio*, of Arthur Young, Esq. &c. by William Bingley, fourteen Years a Resident in" that country. This work is written with great openness, simplicity, and candour, and pre-sents us with valuable information relative to the real state of the coun-try and country-people of Ireland, before the commencement of the late unhappy civil war. The disaffec-tion, and subsequent rebellion, of the Roman-catholic peasantry, he clear-ly traces to the oppressions attend-ing the collection of tythes, and other sufferings, which call loudly for remedy, before permanent peace and tranquillity can be expected in that country.

The "Impartial Relation of the Military Operations which took Place in Ireland, in Consequence of the landing of a Body of French Troops under General Humbert, in August 1798," we notice in this place, on account of the light which it throws on the political state of the popular mind at that period. From the evidence brought forwards by the author, it appears that so gene-ral was the prevalence of disaffec-tion, that little confidence could be placed

played in a considerable part of the national militia, and that it required the greatest caution and prudence in marquis Cornwallis, with the large force entrusted to him effectually to counteract the mischief of that feeble invasion.

The "Legal Arguments, occasioned by the Project of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland, on the Exclusion of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of both Kingdoms from Parliament, by a Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn," are drawn up with ability, and would not have been less forcible and impressive, if the author had been occasionally more cool and temperate in his language and incidental reflections. We can perceive no reasons of true policy or expediency, that, in the present state of things, should prevent protestants and catholics, and men of all religious opinions, from being considered as children of one family, and entitled to the same privileges and immunities of every description.

The subject of a union between Great Britain and Ireland, adverted to in the last-mentioned article, gave rise to a variety of publications, of which our limits will only permit us to take very brief notice. Some of those publications consist of speeches, or the substance of speeches, delivered by the principal orators and statesmen in both houses of parliament, and demanded our attention in giving an abstract of the parliamentary debates. The other articles we shall class according to the side of the question embraced by their respective authors, in favour of, or against, the union of the two kingdoms.

In the number of the former are "Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland." This treatise presents us with striking facts, and ingenious reasonings, to prove not only the policy, but the necessity, of the incorporation of Ireland with England, delivered in the polished but turgid language of the Burkean school.

"The Necessity of an incorporate Union between Great Britain and Ireland, proved from the Situation of both Kingdoms, with a Sketch of the Principles on which it ought to be formed," is the title of a pamphlet which contains a full and comprehensive view of the subject, and a luminous arrangement of the most weighty arguments in favour of the measure in question.

The "Three Letters to a Noble Lord, on the projected Legislative Union, &c. by a Nobleman," are to be commended for the calmness and good temper with which the author discusses his subject, and points out the influence which such a change must have on the legislation, commerce, and religious privileges of the Irish.

The "Reasons for adopting an Union between Ireland and Great Britain, by the Author of the Letters to Jos. Spencer, Esq." possess a similar character with the last-mentioned article; as do, likewise, the treatises entitled "Ireland profiting by Example, or the Question, Whether Scotland has gained or lost by an Union with England? fairly discussed, in a Letter from a Gentleman at Edinburgh to his Friend at Dublin;" and the "Letter addressed to a Member of the Irish Parliament on the Subject of the proposed Union, &c."

"The Competency of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland to incorporate their Legislatures,

tures, &c. by the Author of the Necessity of an incorporated Union, &c." is less ably argued than the doctrine of his former work. According to his present reasoning, right is resolvable into power; and a delegated limited authority is exalted into absolute and uncontroled supremacy over the power which constituted it.

Lord Falkland's "Considerations on the Competency of the Parliament of Ireland to accede to the Union with Great Britain," do not enter deeply into the principles of that question, and leave many points untouched that are necessary to its complete investigation.

Mr. James Gerahty, barrister-at-law, in his "Present State of Ireland, and the only Means of preserving her, considered in a Letter to the Marquis Cornwallis," and in his "Consequences of the proposed Union with respect to Ireland, considered, in a Second Letter," holds the same doctrine with the two last-mentioned writers respecting the competency of the legislature to determine on the union. Were it not, however, for the circumstances of the times, and his arguments being favourable to the designs of the ruling power, the contemptible language which he applies to the parliament of his country, however just and well-founded, might expose him to the danger of a prosecution as a daring libeller. His vindication of the proposed union, although not very complimentary to the character of his countrymen, is able and eloquent.

Mr. M'Kenna, in his "Constitutional Objections to the Government of Ireland by a separate Legislature, &c." presents us with a picture of the corrupt and dependent state of the Irish parliament, equally unfavourable with that exhibited by the last-mentioned writer, although described in more guarded terms; and thence deduces his arguments in favour of an union, as a necessary measure to give peace and security to the country, and to raise its inhabitants to the enjoyments of those rights which Englishmen possess.

The "Letters on the Subject of Union, &c. by a Barrister and Member of Parliament," are addressed, partly to some members of the lawyer's corps, who, at an early meeting of that body, entered into strong resolutions, expressive of their determination vigorously to oppose such a measure; partly to Mr. Jebb, in answer to a work which we shall soon have to announce; and partly to the Roman catholics of Ireland. They are shrewd and sensible, but better adapted to the comprehension of the author's professional opponents than of the other characters whom they are intended to conciliate to the projected union.

The "Fair Representation of the present State of Ireland, &c. by Patrick Duigenan, LL.D." is designed to counteract the opposition to the union, by affording a very different picture of the present state of Ireland, and of the strength, views, and interests, of the different classes of its inhabitants, than what has been given in various publications on both sides of the contested question, and in the speeches of some members of the British parliament. On the different topics which he has selected, he has argued and declaimed with considerable energy and ability; but with a degree of vaunting egotism and virulence in his language, and of fiery indignation against the presumptuous claims of the Irish catholics to be placed on the same footing of

equality

equality with the Irish protestants, which cannot but excite sentiments of disgust and abhorrence in the liberal-minded reader.

Mr. Gray's eccentric, but good-humoured "Strictures on the proposed Union, &c." and Mr. Farrell's sensible pamphlet, entitled "Union or Separation," are chiefly adapted to reconcile the lower classes of Irishmen to the measure intended, by impressing them with a conviction that the circumstances which will result from it cannot reduce them to a worse situation than they are in at present, but may, and, morally speaking, must be productive of great and essential advantages.

"No Union! but Unite and Fall, by Paddy Whack, of Dyott-street, London, &c." is the title of a little pamphlet, written in the vulgar Irish style, with a due admixture of broad humour, which is well calculated to efface the prejudices of the lowest orders of the Irish against the union with this country, and in favour of French fraternity.

The publications against an union between Great Britain and Ireland have been less numerous than those in its favour, but not less creditable to the abilities of their authors.

The "Reply to a Pamphlet entitled 'Arguments for and against an Union,' by Richard Jebb, Esq." is a very temperate and argumentative production, in which the author strongly contrasts the difficulties, disadvantages, and dangers, with which he considers the measure of union to be pregnant, with the benefits expected from it by its advocates, and speculates on its possible political effects, in a manner that is entitled to serious consideration.

"The Case of Ireland re-considered, in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled 'Arguments,' &c." appears to be written by a Roman-catholic gentleman, who contests, with much ingenuity, and with a commendable spirit of candour and moderation, many of the assertions and reasonings in the above-mentioned work, which apply to the state of the country at large. But his chief object is to point out the injustice and impolicy of the hardships and sufferings to which the Roman catholics are subjected, and to show the inefficacy, to the contentment and flourishing condition of Ireland, of an union, under which religious distinctions are suffered to exalt one and to degrade another class of the inhabitants, and three-fourths of them are "shut out from the full and equal benefit of whatever constitution she is to have." What he has advanced on these subjects will have considerable weight with the unprejudiced reader.

"The Power of Parliament considered, by Henry Maddock, Jun. of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn," contains an able and animated discussion of the question, Whether the parliament be competent to transfer its delegated authority? which he decides in the negative: and, without maintaining that the creature is superior to its creator, he could not decide otherwise.

The "Considerations on National Independence, &c. by a Member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn," constitute a well-written and argumentative performance, in which the author vindicates the right of sovereignty in the people, and maintains the ability of Ireland to defend its sovereignty and independance. To the

the measure of an union, therefore, and more particularly, if effectuated by what he considers to be incompetent authorities, he is decidedly hostile. His observations on the policy of such a measure are certainly deserving of serious attention.

The "Letter," and "Second Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt," from Dr. Drennan, are highly animated productions; in which the author, in a bold and nervous declamatory style, adorned with a profusion of rich and dazzling imagery, thunders out his execrations against the minister, for insulting his country by a proposition so disgraceful and ruinous as that of the projected union. That it is disgraceful, and must, if carried into effect, prove ruinous, the indignant author takes for granted, but has not favoured us with any demonstrative arguments on those subjects. Notwithstanding that we prefer calm discussion to brilliant eloquence, when forming our judgment of such serious and important matters as are included in what the author calls "an insidious and impudent proposal," it is impossible not to be captivated by some of the beauties of composition and sentiment which are interspersed throughout his pages.

The "Demonstration of the Necessity of a Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, involving a Refutation of every Argument which has been or can be urged against that Measure, by a Philosopher," notwithstanding that the title might lead the reader to attribute it to a friend to the union, is the production of an eloquent advocate for the independence of Ireland. Arguing as a philosopher, however, he considers the fate of that country to be inevitably determined, and that the moment is not far distant when what he calls its "political death" is to take place. It is friendly in him, therefore, to endeavour to bend the minds of his countrymen to resignation and submission.

"Cease your Funning," is the title of a pamphlet which contains a severe and lively satirical attack on the union, and on the Irish secretary's treatise, entitled "Arguments for and against the Union considered."

Among the publications which we have to announce under the head of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature, is the first part of a laborious and valuable work, the design and plan of which were communicated to our readers in our Register for the year 1795. The specimen now before us, which comprehends the whole book of Genesis, is entitled "Vetus Testamentum Græcum, cum variis Lectionibus, edidit Robertus Holmes, S. T. P. R. S. S. Ædis Christi Canonicus, Tomus Primus, Oxonii, è Typographeo Clarendoniano." After what we have already stated respecting the nature of our editor's undertaking, the aids of which he has availed himself, and the mechanical form and construction of his work, it is unnecessary for us to enter on those topics in this place. His text, as in the "specimen" already published, is taken from the Vatican copy, and is printed on a strong beautiful type. His collations are carried on according to the contracted method adopted in his Appendix to his "Specimen," but are, nevertheless, sufficiently extensive, embracing a great variety of manuscripts, of which seven are in uncial, or capital letters, and, therefore, most probably, of a very early

early date. From these sources he has collected a vast mass of various readings, which cannot fail to throw considerable light on the text of the Septuagint, and to assist greatly in restoring it to its pristine purity. Of the value of Dr. Holmes's quotations from the Greek and Latin fathers we do not entertain any high opinion. In a short appendix our editor has presented us with various fragments and scholia on the book of Genesis, chiefly taken from the margins of different manuscripts of the Septuagint version. From a review of the work before us, it would be unjust not to bestow a very high degree of praise to Dr. Holmes, for the learning, diligence, and care, which he has employed on it; and we hope, and doubt not, that the reception which it will meet with from the learned world will encourage him to proceed, with as much expedition as the nature of such an arduous task will permit, to the completion of his useful undertaking.

From the Clarendon press, likewise, and at the expence of the university of Oxford, another valuable work has been presented to the public, during the present year, entitled, "Fragmenta Novi Testamenti, è Versione Ægyptiacâ Dialecti Thebaidæ, Sahidicæ, seu superioris Ægypti." This work, which comprehends all the fragments known to exist of the Sahidic version of the New Testament, was originally undertaken by the learned Dr. Woide, editor of the Fac Simile of the Codex Alexandrinus. On the death of that gentleman, who lived to print so much of the work as contains the fragments of the Gospel of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and to prepare for the press the manuscript of St. John's Gospel, the superintendance of the work was confided by the delegates of the Clarendon press to Dr. Ford, under whose care it is now offered to the learned world. It commences with a preface, by Dr. Ford, giving an account of the undertaking; of corrections which, in his opinion, should be made in the three gospels edited by Dr. Woide; of various readings observed by himself; of corrections of the Latin versions of such parts as were translated by Dr. Woide and himself; and of short annotations. To the preface are subjoined fac-simile engravings of the Sahidic manuscripts. We are afterwards presented with a learned and laborious dissertation, by Dr. Woide, in three sections, divided into subordinate chapters, on the Coptic version of the Old Testament, on the Sahidic version of the Old Testament, and on the original texts from which these versions were made. To this dissertation succeed the fragments, and a Latin version of them; which are followed by Dr. Bentley's collation of the Vatican manuscripts. This work we look upon to be not only an object of literary curiosity, but an useful acquisition to those stores of biblical learning, by the accumulation of which the scripture student may be enabled to detect interpolated or defective passages in the sacred writings: on which account we consider the world to be much indebted to the university which patronized it, and to the editors, who bestowed upon it their learning and industry.

From the same press, also, we have received an elegantly-printed little work, the utility and value of which to the biblical scholar, when the well-known learning and abilities of the editor are considered, will be sufficiently understood from

its title. It is, "Diatessaron, sive Integra Historia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Græcè. Ex IV. Evangeliis inter se collatis, ipsisque Evangelistarum verbis apte et ordinate dispositis confecta. Subjungitur Evangeliorum Harmonia brevis. Edidit J. White, S. T. P. Ling. Arab. Prof. &c." This work is a summary of an harmony of the evangelists. From the preface we learn, that two similar works, which are now lost, but of which Eusebius has preserved an account, were produced in the third century, one by Tatian, and the other by Ammonius of Alexandria. The author might have added, had he been acquainted with the fact, that a German divine, of the name of Stephan, in the year 1779, published a work of the same nature, founded on the harmony of Bengelius. Dr. White's Diatessaron is founded on the excellent harmony of the late much-lamented archbishop of Armagh; and relates, in seven different parts, the events of our Lord's life, in chronological order, and in the words in which they are described by the evangelists. Each part is divided into paragraphs, and is preceded by a short account, in Latin, of its contents; and in the margins the time and place in which every event happened is recorded. At the end is added a concise and useful harmonic index. Such a work merits the attention of tutors in our universities, from its adaptation to lead students to examine and compare the separate narratives of the evangelical writers, and to convince them that their trifling discrepancies do not affect the credit due to the consistent whole of their history.

In our Register for the year 1797, we announced the appearance of the first and second numbers of a periodical work, entitled "Oriental Collections," published under the superintendance of major, now Sir William, Ouseley. We have now to apprise our readers of the publication of the third and fourth numbers, which complete the first volume of that curious and interesting work. The subjects of the pieces which compose these numbers are very various, as are likewise their merit and importance. Among other articles which will afford desirable information or entertainment to the reader, are, a short paper by the editor, describing some remarkable remains of ancient sculpture in the province of Curdistan, which many suppose to be the same that, according to Diodorus Siculus, were hewn in the mountains of Baghistan, by order of queen Semiramis; the Loves of Khosru and Shireen, from the Shah Namah Nesr, by the same gentleman; Remarks on a Phœnician Inscription in Wales, by Mr. Henley; a tale from the original manuscript of the Arabian Nights; and another from the Bahardanish, by captain Scott; and other pleasing translations, particularly of some of the odes of Hafiz, by the editor.

"The Wreath, composed of Selections from Sappho, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, accompanied by a Prose Translation, with Notes, &c. by Edward du Bois," is an elegant little work, in which the Greek text, taken from the best editions of those remains, is printed with great correctness, and the whole possesses the recommendations of beautiful typography. We cannot, however, speak in high terms of Mr. du Bois's version of those exquisite pieces of ancient poetry. It is, in general, faithful to the sense, but conveys a very inadequate idea of the spirit of the originals. Indeed we never expect to find that spirit transfused into the best-executed

prose

prose translations. Such translations, we conceive, must always be defective in that sweetness, modulation, and expression, which are to be sought for only in poetical numbers. In the critical and illustrative notes which accompany his version, the learning and ingenuity of M. du Bois are advantageously displayed; and in his remarks on Shakspeare, &c. which he has subjoined, the reader will find some striking coincidences between some of our eminent modern writers and the Greek poets, and between Lucian's Essay on writing History, and Horace's Art of Poetry.

The three volumes of "The Travels of Antenor in Greece and Asia, from a Greek Manuscript found at Herculaneum, including some Account of Ægypt, translated from the French of E. F. Lantier, with additional Notes by the English Translator," contain an apparently faithful English version of a work announced in our last year's catalogue of the literary productions of France. The account which we then gave of it from the Parisian journals, that it is evidently written in imitation of Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis, to which, although not devoid of considerable merit, it is greatly inferior, will be found by the English reader to be justly characteristic of it. It is not calculated so much for information as for amusement. For this purpose the author has borrowed freely, not only from ancient but from modern writers, at home and abroad, and has dressed up the materials which he has collected in a lively and entertaining form. It were to be wished, nevertheless, that, in relating the series of adventures and conversations of which his work is composed, he had not introduced some scenes and sentiments which, however congruous with present French manners and opinions, will, we hope, more frequently excite disgust than pleasure or approbation in this country.

Of the contents of the following work, its ample title will sufficiently apprise our readers: "A Miscellany, containing, among a Variety of other Matters, curious and interesting, Remarks on Boswell's Johnson, with considerable Additions, and some Anecdotes of that extraordinary Character; a Critique on Burger's Leonora, in which she is clearly proved of English Extraction, from an old Ballad still extant, consequently in its German Dress the Subject is neither new nor original; and an introductory Essay on the Art of Reading and Speaking in Public, in two Parts, by S. White, and his son E. A. White." What will be found principally interesting in this work, are the particulars which it contains relative to the private history and character of the late Mr. Sheridan, and his connections with the Irish theatre. The author's criticisms, whatever may be thought of the importance of the subject on which they are employed, afford evidence of considerable reading and ingenuity; and the didactic remarks and observations in the essay, deserve the attention of those who are employed in the education of youth.

The next work which we have to introduce to our readers, reflects great credit on the industry and ingenuity of the author, and will prove an acceptable present to the philologer and to the antiquary. It is entitled "Pantographia; containing accurate Copies of all the known Alphabets in the World, together with an English Explanation of the peculiar Force or Power of

each letter: to which are added, Specimens of all the well-authenticated oral Languages, forming a comprehensive Digest of Phonology. By Edmund Fry, Letter-founder." In his preface, Mr. Fry gives a summary of the arguments on the question, Whether language and the use of alphabets owe their origin to divine inspiration, or to human invention? and determines in favour of the former hypothesis. Our oriental scholars, however, who may be inclined to adopt the same hypothesis, will not subscribe to the author's opinion, "that all languages in use among men, that have been conveyed by alphabetical characters, have been those of persons connected ultimately or immediately with the Hebrews." In pursuance of the object indicated in the title, Mr. Fry appears to have spared neither labour nor expense in procuring the most authentic originals, and engraved copies that have come to his knowledge; and he has, in general, proved successful in his efforts. The specimens of these he has arranged, in alphabetical order, on the left-hand pages of his work; the right hand pages containing short accounts or histories of the respective alphabets, or informing us of the authorities whence they are taken. The sound or force of each letter the author has collected from the same authorities with the specimens themselves; and if he has fallen into any mistakes, they are chiefly, though not entirely, to be attributed to the respectable guides whom he has followed. With respect to the execution of his specimens, it would be unjust not to say that they are highly beautiful, and offer proofs of unrivalled excellence in the typographic art. And we hope, that the author will derive such encouragement from the reception which his work will meet with, as shall enable him to bring forward new impressions, improved by the suggestions and communications of enlightened and liberal scholars. A considerable part of the volume is occupied in phonological extracts, illustrative of well-authenticated oral languages which have no elementary characters. Such an exhibition, the author acknowledges, is not strictly connected with specimens of alphabets; yet he thought himself justified in adopting it, from a persuasion "that it would be a considerable gratification to his readers to see the diversity of dialects which have arisen from the original tongue, if any such existed."

The "Vocabulary of such Words in the English Language as are of dubious or unsettled Accentuation, in which the Pronunciation of Sheridan, Walker, and other Orthoëpists is compared," we cannot recommend as a proper guide to accentuation, or, what the author evidently intended, pronunciation in general; for he has been governed throughout his whole work by caprice, instead of any fixed rules, or the laws of analogy, in the choice of his authorities; whence he has been led into those confusions and inaccuracies which unavoidably result from a want of system; and the numerous provincialisms and vulgarisms in sound which he has adopted will not permit us to compliment him on the delicacy of his ear, any more than on the rectitude of his judgment in establishing a standard of orthoëpy.

The "Concise Grammar of the German Tongue, by the Rev. W. Render, Teacher of the German Language in the University of Cambridge," as far as we are capable of judging of its merits, appears

appears to be well-adapted to facilitate the labours of young students in acquiring an elementary knowledge of that now fashionable language. Its rules are clear and distinct, and its exercises judiciously introduced. The author, likewise, has greatly contributed to the assistance of the student, by his remarks on the variableness of German orthography, his list of letters usually confounded by learners, and by a plate containing specimens of the German written hand. We have seen it objected to his work, however, that he is too complex in his conjugations of the verb, from a desire of adhering, more closely than the nature of the German language requires, to the forms of construction in the Latin Grammar.

The "Complete Introduction to the Knowledge of the German Language, containing the substance of the most approved German Grammars, particularly Adelung, &c. by George Crabb," whatever proofs it affords of the author's diligence in compilation, abounds in so many acknowledged and unacknowledged *errata*, occasioned either by the hurry in which it was drawn up, or the author's confined acquaintance with the best German writers, that, in its present uncorrected form, it does not appear to us a very fit book to be placed in the hands of those who have received no initiation into the elements of the German tongue. The most unexceptionable, and the most valuable part of the introduction, is the author's mode of teaching inflexion and syntax, by words and exercises adapted to each rule; which, to such learners as have made some progress, will afford a desirable assistance and improvement.

The following work is entitled to the praise of an industrious, and generally accurate, compilation, and may safely be recommended as an useful assistant to English under learners of the French tongue.

"An explanatory Pronouncing Dictionary of the French Language (in French and English); wherein the exact Sound and Articulation of every Syllable are distinctly marked (according to the Method adopted by Mr. Walker in his Pronouncing Dictionary). To which are prefixed, the Principles of the French Pronunciation; prefatory Directions for using the Spelling representative of every Sound; and the Conjugation of the Verbs, regular, irregular, and defective, with their true Pronunciation. By l'Abbé Tardy."

During the present year, two elegant Impressions have been published of "The Works of Sir William Jones," in 6 vols. quarto, one on large, and the other on small paper. This collection forms a proper and becoming monument to the memory of an excellent and much lamented character, who, to a profound acquaintance with almost every branch of literature, and all languages, ancient and modern, united a soundness of judgment, a versatility of genius, an independence and liberality of mind, a philanthropy of disposition, and an unwearied activity in promoting the interests of learning, science, and humanity, of which the history of mankind affords sparing instances. But our readers are too well apprised of his various and uncommon merits, to render it necessary for us to enlarge on them. We have at different times introduced into our catalogue such of his valuable publications as have made their appearance since the commencement of our annual labours, whether in a separate form, or in connexion with the productions of other literary

rary and philosophic characters. We are persuaded, however, that an enumeration of them in this place, together with that of his former works, and unpublished pieces, as affording a complete view of the contents of the volumes before us, cannot fail of proving acceptable to our readers. The first volume commences with a sketch of the life and character of Sir William Jones, by lord Teignmouth, taken from the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and of which an extract appears among our biographical selections. To this sketch succeed Sir William Jones's Anniversary Discourses, replete with learning and curious disquisition, delivered at the meetings of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and other communications published in the different volumes of their Researches; of which we could not resist our inclination to exhibit a specimen in our present Register. These interesting papers occupy the first, and part of the second volume, which is completed by the author's Persian Grammar, from the corrected edition entrusted to the care of Mr. Richardson; a catalogue of the most valuable books in the Persian language; the history of that language, and his commentaries on Asiatic literature, with the miscellanies, published in 1774. The third volume contains six impressive charges to the grand jury at Calcutta; the author's correspondence with the government at Calcutta, on the subject of translating and publishing the institutes of Hindu law; the ordinances of Menu, according to the gloss of Calluca, comprising the Indian system of duties, religious and civil; and Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mohammedan law of inheritance, with a judicious and perspicuous commentary. In the fourth volume we find Sir William Jones's Translations of the Speeches of Isæus, concerning the law of succession in Athens, with a commentary, and of the Moallakat, or seven Arabian poems suspended on the temple of Mecca, with the originals; miscellaneous poems, which are chiefly translations from the oriental languages; and detached pieces in prose and verse. The fifth volume presents us with our author's Life of Nadir Shah, translated from the Persian into French, at the request of the king of Denmark; his masterly and comprehensive description of Asia, and history of Persia; his essays on the poetry and literature of the eastern nations; with his *Lettre à Monsieur A. du P. dans laquelle est compris l'examen de sa traduction des livres attribués à Zoroastre*; and other pieces in verse as well as prose. The sixth and last volume contains a translation of the Hitopadesa of Vishnusarman, which "are the most beautiful if not the most ancient collection of apologues in the world," and the probable originals of the fables attributed to Æsop; the enchanted fruit, an antediluvian tale, in the humourous and sportive manner of Prior; Sacontala, or the fatal ring, an Indian drama from Calidas; eight hymns to Hindu deities; curious and interesting extracts from the Bhushanda Ramayan, containing the adventures of the incarnation of the preserving Power, and from the Vedas, illustrative of the primitive religion of the Hindus; translations of some miscellaneous poems; and the author's well known essay on the law of bailments, inquiry into the legal mode of suppressing riots, speech to the assembled inhabitants of Middlesex on a reform of parliament, and letter relative to a plan of national defence.

Such

Such are the contents of this valuable collection, which presents us with an unequalled variety, from the same author, of instructive, curious, and entertaining matter; and leaves us to regret, that, by his premature death, in the forty-sixth year of his age, the world was deprived of one of its most useful and brightest ornaments, "endeared to mankind, wherever religion, science, and philosophy prevail."

"The Works of the late John Mac-Laurin, Esq. of Dreghorn, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and F. R. S. Edinburgh," in two volumes, are partly in verse and partly in prose. The first volume, which is entirely of the former description, contains some pieces marked by the spirit, humour, and very liberal political principles to be avowed by a Scotch judge towards the close of the eighteenth century. But we cannot honestly say, that these compositions of lord Dreghorn have excited in us any profound admiration of poetical talents and taste. The second volume consists of various essays, of various merit, on legal, philosophical, political, literary, and miscellaneous subjects; which display considerable ability and information, and an ardent attachment to the well-being and improvement of his native country, as well as to the welfare and happiness of mankind at large. Prefixed to these volumes is a well written sketch of the life of this respectable and independent magistrate. He was the son of the celebrated Colin Mac-Laurin, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, and author of the account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries.

In our Register for the year 1794, we announced the publication of "Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth, from Pictures, Drawings, and scarce Prints, in the possession of Samuel Ireland, Author of this Work, &c." During the present year he published a second volume of his Hogarthiana, containing forty-nine plates, many of which are well engraved, and bear strong internal testimonies of being taken from genuine remains of that great moral painter. The greater part of them, however, if "most undoubtedly" from pictures and drawings by Hogarth, as Mr. Ireland asserts, exhibit little of his peculiar manner, spirit, and expression. Of the author's illustrative and descriptive talents, this volume, as well as the former, offers a favourable specimen.

Among the publications of the year, in the department of Poetical translation and Poetry, is "The First Book of Titus Lucretius Carus, on the Nature of Things, in English Verse, with a Latin Text." This work we understand to be the production of the author of "The Poems of Catullus, in English Verse," noticed in our Register for the year 1797. It is offered to the world as a specimen of a new and entire translation of Lucretius's philosophical poem, which the author intends to commit to the press, should his present attempt meet with a favourable reception, in successive publications, illustrated with numerous notes selected from the best commentators, and accompanied with a life of the poet, together with a critical essay on his work. Our translator's notes are meant to follow in a body at the end of his version; to which circumstance, we suppose, we are to attribute the total omission of any annotations on the specimen before us. The text which the author has chosen to follow is that of Havercamp, which he considers to be superior to any other, not even excepting the admirable edition of

Wakefield: a judgment in which we do not believe that any classical scholar, possessing sufficient knowledge and taste to decide in the question, will join issue with him. With respect to his translation, we have to remark, that, although generally faithful, sometimes forcible and brilliant, and sometimes smooth and harmonious, at other times it offers a very inadequate picture of the sense and beauties of the original, and is essentially defective in energy, perspicuity, and modulation. The author, likewise, is frequently very uncouth and incorrect in his rhymes; as we formerly had occasion to observe was the case in his translation of Catullus.

In "The First and Fourth Books of the Odes of Horace, translated into English Verse," we meet with versions of some of the beautiful pieces of the Roman bard, which express his sense with peculiar felicity and spirit. That the author has sometimes failed in attempting to transfuse into his version the force and exquisite turns of the original will be expected by every classical scholar, who must be sensible of the difficulty, if not of the impossibility, of such a task. And that he has often fallen into the fault common to almost all translators, of needlessly amplifying and expanding the meaning of the ancient poet, will not be denied by those who carefully compare the copy with its prototype. But we think that they must at the same time do the author the justice to acknowledge, that he has more frequently succeeded than failed, in exhibiting the beauties of Horace in an English dress; that his language is correct, elegant, and mellifluous, and his versification uniformly accurate and harmonious.

"Cupid and Psyche, a Mythological Tale, from the Golden Ass of Apuleius," is a truly pleasing poetical version of that elegant and interesting ancient tale. The author has occasionally omitted or abridged passages in the original. In this freedom we think him, in general, very defensible. He has likewise introduced some alterations in the structure of circumstances of the story, about which critics will entertain a diversity of opinions. But we conceive, whatever their judgments may be respecting the particulars above-mentioned, they will unanimously concur in bestowing a high share of praise on the author, on account of the claims to poetical merit by which his translation is distinguished. His language is chaste, simple, and elegant; his imagery beautiful and animated; and his numbers easy and flowing.

"The Bees, from the Fourteenth Book of Vaniere's Prædium Rusticum, by Arthur Murphy, Esq." is a translation which was undertaken by that gentleman in his early years, and is now published with such corrections as have been suggested by the author's maturer judgment, and, we add, with such an adaptation to modern antigallican and ministerial politics, as may render it acceptable in what are called loyal and fashionable circles. With respect to the Prædium Rusticum, we cannot speak of it as a very interesting or pleasing didactic poem, notwithstanding the laborious defence of it in the preface to this translation, in opposition to the strictures of Dr. Warton. Neither can we say that Mr. Murphy's version abounds in such poetic beauties as will compensate his readers for the want of animation and amusement that must accompany the most faithful and accurate representation of his original.

"Addisoni Epistola missa ex Italia ad illustrem Dominum Halifax, Anno

Anno 1791, Auctore A. Murphy," is written in hexameters, and affords proof of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance with the best authors of antiquity, and of his professing a happy method either of interweaving their forms of expression with his own Latinity, or of imitating some of their most beautiful passages. Our translator, it is true, is often exceedingly diffuse in converting the British into Roman language; and strict criticism may except against the propriety of some of the terms and expressions which he has adopted. As a playful exercise of his talents, however, it does credit to his classical taste, and is an evidence of the facility, correctness, and elegance, with which he can construct Latin versification. Prefixed to it is a spirited, pleasing, and loyal ode, in the Alcaic measure, addressed to Lord Loughborough.

"The Love of Gain, a Poem, imitated from the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, by M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. is a very unequal performance. Sometimes the author is very successful in catching the spirit, and imitating the images of his original, although with too much dilatation, and produces vigorous and well turned lines; but at other times, during a succession of pages, little if any reference can be perceived to the sentiments or manner of Juvenal. Our author's language, likewise, is sometimes so luxuriant, or so vulgar, that it must be reprobated by good taste; and the construction of many of his verses is careless, and faulty. From what is entitled to praise in the poem before us, we are persuaded, nevertheless, that he is capable, with attention and care of presenting us with a much more exceptionable imitation of some of the productions of the Roman satirist. The thirteenth satire of Juvenal, as it is one of his most laboured and polished poems, calls for the maturest judgment, the most chastised taste, and the most diligent application of the *limæ labor*, in him who would successfully imitate it.

In our Register for the year 1796, we announced, among the articles in French literature, "Fables, by Mancini Nivernois," formerly known, under his title of Duke, as embassador from the court of France to this country, and acknowledged on both sides of the water as an ardent cultivator and patron of literature. Long before their publication, these fables were known to the literati of France, who pronounced them to be distinguished by the charms of poetry, delicacy of sentiment, and pure morality. During the present year they have been translated into the English language, and published in company with the original text, that a fair judgment may be formed of their merits, and of the accuracy and fidelity with which the author has rendered them into our native tongue; and we must confess that, from the perusal of them, we see no reason to dispute the verdict of the Parisian critics, or to withhold our praise from the English editor and translator. The fables, though not comparable with those of Fontaine, are ingenious, lively, moral, and elegant, in their construction, and appear not disadvantageously in their English dress, if we consider "the difficulty of translating any species of epigram, the point of which so often depends on felicity of expression, and the additional difficulty, in the present case, arising from the characteristic naiveté of the French language,

and the peculiar deficiency of the English in corresponding idiomatic delicacies."

O. the second volume of "Poems, by Robert Southey," a considerable portion is occupied by the vision of the Maid of Orleans, greatly altered and enlarged since it was omitted in the author's second edition of Joan of Arc. In its present form, it is divided into three books, and is certainly very materially improved, although there is still room left, by the sedulous application of the author's well-known talents, to render it yet more perfect as an epic poem. The rest of the volume consists of legendary tales, ballads, English eclogues, and miscellaneous pieces: some of which are very interesting, and impressive, and others utterly undeserving, according to our judgment, to be preserved among the productions of Mr. Southey's pen. Of the latter description are some of his versifications of superstitious and foolish monkish legends, and some of his specimens of English eclogues, which are prosaic in the extreme. We wish to see Mr. Southey's muse more worthily employed, on subjects adapted to kindle afresh that true poetic fire which animated some of his earliest productions, and to give proper scope for the exercise of his genius, feelings, and taste.

"The Annual Anthology," vol. I. is a collection of poems, and fugitive pieces, of which "many have been printed in the Morning Post. Many are now first published: and, with the exception of one piece only, all have been communicated to the editor by their respective authors." Some of the contributors have chosen to remain concealed from public knowledge; others have affixed their signatures to their pieces: among whom are Messrs. Southey, Dyer, Lloyd, Lamb, Cottle, Davy, Dr Beddoes, and Mr. Opie. The subjects of their productions, and their form and style, are various; as are, likewise, their pretensions to poetical merit. Many of them do not rise above mediocrity; but others are recommended by the charms of originality, of sublimity, of pathos, of humour, or of elegant simplicity. Mrs. Opie's poems, in particular, are chaste, harmonious, and pleasing. From the editor's advertisement we are given to understand, that it is his intention to publish a similar volume yearly, in imitation of similar collections which have appeared on the continent, particularly in Germany, under the care of Schiller and Voss. We highly approve of his design, as what is well calculated, by the specimens which it shall afford, to introduce many a young poet of real genius to the notice and encouragement of the public. And if the editor should prove fastidious, rather than otherwise, in selecting the contents of his successive volumes, the genuine lovers of poetry will not be the less indebted to him.

The "Pictures of Poetry, historical, biographical, and critical, by Alexander Thompson, Esq." are parts of an extensive plan, in which the author designs to present us with "a view of the progress of polite literature, from the earliest period to the present time." The publication before us, which contains about one fourth of the whole intended work, "is chiefly occupied with the literature of Greece, and includes a period of eight hundred years, beginning with a sketch of the court of Solomon, and ending with that of Ptolemy Philadelphus." Mr. Thompson's

scene pictures contain distinct portions of that period, in different styles and measures of poetry; in which the principal poets, and other extraordinary personages whom they comprehend, are introduced and characterized, in connexion with narratives relative to the most striking incidents in their lives, and occasional digressions, embracing modern characters and modern circumstances. Our limits will not permit us to lay their respective subjects before our readers, or to enter into their separate merits. They are frequently interesting and well drawn, though sometimes too tedious and diffuse, and marked by incorrect, feeble, and prosaic lines. On the whole, however, we have received much entertainment from them; and we shall be glad to renew our acquaintance with the author in the further prosecution of his plan.

The "Review of Poetry, Ancient and Modern, a Poem, by Lady Manners," in easy and pleasing rhymes of seven feet, addressed to her infant son, describes the appropriate merits of the principal votaries of the muses, who are renowned in classic story, or are the ornaments of later times. The characters which she gives of them are, in general, well discriminated, and shew that the author possesses an extensive acquaintance with polite literature, and a well cultivated mind.

Miss Seward, whose talents for heroic and descriptive poetry are sufficiently known to our readers, has published, during the present year, a volume of "Original Sonnets on various Subjects, and Odes paraphrased from Horace." The former, which are one hundred in number, are nearly all constructed on the Italian model, which alone exhibits the measures that, according to the judgment of our poetess, "deserve the name of sonnet." But poets and critics differ; and we see no satisfactory reasons why the title of "legitimate sonnet" should be confined to such compositions as are formed according to the arbitrary rules of the Italian school. Be that as it may, Miss Seward, while choosing to be bound by such trammels, has produced a number of energetic and elegant poems of that description, which abound in passages that are eminently beautiful and striking. Occasional obscurities occur in them, as well as needless obsolete phrases, and quaint expressions; but these blemishes are more than counterbalanced by their prevailing excellencies. In her paraphrases of Horace, Miss Seward has "taken only the poet's general idea, frequently expanding it to elucidate the sense, and to bring the images more distinctly to the eye; induced by the hope of thus infusing into them the spirit of original compositions." Allowing herself this latitude, she has presented to the English reader pleasing and truly poetical imitations of the Roman bard, which will enable him to form a pretty just idea of the beauties in some of his most admired and interesting odes. We confess, however, that we admire her talents most, when displayed in original composition.

"Patient Griselda, a Tale, from the Italian of Boccacio, by Miss Botheby," is a pleasing version of an interesting story, which has been celebrated in the songs of more than one polished bard, as well as in the ballads of rustic minstrels. Petrarch, the master of Boccacio, who was of opinion that it had truth for its foundation, made it the subject of a pathetic poem, in the Latin language; and Chaucer, the father of British poetry, has taken

taken it for the ground-work of one of his popular tales. Boccaccio's narrative is deservedly considered among the most beautiful of his numerous impressive stories; and Miss Sotheby's version does credit to her poetical talents and taste. Her versification is correct and easy; her rhymes, in general, unexceptionable, and musical, and her language chaste and elegant.

The two neatly printed little volumes of "Poems and Plays, by Mrs. West," we have perused with a considerable share of pleasure. Mrs. West's dramatic pieces consist of a tragedy and comedy, which were offered for representation, but refused by the managers of our theatres. As it is incompatible with our practice to investigate the merits of such species of compositions, we must leave it to her readers to decide how far they seem adapted for a favourable exhibition on the stage. The poems in this collection consist of elegies, sonnets, odes, and miscellaneous pieces. Some of them are highly beautiful and spirited, others pleasingly pathetic, and others humourous and playful. On the whole, they discover the author to possess good sense and good taste, and very respectable poetic powers.

"The Pleasures of Hope, with other Poems, by Thomas Campbell," are the productions of a young bard, who has displayed in them talents of a very superior order, which afford fair promises of the author's rivalling in future some of the best poets of modern times. The principal piece is divided into two parts; in which, though the author has not followed any regular plan in introducing his pictures which illustrate the pleasures of hope, he has successfully presented us with descriptions of selected characters of domestic scenes of public events and of future contemplations, which have given him ample scope for delineating the various effects of that passion. In some of these descriptions, Mr. Campbell discovers much sublimity of conception, boldness of imagery, vigour of language, and manliness of sentiment; and in others, an happy mixture of lively fancy, pathos, and simplicity. Some of his apostrophes and similies, and incidental passages, are exquisitely beautiful. And, what adds greatly to the value of his poem in our estimation, it breathes throughout a generous ardour in the interests of freedom, humanity, virtue, and religion. The versification of the Pleasures of Hope is uniformly correct and harmonious, and together with the style and turns of expression, wrought up to a very high pitch of polish. The other poems in this volume consist of specimens of a translation from Medea, an elegy, Love and Madness, and some songs; which are not destitute of merit, though they must appear with great comparative disadvantage after the perusal of the Pleasures of Hope.

"Grove Hill, a descriptive Poem, with an Ode to Mirth, by the Author of Indian Antiquities," is chiefly employed in expressing the sentiments which the author felt during a visit at Dr. Lettsom's house at Camberwell in the neighbourhood of London, on contemplating "the interesting scenery and beautiful landscape, which that villa and its vicinity presented to his view." The doctor's grounds, the grove, the garden, the house and library, the museum, the lawn, the temple of the Sybils, the apiary, &c. are successively described, in energetic and pleasing strains, abounding with beautiful imagery, apposite reflections,

reflections, and a fine portion of compliments to the author's host. But Mr. Maurice's poetical talents and genius appear to the most advantage in the Ode to Mithra, which, in bold and lofty language, describes the mysterious rites which he supposes were anciently celebrated in the Mithratic caverns near Bombay. It is an enlarged edition of a poem, from which we gave a specimen, among the selections in our Register for the year 1793. The typography of this production is peculiarly excellent; and it is illustrated by numerous engravings on wood, some of which are uncommonly beautiful.

"St. Michael's Mount, a Poem, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles," like the former productions of the same bard, which we have noticed in the order of the appearance, afford a pleasing specimen of his powers at bold and animated description, intermingled, in the present instance, with interesting comparisons of ancient and modern manners, as well as just moral sentiments. The scene which he has chosen is particularly adapted to supply the poet with scope for the exercise of his talents, from its beautiful and romantic situation, and the traditional tales existing with respect to its former imaginary inhabitants, or the chivalrous exploits by which it has been distinguished. Of these circumstances Mr. Bowles has availed himself, in producing a poem that will afford much pleasure to the reader in the perusal. Sometimes the author's versification is not so harmonious as his own good taste must have rendered it on a careful revision; and his language is occasionally debased by the improper use of words which are obsolete and obscure.

"The Hop-Garden, a Didactic Poem, by Luke Booker, LL. D." is divided into two books, in which the author, in correct and pleasing blank-verse, gives the necessary precepts for the culture of that useful plant, and describes the various processes of that "joyous season," when its "blossom's pride" reward the toil and anxiety of the cultivator. But didactic remarks form the least part of this production. It chiefly consists of digressions, partly descriptive, partly narrative, and partly political; intended either to amuse the reader, or to kindle in his breast "sentiments of piety, patriotism, and benevolence." However misplaced some of these digressions may appear, they display the author's poetical talents to considerable advantage and will not tend to diminish the reputation formerly acquired by him in the service of the Muses. Subjoined to the Hop-Garden is a poem on Ale, which happily paints the cheerful festivities of an old English Christmas.

"Rome at the Close of the Eighteenth Century! a Poem, with Notes, by Henry Tresham, Esq. R. A." contains an impassioned and indignant lamentation over the fate of that ancient metropolis of the world, in being despoiled by the modern Gauls of its matchless specimens of ancient sculpture and modern painting, and frightful pictures of the devastations and enormities which attended the republican progress. Bonaparte and Gallic freedom he execrates in terms of the most pointed detestation, and panegyrises his native country and its king, "defender of the faith, indeed," in warm and loyal strains. Mr. Tresham's poetry is often highly animated, and in general,

general, correct and pleasing in its language and versification. Both in his text and in his notes he discovers considerable science and enthusiasm for the arts, which will afford pleasure to those readers of taste, who, while they concur with the author in his politics, may not greatly admire the virulence of his anti-gallican strains.

"Innovation, a Poem," is generally understood to be the production of Mr. Thomas Gisborne, respecting whose merits, as a votary of the Muses, we had an opportunity of expressing our opinion in our last year's Register. In the present work we meet with a number of energetic and good lines, occasionally ornamented with happy similies, and seasoned with a *quantum sufficit* of not ill-natured satire. The changes introduced into France by the revolution, and the alterations contended for by some reformers in this country, are the objects of his attack: not that the author is inimical to changes, when their obvious result must be the preponderance of good over evil. But he takes it for granted that the contrary effect has been produced by the Gallic reformers, and would prove the unavoidable consequence of carrying into practice those schemes for political improvement which has been recommended in this country. Under these impressions he sounds the trumpet of alarm, and joins, with much zeal, in the fashionable cry against the dangers and mischiefs of innovation.

"Bubble and Squeak," a Gallimaufry of British Beef with the chopp'd Cabbage of Gallic Philosophy and Radical Reform," and "Crambe Repetita, a second Course of Bubble, &c. with a devil'd Biscuit or two to help Digestion and close the Orifice of the Stomach," both by the author of "Topsy-Turvy, Salmagundy," &c. are written in Hudibrastic verse. The object of them is, to hold out to ridicule whiggism and democracy, and the principal characters who have supported opposition-politics during the present war with France; and it must be acknowledged that they abound in much wit and humour, by which we have been highly entertained. But, as is too commonly the case with the productions of epigrammatists and satirical writers, that wit and humour degenerate not unfrequently into gross abuse, and sometimes into what wears much of the appearance of rancour and malignity.

The "Unsexed Females, a Poem, addressed to the Author of the Pursuits of Literature," is composed of verses, which, though not entirely free from blemishes and affected expressions, are, in general, well-written, energetic, and polished. Satire, keen and pointed, is the weapon directed by the author against the characters intended in the title; by whom are meant our petticoat politicians and female advocates for the rights of woman, as defined in the works, or exhibited in the conduct, of the late Mrs. Godwin. But in condemning the opinions and the studies of such females, the author has affected a refinement in delicacy, to which some parts in his own poem, both in sentiment and expression, offer a most striking contrast. Towards the end of his poem, the author speaks, in warm complimentary terms, of several females, of a very different school from his unsexed ones; and to the whole he has added a number of notes, some of which are

are not sparing in personal reflections; and others, in point of judgment and taste, are unworthy the verses which they are meant to illustrate.

"The Poetry of the Antijacobin" is extracted from a periodical paper which made its appearance during the years 1797 and 1798, in support of ministerial politics. It is the offspring of different parents, and consists of various species of versification; some serious, some light and playful, and some burlesque. Many of the pieces of which the volume is composed are personal and acrimonious to a degree that can yield pleasure only to minds with which we wish no association. Others will be found distinguished by true genius, legitimate satire, elegant taste, and genuine wit and humour. It is but justice to add, that the entire poems, or parts of poems, to which the latter description applies, occupy a considerable proportion of the volume before us.

The malevolence of party-politics, and the self-importance and vanity of a literary pedant, are copiously displayed in "The Shade of Alexander Pope on the Banks of the Thames, a satirical Poem, with Notes, occasioned chiefly, but not wholly, by the Residence of Henry Grattan, Ex-representative in Parliament for the City of Dublin, at Twickenham, in November 1798. by the Author of the Pursuits of Literature." In this poem the shade of Pope is supposed to be summoned from his tomb, by some warning voice, to reprove the celebrated Irish orator for presuming to intrude, with his soul polluted with "rebellious doctrines and treasonable sentiments," into the hallowed scenes of "Twit'nam." The employment of the Shade is to inform Mr. Grattan what those doctrines and sentiments are, and to reproach him for the mischiefs they have occasioned. The caustic discussions of Dr. Duigenan are the groundwork of his address; and the flowers of abusive rhetoric with which his text and notes abound, are some of the most sublime and beautiful which such a classical source could supply. Of the author's poetical and literary talents our opinion has been already given, when announcing, in some of our preceding volumes, the different parts of his Pursuits of Literature.

To the former satirical poem soon succeeded "An Interview between the Shade of Pope and the Shade that assumed his Name," in which the author, in better lines than the subject deserved, and with a degree of asperity fully proportioned to the magnitude of the offence, reproves the author of the Pursuits of Literature for presuming to prostitute the name and character of Pope in the clumsy fiction which he sent into the world. Some readers, perhaps, may be disposed to ask the question, Which of the rival Shades is most presumptuous?

The author of "The Caldron, or Follies of Cambridge, a Satire," in verses which are generally harmonious, and frequently spirited, offers some just censures on the frivolity of those gownsmen who dedicate the hours to cards and dissipation which should be devoted to the acquisition of science and literature. His satire, indeed, is applicable to numerous other young men, besides some of the members of our universities; but *a fortiori* to the latter, on account of the superiority of their advantages, and that spirit of generous manly emulation, which, in such scenes, must fire every

every mind that is not feeble, uninstructed, or vicious.

The volume of "Poems, by Edward Atkyns Bray," consists of ballads, tales, sonnets, and miscellaneous pieces. The author's ballads and tales are not very striking or interesting; but some of his sonnets and miscellaneous poems are distinguished by energy, simplicity, and tenderness. The author's versification, likewise, is smooth and pleasing.

The "Ballad Stories, Sonnets, &c. by George Davis Harley, Comedian," vol. I. are written in easy verse, and are frequently recommended by a degree of simplicity and sensibility, which will render them acceptable to most lovers of light and amusing poetry.

The celebrated victory of lord Nelson on the coast of Egypt, in addition to the poetical effusions announced in our last year's Register, occasioned the appearance of "The Battle of the Nile, a Poem; by William Sotheby, Esq." which is harmonious and poetical, but not very fortunate in its prognostications; of a well-meant, but not very polished or luminous account of the same event, in a descriptive poem, under the same title, "addressed as a tributary Wreath to nautic Bravery, by a Gentleman of Earl St. Vincent's Fleet;" of an animated and impressive "Song of the Battle of the Nile, published for the Benefit of the Widows and Children of the brave Men who fell on that memorable Day, &c. by W. L. Bowles, M. A.;" of "The Lord of the Nile, an Elegy, by J. Delap, D. D.;" of "Nelson's Triumph, or the Battle of the Nile, a Poem, by William Thomas Fitzgerald, Esq.;" of "Britannia triumphant over the French Fleet, &c. by W. King," and of "The Nilad, an Epic Poem, written in Honour of the glorious Victory, &c. by W. Hildreth."

In the following list our readers will find the titles of the remaining poetical productions of the year 1799, of which our limits will not permit us to take more particular notice: "Poems, by the Rev. John Black, Minister of Dudley, Suffolk;" "Poems on various Subjects, by R. Anderson, of Carlisle;" "Poems on several Occasions, including the Petitioner, or a View of the Red Book, &c. by J. J. Nasaf, Esq.;" "Inkle and Yarico, a Poem, by M. G. Lewis;" "The Pursuit of Happiness, a Poem, addressed to a Friend;" "Miracles, a Seatonian Prize-Poem, by William Holland, M. A.;" "The Epiphany, a Seatonian Prize Poem," by the same author; "Lines suggested by the Fast, appointed on Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1799, by Charles Lloyd;" "Epic Poems on the Cardinal Virtues, with moral illustrative Essays in Prose, and some Masonic Songs;" "An Essay on the Passions, with some other Poems, by A. Donoghue;" "The Science of Ethics, a Poem, in three Books, by Nason;" "A loyal poetical Gratulation, presented to his Majesty at a Review of the Kentish Yeomanry and Volunteers, Aug. 1, 1799, in Mote Park, Maidstone, by the Rev. W. Cole;" "A Tear of Regret to the Memory of Lieutenant-Colonel Shadwell, &c. shot through the Heart by a Deserter, &c." by the same author; "Sentimental Poems on the most remarkable Events of the French Revolution, dedicated to his Serene Highness the Prince of Condé, and translated by an English Nobleman, under the Patronage of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of York;" "Mirza and Eliza, a legen-

legendary Tale;" "Emma, or the Dying Penitent, a Poem, by Charles Letts, jun. M. L. L. S.;" "Theodories; or the Gamester's Progress, a poetic Tale;" "London and Miranda, by Romaine Joseph Thorn;" "Tim's metrical Romances, and other original Pieces, with a Parody from Shakespeare, &c.;" "Affectation; or, the Close of the Eighteenth Century, a Satire, in Dialogue; by Gratiano Park, Part I.;" "The Rape of the Fate Bank, an Heroi-comical Poem, in eight Cantos;" "The Margate New Guide, &c. with Notes and occasional Anecdotes;" "Nil Admirari, or a Smile at a Bishop, occasioned by an hyperbolical Eulogy on Miss Hannah More by Dr. Porteus, &c. by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "An Epistle from the Devil to Peter Pindar;" "Walter and William, an historical Ballad, translated from the original Poem of Richard Count de Linn;" "The Links o' Forth; or a Parting Peep at the Carse o' Stirling, a plaint, by Hector Macneil, Esq.;" "Albin-Hibernia, or the Isle of Erin, a Poem, by John Joseph Stockdale, Jun.;" "Extracts from Poems on Naval and Military Subjects, by the Rev. William Tasker;" "Four Occasional Poems, as a Specimen of an intended Publication, by Subscription, of a miscellaneous Collection, &c. by the Rev. Lawrence Halstead;" "Flights of Fancy; comprising the Philanthropist, the Veteran's Song, &c. by J. Bisset;" and "The Orphan Boy, a pathetic Tale, founded on Fact;" by the same author.

On turning to the Dramatic publications of the year, we find the greater part to consist of translations or imitations from the German and other foreign productions, as will appear from the following catalogue:—"The Virgin of the Sun, a Play, in five Acts," from the German of Kotzebue, separately translated by Miss Anne Plumptre, Mr. Benjamin Thompson, and James Lawrence, Esq.; "Rolla, a Tragedy, in five Acts," from the same, translated, with different titles, by Miss Anne Plumptre, Mrs. Dutton, and M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P.;" "Self-Immolation, or the Sacrifice of Love, a Play, in three Acts;" from the same; by Henry Neuman, Esq.; "The Happy Family, a Drama, in five Acts," from the same, by Benjamin Thompson; "The Peevish Man, a Drama, in four Acts," from the same, by C. Ludger, Esq.; "False Shame, a Comedy, in four Acts," from the same; "The Corsicans, a Drama, in four Acts," from the same; "The East-Indian, a Comedy," from the same, by B. Thompson; "The Writing-Desk, or Youth in Danger, a Play, in four Acts," from the same; "Poverty and Nobleness of Mind, a Play, in three Acts," from the same, by Maria Geisweiller; "The Force of Calumny, a Play, in five Acts;" from the same, by Anne Plumptre; "La Peyrouse, a Drama, in two Acts;" from the same, by the same lady, and also by B. Thompson; "The Noble Lie, a Drama, in one Act, being a Continuation of the Play of Misanthropy; or Repentance, or the Stranger," from the the same, by Maria Geisweiller; "Goetz of Berlingen, with the Iron Hand, an historical Drama, of the Fifteenth Century," from the German of Goethe; "The School for Honour, or the Chance of War, a Comedy, in five Acts," from the German of Lessing; "The Lawyers, a Drama, in five Acts," from the German of Augustus William Iffland,

Iffland, by C. Lodger, Esq.; "The Foresters, a Picture of rural Manners, a Play, in five Acts," from the same by Bell Plumptre; "Poverty and Wealth, a Comedy, in five Acts," from the Danish of P. A. Heiberg, A. C. by C. H. Wilson; "Pizarro, a Tragedy, in five Acts" altered from the German of Kotzebue's Rolla, and adapted to the English stage, by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. M. P.; "The Wise Man of the East, a Play, in five Acts," taken from the East-Indian of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage, by Mrs. Inchbald; "The Red Cross Knights, a Play, in five Acts," founded on the Robbers of Schiller, by J. G. Holman; "Sighs, or the Daughter, a Comedy, in five Acts," taken from the German of Kotzebue, and adapted to the English stage, by Prince Hoare; "The Horse and Widow, a Farce," translated from the same by Anne Plumptre, and adapted to the English stage by T. Dibdin; "The Captive of Spilburg, in two Acts," from the favourite French drama called Le Souterrain, with a preface by the translator, and the music by Dussek: "The Prisoner, or the Resemblance, a Comic Opera, in one Act," from the same, and adapted to the English stage by Henry Heartwell, Esq.; and "The Tournament, a Tragedy," imitated from the celebrated German drama, entitled Agnes Bernauer, &c. by Mariana Starke.

The following short list comprises in it, if we are not mistaken in our recollection, the whole number of our native dramatic pieces: "The Castle of Montval, a Tragedy, in five Acts, by the Rev. T. S. Whalley;" "Edmond, Orphan of the Castle, a Tragedy, in five Acts, founded on the old English Baron, a Gothic Story;" "Vortigern, an historical Tragedy," and "Henry the Second, an historical Drama: both printed from the impudent forgeries attempted to be imposed on the world for original manuscripts of Shakspeare by Mr. Samuel Ireland;" "The Battle of the Nile, a dramatic Poem, on the Model of the Greek Tragedy;" "Aureno and Miranda, a Drama, in five Acts by James Boaden;" "True Patriotism, or Poverty ennobled by Virtue, a Drama;" "The Votary of Wealth, a Comedy, in five Acts, by J. G. Holman;" "Neither's the Man, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Mrs. Holford;" "Laugh when you can, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Frederick Reynolds;" "Management, a Comedy, in five Acts, by the same;" "The Peckham Frolic, or Nell Gwyn, a Comedy, in three Acts;" "Feudal Times, or the Banquet Gallery, a Drama, in two Acts, by George Colman the younger;" "Five Thousand a Year, a Comedy, in three Acts, by Tho. Dibdin;" "The Turnpike Gate, a Musical Entertainment, in two Acts, by T. Knight;" "Fortune's Frolic, a Farce, in two Acts, by John Till Allingham;" and "The Naval Pillar, a musical Entertainment, by T. Dibdin."

Among the articles which remain to be noticed in our Miscellaneous list, is the treatise on "Practical Education, by Maria Edgeworth, and by Richard Lovel Edgeworth, F. R. S. M. R. I. A." which was barely announced in our last volume. This comprehensive and sensible work is the result of extensive information, sound reflection, and experimental knowledge, obtained during the course of twenty years; and suggests much rational

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and valuable advice relative to the management and instruction of children, in the nursery, in the school, and to the period when they are released from the rule of parental authority. This advice is interspersed with a variety of pleasing anecdotes, illustrative of the actions and thoughts of children, as well as of the principles and practice which the authors wish to inculcate. Their work is divided into chapters, under the following titles, which indicate the subjects of their investigations and remarks; toys; tasks; attention; servants; acquaintance; temper; obedience; truth; rewards and punishments; sympathy and sensibility; vanity, pride, and ambition; books; grammar and classical literature; geography and chronology; arithmetic; geometry; mechanics; chemistry; public and private education; female accomplishments; masters and governesses; memory and invention; taste and imagination; wit and judgment; prudence and œconomy. To which are added, a summary chapter, and an appendix, containing conversations and anecdotes of children. Among the foregoing subjects we do not find religion, which the authors state in their preface that they have omitted, because "they do not address themselves exclusively to any sect or party." But, surely, such general principles of religion might, without any impropriety, have afforded matter for the subject of one short chapter, which all sects and parties, who have any religion, concur in considering among the most important to be early instilled into the youthful mind; and which those who have no religion might easily direct to be disregarded, in the course of their family or scholastic tuition. The entire omission of such a subject in a plan of systematic education, intended to fix the prevalent bias of sentiment and conduct in the future life of its objects, we cannot but consider to be an essential blemish. So many ill effects have we seen arising either from the culpable indifference and shameful negligence of parents, or from the ignorance or fanaticism of instructors, to whose discretion this grand point is committed by our authors, that we would no more exclude the outlines of religious knowledge from the principles and directions intended to form the useful and amiable man, than we would the outlines of science, of morals, and of manners. Independently of this defect, and with the exception of some opinions and rules for practice, in which we do not concur with the respectable authors, we recommend their "practical education," as constituting the most ingenious and useful treatise on a very important subject, which has of late years been offered to the public.

The "Strictures on the modern System of Female Education, with a View of the Principles and Conduct prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune, by Hannah More," in two volumes, are written with that ease, perspicuity, and elegance, by which the author's productions have been long recommended to the notice and acceptance of the public. To the excellence of the author's intentions, to the unprejudiced and unabashed freedom of her remarks, and to the ardour of her piety, they afford unequivocal testimony. The subjects of the various chapters of which they are composed are not reducible to any systematical order, and are too fully expressed to be distinctly mentioned in our pages.

In such of them as comprehend a view of the principles and conduct prevalent among women of rank and fortune, Mrs. More discovers a considerable acquaintance with the manners of the higher orders of society, and with much force exposes and reprehends the follies and frivolities on which the greater part of the attention of fashionable females is fixed, from the time of quitting the nursery, to the period of advanced age. In tracing the causes of those evils, she very properly ascribes them to an erroneous system of education. And in her remarks on that system, as well as in the rules which she lays down for the conduct of the female sex, there is much that is entitled to our warm commendation, and which merits the serious notice of her fair readers. To her observations on the necessity of implanting religious principles in the female mind, to enable it to resist evil propensities, and to contract just moral habits, we readily subscribe: but the system for which she is an advocate, partakes too much of the sentiments of calvinism, or rather methodism, to accord with our ideas of rational scriptural religion; and the religious practice which she enjoins is more austere and puritanical than the genius of the Gospel warrants, or the spirit of the times will bear. Some of her remarks and directions have a tendency to divorce cheerfulness from religion, and to change its easy and decorous services into more rigid and gloomy observances than even the ceremonial yoke of Moses imposed upon his disciples. The system founded on such rules, and the two general laxity of conduct which all good men lament, we consider to be two extremes, equally unfavourable to the true interests of religion and virtue.

The "Letter to Mrs. Hannah More, on some Part of her late Publication, entitled 'Strictures, &c.' by the Rev. Charles Daubeny, LL.B." contains a dispassionate refutation of some theological tenets, taken from the mystical school, which that writer had introduced into her work, and a judicious illustration, according to the Arminian sense of the articles of the church of England, of the connexion between Christian faith and Christian duties. As an appendix to this letter, Mr. Daubeny has subjoined a sensible and rational discourse on Genesis xv. 6. entitled "The Faith of Abraham a Pattern for Christian Imitation."

The "Letters on Subjects of Importance to the Happiness of Young Females, addressed by a Governess to her Pupils, chiefly while they were under her immediate Tuition, &c. by Helena Wells," are twelve in number. They abound in useful observations, and much affectionate advice, on subjects relative to religion, morals, and manners, such as might be expected from a well-informed and good governess, anxious for the improvement and felicity of her juvenile friends. Subjoined to them are "a few practical lessons on the improprieties of language, and errors of pronunciation, which frequently occur in common conversation," that are well deserving of the attention of young scholars.

Mrs. Pilkington's "Biography for Boys, or characteristic Histories, calculated to impress the youthful Mind with an Admiration of virtuous Principles, and a Detestation of vicious ones," and her "Biography for Girls, or moral and instructive Examples for young Ladies," are compiled in a pleasing and instructive style, and offer to

young persons an agreeable mixture of instruction and entertainment. They are proper companions for the useful little pieces, by the same pen, which were announced in our last year's Register.

"Eugenia, or the Precepts of Prudentius, a moral Tale, by J. Bidlake, A. B." likewise deserves to be commended for the pertinent observations and useful advice which it offers to the notice of young readers. It consists of dialogues between a tutor and his pupil; in which the sentiments inculcated are illustrated by apposite examples, and well drawn pictures from public and private life.

"The principal Part of the Old Testament, from the Beginning of Genesis, to the Conclusion of the Second Book of Kings, by the Rev. W. Ashburne," contains a careful abridgement, by the omission of such chapters as relate to other topics of the historical part of scripture, during the period mentioned in the title, for the use of schools. To render it convenient and useful as a school book, the author has prefixed to each chapter most of the principal and difficult words in it, properly divided; and he has also added, for its better illustration, tables of scripture weights, measures, money, and chronology.

"The Female Advocate, or an Attempt to recover the Rights of Women from Male Usurpation, by Mary Anne Radcliffe," offers some just remarks and reflections on the too prevalent practice of employing men in occupations that are more properly suited to the female sex, and to the duties of which they are fully competent; particularly behind the counters of perfumers, hymen, and similar trades, and, above all, of the haberdashery magazines. The evils arising from this improper usurpation of employments by the male sex, she laments with much feeling, and particularly that of female prostitution, which, in many cases, is to be traced to embarrassed circumstances, and the want of the means of livelihood. Her observations on the subjects above-mentioned, she illustrates by the affecting story of Fidelia, from the Adventurer.

"The Letter to the Women of England, on the Injustice of mental Subordination, with Anecdotes, by Anne Frances Randall," is a lively and spirited piece of declamation, in support of the rights of women, as laid down in the code of Mrs. Wollstonecraft. Her list of distinguished female writers certainly reflects much honour on the sex, and affords convincing proof of the considerable extent to which their powers can be carried, when proper care has been taken to instruct them in solid and useful knowledge, instead of superficial and trifling accomplishments. How far it contributes to the decision of the question respecting the equality of the sexes, we leave her readers to determine.

"Walpoliana," in two volumes, composes a miscellany which is "in most instances a mere transcript of literary chit-chat, sent to the press in the original careless and unstudied expressions." Many of the anecdotes and bons mots which it contains have appeared before, in periodical publications, or in similar collections; and others reflect little credit on the delicacy or candour of Horace Walpole. On the whole, however, it is an entertaining medley, and will afford some information to those readers who are not acquainted with the senti-

ments and stories of the noble author, which may be collected from the large edition of his works published during the last year. Prefixed to the Walpoliana, is a judicious and well-written sketch of lord Orford's life.

"Will Whimsical's Miscellany," is the title of a literary hodge-podge, consisting of various poetical effusions, towards the composition of which the muses have been sparing of their favours; dialogues on different subjects, conducted with a tolerable share of humour; a farci-comedy; and desultory thoughts and hints. In the latter, the reader will meet with many just and useful remarks, and satisfactory evidence, that the author is not inclined to modern heterodoxy, either in religion or politics.

The second and third parts of "Copies of original Letters from the Army of General Bonaparte in Egypt, &c." are equally objects of curiosity and entertainment, with the first part, noticed in our last year's Register, and will supply the future historian of the exploits of that extraordinary man with some useful and important documents.

The second volume of "The Spirit of the Public Journals, &c." is similar in its contents and mode of execution with the first, announced in our annual volume, mentioned in the last article.

In the following list of the Novels and Romances of the year, the first eight articles are entitled to the highest comparative praise: "St. Leon, a tale of the Sixteenth Century, by W. Godwin, in four Volumes;" "The Victim of Prejudice, by Mary Hays, in two Volumes;" "Canterbury Tales, by Sophia and Harriet Lee, Volumes II. and III;" "Romances by J. D'Israeli;" "A Tale of the Times, by the author of the 'Gossip's Story,' in three Volumes;" "A Piece of Family Biography, in three Volumes;" "Destination, or Memoirs of a Private Family, by Clara Reeve, in three Volumes;" "The Natural Son, a Novel, translated from the French of M. Diderot, in two Volumes;" "The History of my Father, or how it happened that I was born, a Romance, translated from the German of Kotzebue;" "Men and Manners, by Francis Latham, in four Volumes;" "The Natural Daughter, or Portraits of the Leaden-head Family, by Mary Robinson, in two Volumes;" "The False Friend, a Domestic Story, by the same, in four Volumes;" "The Gipsy Countess, by Miss Gunning, in four Volumes;" "Albert, or the Wilds of Strathnavern, by Elizabeth Helme, in four Volumes;" "The Age of Chivalry, or Friendship of other Times, a moral and historical Tale, abridged and selected from the Knights of the Swan, by Madame Genlis, by C. Butler;" "The Spirit of the Edda, a Romance, in three Volumes;" "The Orphan Heiress of Sir Gregory, an Historical Fragment of the last Century;" "Sketches of modern Life, or Man as he ought to be, in two Volumes;" "The Jesuit, or the History of Anthony Babington, Esq. an historical Novel, in three Volumes;" "He deceives himself, a Domestic Tale, by Marianne Chambers, in three Volumes;" "The Ring, or the Merry Wives of Madrid, translated by B. Thompson;" "Cottard Polydore, a Romance, translated from the French of the Abbe Barthelemy;" "Letters written from Lausanne, translated from the French, in two Volumes;" "Cordelia, or a Romance of real Life, by

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Sophia King, in two Volumes;" "Helen Sinclair, a Novel, by a Lady, in two Volumes;" "The Legacy, a Novel, in two volumes;" "The Madman of the Mountain, a Tale, by Henry Summerset, in two Volumes;" "Adeline St. Julian, or the Midnight Hour, a Novel, by Mrs. Ann Kerr, in two Volumes;" "Harcourt, a Novel, in four Volumes;" "The Witch and the Maid of Honour, in two Volumes;" "the Abbess, a Romance, by W. H. Ireland, in four Volumes;" "Contradictions, or who could have thought it? a Novel, from the French, by John Hemet, in two Volumes;" "Count de Novini, or the confederate Carthusians, a Neapolitan Tale, in three Volumes;" "Westbrook Village, a Novel, in two Volumes;" "Battleridge, an historical Tale, founded on Fact, by a Lady of Quality, in two Volumes;" "Sigewart, a Tale, translated from the German, in two Volumes;" "Azalais and Amar, a Provencal History of the thirteenth Century, from an ancient Manuscript;" "The Orphan of the Rhine, a Romance, by Mrs. Sleath, in four Volumes;" "Court Intrigue, or the Victim of Constancy, an historical Romance, in two Volumes;" "Montrose, or the Gothic Ruin, a Novel, in three Volumes;" "The Man of Nature, or Nature and Love, from the German of Miltenberg, by W. Wennington, with Notes illustrative and comparative, by the Translator;" "Imelina a Novel, in three Volumes;" "Reuben and Rachael, or Tales of other Times, a Novel, by Mrs. Rowson, in two Volumes;" "The Restless Matron, a Legendary Tale, in three Volumes;" "Emilia and Alphonsus, a Novel, translated from the French, in two Volumes;" "The Indian Cottage, by James Henry Bernardin de Saint Pierre, translated by E. A. Kendall;" "Lindor, or early Engagements, a Novel, in two Volumes;" "Marmontel's Tales, selected and abridged, for the Instruction and Amusement of Youth, by Mrs. Pilkington;" "The Fairy of Misfortune, or the Loves of Ocus and Zulima, an Eastern Tale, translated from the French, by the Author of a Piece of Family Biography;" "The Aristocrat, a Novel, in two Volumes;" "The Valley of St. Gothard, a Novel, by Mrs. Parsons, in three Volumes;" "The Mysterious Seal, a Romance, by W. C. Proby, in three Volumes;" "The Constant Lover, or William and Jeannette, a Tale, from the German of Kotzebue, in two Volumes;" and "Rash Vows, or the Effects of Enthusiasm, a Novel, from the French of Madame de Genlis, in three Volumes."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1799.

AMONG the few literary productions of the Russian dominions, which we have seen either briefly announced or briefly characterized, is the first volume of "A Course of Mathematics," in modern Greek, for the use of the Greek schools. Of this work we have received no farther particulars, than that it is a benevolent and patriotic undertaking of the Greek archbishop Nicephorus, who lives as a private person at Moscow, supported by a pension from the Russian court. Others of his wealthy countrymen, who reside at the same place, are sustaining the expence of printing different schoolbooks in the same language, to be distributed gratis among the schools in Greece: and others are establishing funds for the support of schools in that country. The intimate intercourse which such undertakings and establishments must create between Russia and Greece, have obtained, and will be sure to secure to them, the encouragement of the Russian government.——At Riga M. H. Storch has published the IIId and IVth volumes of his valuable and interesting "Historico statistical picture of the Russian Empire at the Close of the Eighteenth Century." These two volumes are employed in treating of the Russian commerce. In the IIId, all the branches of industry in that empire are enumerated and illustrated, in a scientific order; and in the IVth is contained a judicious and valuable history of the Russian trade, from the beginning of the empire to the close of that seventeenth century.—At Moscow, M. Karamsin has published "Travels into several Countries of Europe," in six volumes. These travels originally made their appearance in the Moscow Journal, in the form of letters to the author's friends. In that form they met with such general approbation, including that of the late empress, who was an excellent judge of the importance and merits of literary productions, that the author was encouraged to collect them into one book, with additions and improvements. In the foreign critical journals they are highly praised for the information and entertainment which they afford, and the justness, delicacy, and benevolence of sentiment which pervade them.—At the same place, M. Golikof is publishing a "Life of Peter I." which increases to extend to a most formidable magnitude. It already consists of thirty-three volumes; and contains a vast collection of state papers, authentic documents, anecdotes, &c. relative to the great founder of the Russian empire, which will prove of consi-

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derable use to his future biographers, or future historians of his reign.—At the same place, professor Bacic has published a Latin "Dissertation on the Progress of Learning and Culture in Russia," which throws much light on that curious and interesting subject. To Catharine II. that empire is under unspeakable obligations, for her continued exertions, during her long reign, to extend the boundaries of knowledge and civilisation among her subjects. Inordinate as were her ambition and thirst of empire, the desire of converting her barbarians into men, was, to the last, one of the ruling passions in her heart.—At the same place, M. Cherascow has published six volumes of "Romances, Poems, and Plays," and "Numa Pompilius," an historical romance, in the manner of Fenelon's Telemachus; and M. Karamsin has published a translation of "Marmontel's Tales," and an almanack of the muses, intitled "Aonides," consisting of poetical and romantic essays, by himself and other Russian literati; and professor Sachatsky superintends the publication of a periodical work, entitled "Agreeable and useful Pastime," consisting chiefly of translations from French and German authors.

The first, in point of order, of the very few articles which we have seen announced in Swedish literature, are the "Memoirs of the Society for the Promotion of general Knowledge among the Citizens," vols. II. and III. published at Stockholm. This work contains a number of valuable and interesting oeconomical papers, principally adapted to the genius, customs, and habits of the Swedish government and character, but intermingled with discussions, calculations, and hints, which may prove of general utility.—At the same place, M. Gustavus Engestrom, one of the royal counsellors of the mines, has published "A Guide to the Quarries and Mines of Sweden, for the Use of curious Foreigners, Miners, and Mineralogists." This work, which is illustrated with a large chart, describes seven different excursions to the Swedish mines from Stockholm, as the leading point, with the several posts and distances in Swedish miles; and, at each mine, the different sort of minerals which it affords. The author has also pointed out the other objects on these routes, which merit the notice and examination of travellers.—At the same place, Dr. S. Hedin, assessor of the medical college, and fellow of the royal society of medicine at Copenhagen, has begun the publication of a periodical work, entitled "Scientific Instruction for Physicians and Surgeons," of which four numbers, or volumes have already made their appearance. That work contains a few original medical pieces, but is chiefly composed of dissertations, or extracts, from German, French, Italian, and English, medical works; and reviews, from the same authorities, of the latest and most important publications in medicine and surgery. To each volume are added biographical memoirs of the most eminent ancient and modern physicians and surgeons, in alphabetical order.—At the same place, baron Hermelin, royal counsellor of the mines, has published, with the assistance of M. Swab, member of the academy of Stockholm, and M. Walmann, engineer of the mines, "Geographical Charts of Sweden, accompanied with Views taken from Nature; first livraison, containing the Provinces known under the Name of N rrland." The charts

in the present subdivision are six in number, and appear to have been executed with great care and accuracy, as well as elegance. They are not, however, as yet, accompanied with any text, whatever they may be in future.

In the Danish dominions, biblical literature has received a valuable accession, by the publication at Copenhagen, of Dr. Andrew Birch's second volume of the canonical books of the new Testament, with various readings. Its title is, "Variæ Lectiones ad Textum Actorum Apost. Epistolarum Catholicarum et Pauli, è Cod. Græc. MSS. Bibliothecæ, Vaticanæ, Barbarinæ, Augustinianorum Eremitarum Romæ Borgianæ Velitris, Neapolitanæ regiæ, Laurentinianæ, S. Marci Venetorum, Vindobonensis Cæsareæ et Hafniensis regiæ, collectæ et editæ, &c." In his prolegomena, Dr. Birch gives an account of fifty-one manuscripts which have been either wholly, or in part, and some of them for the first time, collated for this work, many of which are very ancient and valuable. The volume before us is executed in a less splendid style than the preceding, owing to the destruction, by fire, of the beautiful types before used, and of the paper procured from Italy for the continuation of it in the same form. It is, however, sufficiently elegant, and merits the same favourable reception, which was given to the former volume by biblical scholars. —At Altona, M. J. A. Bolten has published "the Gospel of St. John, translated and accompanied with Notes." This version, and the critical and explanatory annotations which illustrate it, reflect much credit on the industry and learning of the author. In some instances, he has been very happy in elucidating the Hebraisms or Syriasms in the language of this evangelist, by a comparison of them with the Syriac and other Oriental idioms. We have no evidence, however, to induce us to accede to the opinion of M. Bolten, that the Gospel of St. John was originally composed in the Syriac language.—At Copenhagen M. Engelstoft has published, in the Latin language, a curious account of the life and writings of one of the ancient Christian fathers, "Jerome of Stridon, the Interpreter, the Critic, the Expounder, the Apologist, the Historian, the Doctor, the Monk."—At the same place, MM. Herholdt and Rafn have published a treatise "On Perkinism, or the metallic Needles of Dr. Perkins, with American Testimonies, and Experiments of Copenhagen Physicians, with Observations by J. G. Tode, M. D." This work consists partly of a translation of the treatise on "The Influence of metallic Tractors," noticed in our last year's Register; and partly of contributions from men well known in physical and medical science, relating facts in corroboration of the utility of the Perkinian practice. Some of these facts are certainly deserving of attention; but we cannot say that they completely and satisfactorily establish the doctrine towards which the narrators are inclined. Whether the effects which they have described are to be attributed to the operation of the principles of Galvanism, or to the power of imagination, we consider to be at present an undecided question.

On the subject of Dutch literature, we are equally uninformed as on that of the three northern nations already mentioned.—At Utrecht M. G. W. Struick has published

lished a work entitled "Specimen Hermeneuticum theologicum de Doctrina et Dictione Johannis Apostoli, ad Jesu Magistri Doctrinam Dictionemque exacte composita, &c." The object of this work is to contrast the sense given by Bahrdt, and some other German writers, to the language of the apostolic writings, particularly those of St. John, which is unfavourable to the orthodox doctrines respecting the son of God, the Holy Ghost, &c. With this view he enters into a comparison of the expressions made use of in the epistles, with those that occur in the Gospel of St. John; and endeavours to show, that the phrases which his opponents apply to the doctrine of Christ are strictly and literally applicable to his person. Whatever may be thought of the author's success in his main design, it will not be denied that in support of it he has displayed much learning and ingenuity, and that he has sometimes thrown light on the sense of particular scriptural expressions, by the quotation of like phrases either in general meaning or peculiarities of idiom.—At Amsterdam, four numbers have appeared of "Accounts of the Missions to Heathen Countries, by the Community of the Evangelical Brethren." These missions commenced in the year 1734, and by degrees extended to Lapland, Greenland, North America, the West-India islands, the Dutch colonies in South America, and the territories in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. They have been maintained to the present time; and although in some instances unsuccessful, in others they have proved the means of gaining numbers of converts to Christianity, either from savage tribes, or the Africans who have been stolen from their native country into a state of slavery. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the good intentions, zeal, and laborious exertions of their supporters and active agents. This account, likewise, will supply the philosophical inquirer into the history of the human species with some desirable information.—At Utrecht, M. S. van Emdre, member of the Society of Sciences, in Zealand, and of that for the vindication of the Christian religion, has published "Travels through Palestine, in a Series of entertaining Letters, with a new Plan of the City of Jerusalem, &c." vol. I. This work is avowedly a compilation from the writings of the most respectable ancient and modern travellers, who have actually visited the country described. It is drawn up, however, with care and judgment, and will prove instructive as well as entertaining to general readers.—At Leyden, a classical work has been published, which the foreign journalists pronounce highly honourable to the learning, critical talents, and accuracy of the editor. Its title is, "Callimachi Elegiarum Fragmenta, cum Elegia Catulli Callimachea, collecta atque illustrata à Ludovico Casparo Valckenaer. Edidit, Præfatione atque Indicibus instruxit Johannes Luzac."

When we turn our attention to the literary productions of Germany, we meet with a new volume of Dr. Rosenmüller's valuable annotations on the Hebrew Scriptures, intitled "Scholia in Vetus Testamentum; Partis Quartæ, Psalmos continens; Volumen Primum," published at Leipsic. This volume contains the author's scholia on the Psalms, as far as the twentieth, inclusive; and presents us with the result of his own learned investigations, together with such manner

as appeared deserving of his election from ancient and modern expositors on the Psalms, both Jewish and Christian, and other critical writers. Prefixed to the Scholia are copious prolegomena, in which the author successively treats of the origin of the smaller pieces included in this volume; of the chronology and authors of the Psalms; and of their collection, division, number, and subscriptions.—At the same place, M. G. C. Horst has published a new translation of "The Visions of Habakkuk, with historical and critical Annotations." This work is highly commended, in the German reviews, for its fidelity and elegance, as well as for the learning and judgment displayed by the author in collecting the expositions of the ablest commentators, and combining them with his own remarks and observations. M. Horst's translation is accompanied with an ingenious dissertation on the spirit of prophesy in the ancient world, particularly as it is displayed in the writings of the biblical prophets.—At Jena, M. P. de Grangaard has published "An Attempt towards a metrical Translation of the Prophecy of Jonah," which is not represented to be a very elegant or poetical version of that sacred book. The author's preface, however, is warmly praised, for the good sense, just sentiments, and liberal spirit which it discovers, and for its tendency to encourage a rational study of the sacred records.—At Lubeck, M. G. W. Meyer has published "The History of the Interpretation of the Old Testament," vol. I. This work is stated to be an ingenious and useful compendium of the critical labours of some of the ablest modern theologians, on the subjects of the genuineness, or proper sense, of a great variety of difficult and controverted passages in the Old Testament writings.—"Jesus, how he lived and taught, according to the Accounts of the Evangelists, &c." published at Leipsic, is the title of a work professedly intended to reconcile a conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, with the mode of thinking inculcated in the writings of modern self-named philosophers. If the author is sincere in his attachment to Christianity, we think him an injudicious friend; for his object is to show that our Saviour could perform and teach, what he did perform and teach, without any supernatural power or influence. The Christian who relinquishes all pretensions in his religion to a miraculous origin, is not the man whom we would oppose in its defence to the determined unbeliever, or sneering sceptic.—"The Miracles of the Old and New Testaments, in their real Shape, for true Worshippers of Christ," is the title of another work published at the same place, and at Frankfort, of which we have not seen any particulars sufficient to enable us to form a judgment of its merits or tendency.—At Leipsic, and at Jena, professor Fichte has published "An Appeal against the Accusation of Atheism," brought against him by some of his brother professors, and supported by an electoral rescript at Dresden, condemning some opinions advanced by him in a philosophical journal. From the developement of his principles in this appeal, he has clearly proved, that there was no just ground for charging him with atheism. Pure atheism, with a belief in the immortality of the soul, and of the necessity of a virtuous spiritual life to present and future happiness, appear to be the leading

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articles of his creed. But in his language on these topics, he makes use of expressions borrowed from the new German philosophy, in which there is much obscurity, and something greatly resembling mysticism. —At Berlin, M. J. A. de Luc, reader to her majesty the queen of Great Britain, has published "A Letter to some Jews, Authors of a Memorial addressed to M. Teller, Counsellor of the Supreme Consistory." The object of that memorial was, to obtain for its subscribers a right to the common privileges of Christians, on their renouncing the divine authority of the Mosaic ritual, and retaining principles nearly allied to those of the French theophilanthropists, on the subjects of deity, a future state, and the necessity of moral virtue. In M. de Luc's letter, nothing is advanced that can invalidate the equity of their claim, not only to an entire toleration, but to be placed on the same footing with Christians, in respect to civil immunities. What he has said, however, in support of the divine origin of the religion of their forefathers, and of the necessity of revelation to assist the weakness and correct the errors of human reason, is weighty and important. Indifferent or temporising Christians, as well as indifferent or temporising Jews, may reap benefit from a dispassionate perusal of it.—At Leipsic, an anonymous author has published "The Theology of the Old Testament, or a Sketch of the religious Opinions of the ancient Hebrews;" which will prove useful to theological students, both as affording a compendious view of the sacred dogmas of that people, and as a directory to the best and most comprehensive treatises on those subjects.—At Nuremberg, Dr. C. Gottf. Junge, Doctein has published a new volume, being the eighth in number, of his learned, liberal, and useful work, entitled "Instructions in the Christian Religion, according to the Exigencies of the present Age."—At Halle, Dr Aug. Hermann Niemeyer has published "Letters addressed to the Teachers of the Christian Religion, on popular and practical Theology." This work is the third and last collection of instructive and well written epistles, on subjects indicated in the title, which have met with the very favourable reception in Germany.—At Leipsic, M. C. Fr. Sintenis has published "Instructions in the Christian Religion for Youth;" which form a pleasing and useful manual for young people of the doctrines of Christ, as deducible from the plain and intelligible language of the evangelists.—At the same place, M. H. A. Schuler has published a curious and interesting work, entitled "Contributions towards a History of the various Changes in the Style of Preaching among the Protestants, from the Reformation to the present Time." These contributions consist of specimens of the most applauded kinds of pulpit eloquence, at different periods during the time referred to in the title. We could wish to see a similar work undertaken in our own country. It would serve to throw considerable light on an entertaining and not uninstructive subject for consideration, that of literary fashion.—At Jena, M. Ch. Schütze has published a work entitled "Contemplations of Life, produced by the Idea of the Transition into Eternity. Memento vivere." In this work, which is written in an able and persuasive manner, the author combats the common practice of recommending meditations on death, as a means of

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the gloomy and pernicious melancholy which they have a tendency to produce; and recommends, on the contrary, frequent cheerful and pleasing contemplations of our present and future life, as what are better adapted to excite us to vigorous exertions in virtue, and to fit us for the exalted end for which Christianity designs us.—At Gottingen, professors Ammon and Sträudlin have commenced the publication of a new "Theological Magazine;" and at Giessen, professor J. Ch. Ern. Schmidt has published, in two volumes, "A general Review of Theological Literature," which is intended to be continued annually.—At Leipsic, Dr. J. G. Rosenmüller has published a volume of sensible and useful "Sermons on the dogmatical and moral Doctrines of rational and active Christianity;" and at the same place, as well as at Sultzbach, Dr. M. Reinard, first chaplain to the court of Dresden, has published a volume of highly eloquent and impressive "Sermons, preached in the Court Chapel during the Year 1798."—At Leipsic, likewise, M. Joh. Ch. von Gerern has published a volume of judicious and useful "Sermons on the Knowledge of Man;" and at Hamburg, M. Mich. el Wolters has published three animated and interesting discourses, under the title of "Recollections of Luther's Reformation."

Among the articles in German literature belonging to the department of Philosophy and Ethics, we find the third and fourth volumes of "Elements of the History of Philosophy, by J. Gottlieb Buhle," published at Gottingen. In these volumes the learned and ingenious author has completed his history of the Grecian philosophy, and has presented us with that of the Romans; of the Jews in the time of Jesus Christ; of cabalistical philosophy; and of the Alexandrino-eclectic philosophy. In another volume, he proposes to finish his plan; which will reflect honour on his industry and discrimination, and supply the student with valuable observations on the different systems, and on the character of their founders and principal supporters, as well as with judicious parallels of ancient and modern philosophy.—At Zullichau, and Freystadt, professor Fülleborn has published the 8th, 9th and 10th numbers of his "Contributions towards the History of Philosophy." This work is distinguished by elaborate researches, and acute critical remarks, and will prove of considerable use in illustrating the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers.—At Halle, professor J. S. Beck has published an useful and perspicuous "Introduction to the Study of Science in general," by which is to be understood metaphysical science, or the theory or intellectual faculties of man, their laws, and nature.—At Altenburg, professor B. Ch. Er. Schmid has published "Outlines of Met physics," which are intended to convey a general and clear idea of the whole extent of the Kantean system. It is spoken of with much respect, as containing an able and perspicuous elucidation of that author's principles, divested of many of the obscurities in which his peculiar phraseology had involved them.—At Leipsic, M. N. Treschow has published "Lectures on the Kantean philosophy," with the design of refuting its principles. The author possesses extensive learning, and a sound judgment, and is a formidable opponent to the doctrines of the new philosophy.—So, likewise, is the celebrated M. J. G. Herder, who has published, in the same

same place, "Understanding and Experience; a Metacritic on the Critic of pure Reason." This is a very acute, and, at the same time, lively performance, which controverts, with much force of reasoning, and felicity of illustration, the ground-work of the whole Kantean system.—The preceding attack on the fashionable philosophy soon produced "An Examination of Herder's Metacritic, by Professor J. G. C. Kieswelter," published at Berlin; and a treatise "On Herder's Metacritic, and its Introduction to the Public, by Hermes Psycopompos, by a Friend to Truth," published at Jena. These publications are written with much ingenuity, and correct some misconstructions which M. Herder had given of particular expressions of professor Kant; but they do not successfully repel the force of his spirited attack on the opinions and reasonings of that philosopher.—At Leipsic, M. Ch. H. Heydenreich has published "The Philosophy of the Passions of Mankind, a Treatise both Speculative and Practical, for the Happy and Unhappy," in three vols. This work is a motley production, consisting, in addition to the remarks and observations of the author, of large extracts from different English, French, and German writers. Many of the sentiments which are inculcated in it are just, and much of the advice which it offers is useful and important. But these sentiments and advice, in their present form, do not come recommended by any charms of novelty, or of pleasing composition.—At the same place, M. Von Seibt has published "The Doctrine of Prudence practically treated, in Academical Lectures, in two volumes; which offer useful advice to young men entering on the career of the world, enlivened with interesting anecdotes and appropriate quotation from ancient and modern writers.—At Jena, Dr. F. V. Reinhard has published a curious and useful work "On Micrology in Ethics." Under this title the author includes the spirit of attributing a false importance to things which are indifferent to morality, and of bestowing upon them more attention than they deserve. His acute and just remarks are classed under the heads of hermeneutical, casuistical, moral, and ascetic micrology.—To the articles above enumerated, we add the titles of the following: "Proof of the Existence of God, deduced from theoretic Reason, by M. G. Mauzel," published at Wien; "Philosophical Ideas and Tracts, relative to the Critical Philosophy, by a Lover of Wisdom," published at Leipsic; "Remarks on philosophising Reason, and of a pure Heart, on Subjects which are highly important to Mankind, collected from the Works of ancient and modern Thinkers, with regard to the Principles of Critical Philosophy," published at Frankfort; "The Philosophy of Life, or Maxims of Wisdom and Virtue, &c. by M. G. S. Pall," published at the same place; "The Principal Truths of natural Religion and Morality, according to the Principles of pure Reason, &c. by M. L. E. Snell," published at Leipsic; "Results of Reason, philosophising on the Nature of Morality, &c. by M. George Deves," in two volumes, published at the same place; and "A Treatise on the Existence of Principles of a pure disinterested Benevolence in Man, being an Answer to a Prize Question proposed by the Teylerian Society, by Pauls Van Hemmert, late Professor, &c." translated from the Dutch, &c. with a short Account

of the Vicissitudes which the Kantean Philosophy has experienced in Holland. by J. W. Dethmar," published at Dortmund.

Under the head of Jurisprudence, Government, and Political Œconomy, we meet with "A practical Commentary on the Pandects, after the Compendium of Herr, G. R. R. Hellfeld," vols. I.—VII. published at Leipsic. This work, of which one-half only has yet made its appearance, is reported to contain a complete compilation of whatever has been already written on the different titles in the Pandects, without any new observations.—The "Illustrations of Civil Law, after the Direction of Hellfeld's Compendium, by Dr. John Bern. Chr. Eichmann," vol. I. published at Berlin, is the commencement of a complete commentary on Hellfeld's work, and is stated to possess a considerable share of merit.—The "Revision of the Principles and elementary Notions of the positive Criminal Law, by Dr. Paul J. Anselm Feurbach," in 2 volumes, published at Erfurt, is said to be distinguished by extensive knowledge, judicious discrimination, acuteness of remark, and philosophy of spirit.—At Leipsic, M. J. Gruner has published an able and benevolent "Essay on Punishments, especially those of Death and Imprisonment; together with an Account of the criminal Laws and Prisons of Pennsylvania, translated from the English."—At Helmstadt, Dr. Paul Jacob Bruns has published a curious work, which will prove acceptable to historians and antiquaries, as well as to men of the legal profession. It is entitled "Contributions to the German Laws of the Middle Ages, from the MSS. and ancient Impressions in the Academical Library at Helmstadt."—At Frankfort, an anonymous author has published "Democracy and Monarchy, a free Translation from the Greek of Dio Cassius, together with a Fragment on the Form of Government of Uranos." The part of Dio Cassius, which is well rendered in the version before us, and accompanied with learned and sensible observations, is the celebrated consultation of Augustus with Agrippa and Mæcenas, on the choice of a proper form of government for the Roman state. In the Fragment, which is a work of imagination, we are presented with a compendium of the popular arguments in favour of monarchy.—At Leipsic, M. A. Thaer has published an "Introduction to the Knowledge of English Agriculture, and its late theoretic and practical Improvements, tending to promote the Improvement of German Agriculture; for the Use of thinking Farmers and Œconomists." The above work displays an intimate knowledge of the agriculture of this country, and, on that account, must prove highly interesting to enlightened and unprejudiced German cultivators.—The "Complete Manual of Husbandry, by J. L. G. Leopold," published at Frankfort, will also be found to contain much useful information on that important subject; as will, likewise, "The Pocket Book for Gentlemen of landed Estates, Farmers, &c. particularly such as reside in Silesia, by M. G. Brieger," published at Berlin; and the "Complete and general agricultural Catechism," vol. I. by the same author, and published at the same place.—Dr. J. Ch. Gotthard's "Complete Instructions in the Art of Rearing and treating Poultry, an Account of their various Uses, and of the Manner of curing their Diseases," published at Frankfort and Leipsic, is

an enlarged edition of a work of no small merit and utility, which has become very popular in Germany.—We add the titles of the following works; an "Essay on the Means of preventing the dangerous Consequences of the Scarcity of Money, particularly with regard to those Countries which have suffered by War, by M. H. Molitor," published at Darmstadt; "On the Injury which must necessarily arise to every State from the arbitrary Reduction of Farms, &c. by M. C. Meerwein," published at Leipsic; "The Patriotic Magazine for Germany, dedicated to God, the Princes, and the Country, by M. Sam. Chr. Wagner," published at Berlin; "Pictures drawn from the Prussian History, for the Promotion of genuine Loyalty and patriotic Zeal," published at the same place; "How can the Spirit of the Age be turned to the best Advantage? a Philosophico-historical Treatise, by J. L. Ewald," published at Bremen; "The Art of distilling Brandy, of a superior Quality, in the most advantageous and cheapest Manner, &c." in two volumes, published at Frankfort; and "The Practical Merchant, or Instructions in all Branches of Commerce, especially in the Italian Method of Book-keeping, by M. F. H. W. Jhrinz, published at Hamburg. To which we might add a long list of œconomical magazines and almanacks, commercial manuals, and political essays.

In our catalogue of German articles in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c. the first place is due to the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres at Berlin, from the Accession of Frederic-William II. for 1792 and 1793, with the History during that Period." The history of the academy contains, as usual, an account of its meetings, eulogies on deceased members, and other preliminary pieces. The memoirs, which are too numerous to be distinctly noticed by us, may be divided into the classes of speculative philosophy, belles-lettres, and experimental philosophy. Some of these are learned and elaborate, and others acute and ingenious, and will prove useful in extending the boundaries of science and literary criticism. The principal contributors are MM. Merian, Ancillon, De Moulines, l'abbé Denina, Mainzer, Erman, Bode, Templehoff, Busse, Bernouilli, Lhuilier, Achard, Magny, and Robert.—At Frankfort, Leipsic, and other places, MM. J. Ph. Kohler and J. L. Ideler, have published "New Trigonometrical Tables for the Decimal Divisions of the Quadrant, &c." This work is highly honourable to the scientific industry and accuracy of the authors; and if, as some of the most eminent mathematicians of the present day predict, the decimal system shall one long prove triumphant in Europe, will be followed by the rewards due to the independence of spirit which led them to engage in such an undertaking.—At Leipsic, M. F. Th. Schubert has published a treatise on "Theoretical Astronomy," in three volumes, which is spoken of in warm terms by the German journalists, as an able attempt to expound the principles of that science in the order and connection in which they were invented, and to render them, in a short time, perspicuous and intelligible to mathematical students.—At Gotha, and at other places, M. C. G. Jahn has published a very useful and lively "Manual of Astronomy, for the Use of Beginners and Amateurs, being the Astronomical Catechism

techism of M. Soeburg, revised and augmented by Professor Bugge, and translated from the Danish Original, altered and rendered more useful by additional Annotations." —At Berlin, M. Bode has published his "Astronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1801," and also that "for the Year 1802." Among the numerous astronomical essays and observations which accompany these publications, are several of considerable value and importance, which claim for their authors some of the ablest astronomers of the present day. In that number will be found the names of Herschel, Schröeder, Lambert, Bode, Klügel, &c.—At Weimar, professor J. H. Voight has published "A Compendium of Popular Astronomy, according to the present State of that Science," for the use of students; of which it is a sufficient recommendation to state, that it was undertaken and carried on under the auspices of M. von Zach.—At Gotha, M. C. F. Goldbach has published "A new Astronomical Atlas," executed in a very masterly style, and including all the most recent discoveries. This work M. von Zach has long introduced to the mathematical world, by writing the preface.—At Berlin, M. Bode has published an addition of "Fontenelle's Dialogues on the Plurality of Worlds," with annotations and eleven plates, which will prove an acceptable present to the lovers of astronomy.—At Leipsic, M. C. F. Hindenberg continues, with increasing success and reputation, his "Magazine for pure and mixed Mathematics;" and at the same place Dr. J. Khohlaas has published two useful volumes of "Mixed Mathematics for Youth, who have already made some progress towards Statics, Hydrostatics, Aërometry, Hydraulics, Optics, &c. with a Reference to Anatomy, Physiology, Surgery, and Midwifery," illustrated with plates.—At Jena, professor Göttling has published "A Manual of Theoretic and Practical Chemistry," in two volumes, for which the author's well-known reputation, as a periodical detailer of the discoveries and improvements in chemistry, and as a public lecturer in that science, will secure a favourable reception.—At Göttingen, M. J. F. Gmelin has published, in three volumes, a complete and elaborate "History of Chemistry, from the Revival of Literature to the End of the Eighteenth Century," which forms the eighth part of the History of the Arts and Sciences, published under the direction of professor Eeighhorn.—At Brunswick, M. Alex. von Humboldt has published an account of a number of ingenious and well conducted "Experiments on the Chemical Decomposition of the Atmosphere, and on some other Objects in Natural Philosophy," which will furnish the reader with some original and valuable facts and useful hints.—At Frankfort, Dr. F. A. Reuss has published a valuable "New Mineralogical Dictionary, or Catalogue of all the Words in the German, Latin, French, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, and Hungarian Language, relative to Mining and Mineralogy, with an Explanation of their real Meaning, according to the new Nomenclature of Werner." —At Jena, professor J. Gott. Schneider has published the commencement of a very important and valuable work, entitled "Historiæ Amphibiorum naturalis et literariæ Fasciculus Primus, continens Ranas, Calamitas, Bufones, Salamandras, et Hydros, in Genera et Species descriptos, Notisque suis distinctos."

tilactos."—At Gotha, M. Bechstein has published a translation of "Pennant's Quadrupeds," in two volumes, with considerable additions to the original work; and at Göttingen, professor Blumenbach has published the fifth number of his "Drawings of Subjects in Natural History," intended to illustrate his useful and very popular compendium of natural history.—In reciting the titles of the following works, we have mentioned the places of publication whenever we were able to ascertain them: "Demonstratio Theorematis Parallelarum," by an anonymous author; "Manual necessary for the Possessors of Almanacs, or a complete Explanation of the Almanac, &c. for Readers of all Classes, illustrated with Plates;" "A Mineralogical Pocket Book for Beginners and Amateurs, by J. G. Lentz," in two volumes, published at Leipsic; "Chemical Tracts, by J. F. Westrumb," vol. III.; "Fauna Boica, &c. or the Natural History of the Tame Animals of Bavaria, by J. F. von Paula Schrank;" "New Essays, by the Society of Natural History at Berlin," vols. I. and II. published at that place; "The new Botanical Philosophy, by Professor H. F. Link," published at Göttingen.—At Göttingen, M. Persoon is publishing a valuable collection of essays, which the celebrity of their author will render a desirable acquisition to the scientific world. The part already published is entitled "Dissertationes Academicæ Upsaliæ, habitæ sub Præsidio E. P. Thunberg, Volumen Primum, cum Tab. V. Æneis."—At Hildesheim has appeared "The Flora of Hildesheim, or Descriptions and Representations of such Plants as grow wild within the Principality of Hildesheim, by P. C. Wagener and F. R. Gruber; 1st Decad; illustrated with ten illuminated Plates;" "A concise Description of the most dangerous poisonous Plants, for the Instruction of Children, with thirty Plates, by G. H. A. Dunker;" "Journal of Pharmacy for Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chemists, by D. J. B. Tromsdorff," vol. V.; "Manual of the Knowledge and Cure of internal Diseases of the Human Body, &c. by Dr. J. C. Stark;" "Repository of Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery, by a Society of Literary Men, No I." published under the superintendance of Dr. Arnemann; and "Medical Tracts of Bohemian Literati, collected, &c. by J. D. John."

Our list of publications in Germany and the Austrian dominions, under the head of History, Geography, Biography, and Travels, commences with the second volume of M. Kovachich's "Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum minores, hactenus inediti, &c. ad Comitem Jo. Illyèzházi," published at Ofen. This curious and interesting collection of state-papers, historical documents, and antiquities, has been followed by "Supplementa ad Vestigia Comitiorum apud Hungaros, ab Exordio Regni eorum in Pannonia, usque ad hodiernum Diem celebratorum," vol. I. by the same author, and published at the same place.—The history and antiquities of that part of the Austrian dominions have also employed the able pens of Dr. Stephen Katona, in his "Historia Critica Rerum Hungariæ Stirpis Austriacæ, et Fide Domesticorum et externorum Scriptorum Diplomatumque concinnata," in two volumes, embracing the period from the year 1526 — 1550, published at Klausenberg; and of P. Honorati Novotny, one of the regular clergy, in his "Sciagraphia;

graphia, seu Compendaria Hungariæ veteris et recentioris Notitia Historico-politica, in qua Status Regni physicus, historicus, politicus, ecclesiasticus, &c. expenitur, ac, Eruditorum Judicio substernitur," in two volumes, published at Vienna. Our limits will not permit us to enlarge on the contents of the above learned and laborious publications.—In this place, likewise, though rather out of its proper class in the regular order of our catalogue, we take the opportunity of announcing the following work, on account of its connection with the antiquities of Hungary: "Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Linguis Finnicæ Originis grammatice demonstrata: necnon Vocabularia Dialectarum Tartaricarum et Sclavicarum cum Hungrica comparata. Auctore Sam. Gyarmathi, Med. Doct. &c." published at Göttingen. — At Freyberg, Dr. J. G. Hubler has published two volumes of a judicious and well-digested "Manual of Universal History, comprehending the Nations of ancient Times from the Beginning of Governments to the Close of the Roman Republic." The volumes before us bring down the author's plan to the reign of Alexander the Great.—At Göttingen, the celebrated professor Eichhorn has published the first volume of a concise abstract of universal history, entitled "Ancient History," comprehending the state of the world from the earliest period to the invasion of the northern nations. Of this work we have not seen any account sufficient to enable us to form a judgement of its character and merits; but we augur favourably of its excellence from the well-known learning and talents of its author.——At the same place, professor A. H. L. Heeren has published "A Compendium of the History of ancient States, particularly with respect to their Conditions, Commerce, and Colonies, for the Use of public Lectures;" which the foreign journals pronounce to be a judicious and useful work, abounding in just criticisms, and excellent observations and disquisitions. They pass likewise, a favourable judgement on "A Sketch of the History of the principal Nations of Antiquity," by professor Lueder, published at Brunswick. This work is principally employed in illustrating the political œconomy of the ancients.—At Leipsic, M. C. Venturini has also published "A Compendium of ancient History, from the Creation of the World to the great Migration of Nations, &c." which is more highly praised for its intention than its execution.—At Gotha, professor J. G. Galletti has published the third part of his valuable and pleasing "Epitome of Universal History," equally adapted for instruction and amusement. This volume brings down the history of the world to the reign of Augustus.——At Munich, M. L. Westenrieder has published a concise and well-executed "Sketch of the History of Germany," as an elementary work for young persons in the Batavian dominions.—— At Altdorf, professor C. Mannert, under the quaint title of "French Liberty, Nobility, Slavery, Examination of a Part of the ancient German Constitution," has published an energetic and acute history of the monarchy of the Franks, from the times of Merovæus to those of Charlemagne, in order to deduce from it a view of the loss of the ancient Franconian liberty, and the origin of nobility and bondage.—At Berlin, professor G.

K. F. Seidel has published the rst volume of a brief and well-ritten "Modern History of Eu-ope from the End of the Seven ears' War;" which is honourable o his industry and impartiality. he present volume contains the istory of Portugal, Spain, and rance, before the commencement f the American revolution.—At ie same place have appeared Annals of the Prussian Monarchy nder the Reign of Frederick Wil-am III." in three volumes. In rawing up this work, which is aluable on account of the in-ormation which it conveys respecting he civil, military, financial, and economical state of Prussia, and he literature, morals, and manners f its inhabitants, the author as been liberally assisted with all ecessary communications from the tate officers, by order of the pre-ent king.—The "Authentic Hi-tory of the French revolutionary War in Italy, &c. with Docu-ments, and some general Observa-ions," and the "History of the French Republic under the Direc-orial Government, to the definitive Treaty with Austria, together with Diplomatic Documents," both pub-ished at Halle, will supply future istorians of the present times with seful materials; but the authors niformly discover too strong pre-udices in favour of the principles on which the French acted, and he measures which they pursued, o be entitled to the honours of im-partial historians.—The "Concise Account of Military Events, to which are annexed Maps and Plans," published in numbers, at Hamburg; and the "New Mili-ary Journal, or Military Memoirs f our Times," published at the ame, and other places in Germany, re periodical works of very consi-derable merit in point of informa-tion, execution, and impartiality, and cannot fail of proving highly acceptable both to historians and politicians.—At Erlangen, Dr. Ha-ger has published "An Account of a singular literary Imposture dis-covered in Sicily in 1794." In this work the author shows in what manner he detected the infamous forgeries of professor Vella, who had the art to persuade the arch-bishop of Heraclea, that he had discovered in the convent of St. Martin invaluable Arabic manu-scripts relative to the history of Sicily during the government of the Saracens. In our Register for the year 1789, we announced the appearance of the first volume of "A Collection of State Papers," pretendedly taken from these ma-nuscripts. The impostor had also the art to persuade many literary men, that he had in his possession one of the lost books of Livy, in Arabic. This manuscript was also examined by Dr. Hager, and prov-ed to be a forgery.—At New Stre-litz, M. C. G. Lenz has published "The Plain of Troy, after Count Choiseul Gouffier and other Tra-vellers; together with a Treatise of major Müller of Göttingen, &c. with Maps;" which confirms and farther illustrates M. Chevalier's Geography of the Site of Troy.—At Rostock, professor O. G. Tych-sen has published a learned and in-genious "Essay on the cuneated, or arrow-headed Inscriptions at Per-sepolis, with two Plates;" in which he concludes, but we do not think to the satisfaction of oriental anti-quaries, that their date is to be re-ferred to the time when the Arsa-cides governed Persia; and that the palace, among the ruins of which they are found, was built by the prince who succeeded Alexander

the Great.—At Leipsic, M. A. G. Meissner has published the first volume of "Historico-picturesque Descriptions of Bohemian Castles, with fourteen coloured Plates," which will be found interesting and entertaining from the representations which it gives of the history and traditions of the middle age.—At Vienna, professor Eckhel has published the eighth and last volume of his very valuable "Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, &c." containing an account of the remaining imperial medals, and those which are fictitious, &c.—At Nuremberg, professor Bruns has published "An Attempt towards a systematic Description of the remotest Parts of the Globe; Africa, Asia, America, and South India," in six volumes. This is a very elaborate and meritorious production, carefully digested from the best and latest authorities, and abounding in useful and entertaining information.—At Leipsic, professor Pallas has published the first volume of "Remarks made in a Journey into the Southern Viceroyalties of the Russian Empire, in the years 1793 and 1794;" from which much interesting information may be collected respecting the geography, natural history, late improvements, inhabitants, &c. of the southern Russian empire. We hope soon to see this work in an English dress.—At Wien, M. J. M. von Lichtenstern has published "A General Survey of the Dutchy of Styria, with regard to its Geography, History, Literature, &c." which will furnish the reader with a variety of desirable particulars respecting that Austrian province.—At Berlin, Dr. Hager has published "Views of Palermo," taken during the author's residence in that city; and replete with proofs of his diligence in inquiry, of his learning and ingenuity. But we cannot say that they will supply with any new information those who are conversant in the publications of English travellers through Sicily.—We can only find room for the titles of the following works: "Gallery of remarkable Ladies, as well of ancient as of modern times," in two volumes, published at Leipsic; "Fragments on Italy, extracted from the Journals of a young German," in two volumes, published at the same place; "Momentaneous Guide for Readers of Newspapers, or Manual of the present Helvetic Topography," published at Frankfort; "An Historico-geographical Description of Berlin, from its Origin to the present Time; together with some Observations on the Literature, Manners, and Customs of its Inhabitants," published at Berlin; "New Views of Dresden, for the use of Travellers, by a Traveller," published at Leipsic; "A History and Description of Leipsic and its Environs, by Professor J. G. Leonhardi," published at Berlin; "A Journey from Amsterdam, by Madrid and Cadiz, to Genoa, in the Years 1797 and 1798, by C. A. Fischer," published at the same place; and "Travels to the Giant's Mountains, and the surrounding countries of Bohemia and Silesia, in 1796," published at Gotha.

Among the German publications of the year belonging to the department of Classical, Critical, and Miscellaneous literature, we have to announce the tenth volume of M. J. G. Hutten's valuable edition "Plutarchi Chæronensis quæ supersunt om. cum Annotationibus var. adjectaque Lectionis Diversitate," published at Tubingen.—At Leipsic, M. B. Weiske, well known by his translation of the Memorabilia

lemorabilia of Xenophon, accom-anied with a learned commentary, nd other philological works, has ublished, as part of a complete dition of his remains, "Xeno-hontis Scripta," vols. I.—IV. omprising the Cyropædia and nabasis of that author; with pre-atory discourses, distinguished by enuine erudition and sound criti-ism.—At the same place, M. G. F. reuser has published some learned nd judicious remarks on that hi-orian, in a work entitled "De enophonte Historiæ disserit, si-ulque Historiæ scribendæ Ratio-em, quam inde ab Herodoto et hucydide secuti sunt, illustrare udet G. F. C. Pars I."—At Jena, I. F. Schmieder has published, ith great care and accuracy, and ith a due attention to the labours f preceding philologists, the fol-owing works of Arrian: "Arriani icomediensis Expeditionis Alex-ndri Libri Septem, recensiti et Notis lustrati;" and "Ἀρριανου Ἰνδικη. rriani Indica, cum Βοπαν. Vul-anii Interpretatione Latina, per-ultis Locis emendatione; recen-ta et illustrata."—At the same lace, the same editor has published Theophrasti Characteres, &c." with ne additions given by the late pro-ssor Siebenkees, and new critical marks and illustrations, in which s learning and sagacity are equally pparent.—At Deux Ponts, pro-ssor Mitscherlitch of Göttingen as published, under the title of Scriptores Erotici Græci, Partes I. et II." with the aid of the an-ent editions, and readings from Turin codex, a more correct edi-on than has before appeared of e Theogenes and Charicles of eliodorus.—At Leipsic, professor odfr. Hermann has published Aristophanis Nubes, cum Scho-a," in which, besides the labours of all former editors of repute, and his own sagacity, he has availed himself of the manuscript notes of the late celebrated professor Ernesti.—At the same place, the learned and acute scholiast M. F. Jacobs has published "Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiæ Græcæ, secundum Ordinem Analectorum Brunkii," vol. II.—At Jena, professor C. D. Ingen has published, with much learned labour, and critical judgment, "Σκολια, hoc est, Carmina convivialia Græcorum, Metris suis restituta, et Animadversionibus illustrata, præmissa Disquisitione de hoc Genere Carminis."—At Leignitz, Dr. J. Chr. Fr. Wetzel has published "Q. Horatii Opera, ad Exemplar Bentleii recudenda, Argumentis præmissis, Notis criticis adjecta, &c." in two volumes. This is certainly a very valuable and much-improved edition of the Roman poet; but it would not have been less acceptable to genuine scholars, if the author had spoken more modestly and justly of the merits of our learned countryman.—At Gotha, M. F. Ast has published "Observationes in Propertii Carmina, et in Elegiam ad Liviam Augustam;" which display the same intimate acquaintance with the ancient classics, as well as great ingenuity and critical skill. Prefixed to them is a learned and elegant epistle of the celebrated professor Jacobs, to the author.—At Leipsic, M. G. G. Schutz has published a faithful and elegant translation of "The Clouds, a Comedy of Aristophanes;" and M. S. J. Fracht, a carpenter at Schongau, a correct and pleasing version, in German rhymes, "Aug. Lib. Phædri Fabulæ Æsopi."—At the same place have been published the following translations from ancient authors, of which the German re-

views make less favourable mention: "The Evagoras of Isocrates, translated and expounded for the Use of Schools, by M. Heinig;" "Cicero's Lælius, &c. translated by R. A. Hedwig;" and "Cicero, or Cato the Elder, on Old Age, translated by J. G. A. K."—At Marburg, M. G. M. Hartmann has published "Elements of the Hebrew Language, together with Tables, and a Crestomathia," which contain such real improvements, particularly with respect to the regularity of punctuation in the verbs, as fully justifies the author in adding them to the existing number of Hebrew grammars.—At Jena has appeared a judicious abridgement of a work which has been very favourably received in the German universities, and entitled "A Short Hebrew Grammar, extracted from the larger Work of J. S. Vator, Professor at Jena."—At the same place, M. F. C. Alter has published a volume of learned and ingenious "Philologico-critical Miscellanies," relating chiefly to Sclavonian literature.—At Tubingen, M. Göthe has commenced the publication of an interesting periodical work, entitled "The Propylæa," of which the first volume has been completed. The object of this work is to present observations on nature and art, and such discussions as may be thought not unworthy of engaging notice in the vestibule of the temple of science and taste. The Laöcoon, Etruscan monuments, Raphael and his works, Diderot's Essay on Painting, and the art of engraving on wood, as practised by Bewick and Anderson, are the principal subjects which occupy the volume before us.—At Leipsic, professor J. Godfrey Groshmann has published ten neatly-engraved plates, with a few pages of text, illustrative of "Remains of Egyptian Architecture;" which offer a curious contrast to the beauty and propriety discoverable in the Grecian models.—At Dresden have appeared "Accounts of the imitative Arts in Germany for the Year 1799, with Plates and Drawings;" containing designs and descriptions of works of merits, whether in mechanics or the fine arts, original essays, and extracts from books relative to those subjects, biographical accounts of native artists, remarks on their principal works, &c.—At Magdeburg, professor A. Breysic, appointed by the king of Prussia to deliver public lectures in the provincial school of arts in that city, has published the first part, or number, of "Sketches, Ideal plans, and Drawings, relative to the imitative Arts," which, if we may judge from the specimens here given, will prove an instructive and entertaining journal for young artists and amateurs.—At Jena, professor J. S. Vator has published "A Retrospect of what has lately been done in Germany for the Philosophy of Language," consisting, chiefly, of extracts and criticisms, which form a valuable contribution for the promotion of the subject mentioned in the title.—With the titles of the following works we shall close our catalogue of German publications for the year 1799. "Scattered Papers of a miscellaneous Nature, left by the deceased Physician and Counsellor the Chevalier Zimmermann, &c." published at Leipsic; an imitation of Barthelemy's celebrated work, entitled, "A Continuation of the History of Ancient Greece, from the Period in which it ends in the Travels of Anacharsis, by M. Pessler," published at Berlin; "A New Method of Instruction for early Childhood,

Childhood, by Madame de Genlis," published at Hamburg; "On public Schools and Institutions for Education, by Professor D. Aug. Herm. Niemeyer," published at Halle; "Theobald's Dowry to his Grand-daughter Pauline, a Book for Young Ladies, by J. G. D. Schmiedtgen," published at Leipsic; "Familiar Letters to Young Ladies, tending to amuse and instruct them, by Dr. Paul Gerard," published at the same place; "An Attempt towards a Characteristic of the Female Sex, a moral Picture of Manhood, of our Times, and of Social Life, by C. F. Pockel," published at Frankfort; and a "Practical Pocket-Dictionary of Merchandise, &c. by J. Ch. Schedel," published at the same place. To the above articles we might add, did it comport with our plan and limits, a long list of poems, dramatic pieces, moral tales, novels, and romances.

With respect to Switzerland and Italy, as they have been the seats of war, of revolution and counter-revolution, during a considerable part of the year, the votaries of science and literature in those countries can have had but little opportunity and little encouragement to prosecute their favourite pursuits.—Of the literary productions of the former country, if its presses have sent forth a few pieces besides military proclamations, and temporary political treatises, we have not been so fortunate as to meet with any accounts, excepting a brief notice of a "Botanical Catalogue of Plants growing spontaneously in Switzerland," by M. Scheicher. This catalogue contains lists of plants which have been collected and dried very carefully by the author; and are offered by him for sale, in selections of one hundred choice species, or, if the purchaser prefers it, of one hundred packets of their seeds, on very reasonable terms.—On the subject of Italian literature our information is proportionably barren.—At Venice, S. A. Fusinieri has published "Mechanic and Dioptric Inquiries into the Cause of the Refraction of Light;" in which he contends, that the Newtonian laws of attraction are insufficient to account for that phænomenon, and that it must be resolved into the resistance of refracting *media*.—At Verona, Dr. Touvenel, formerly inspector of the military hospitals and mineral waters of France, has published "Considerations on the Climate of Italy, considered in a physical, meteorological, and medical Point of View," in four volumes. This ingenious work will be found very interesting to naturalists and physicians; the latter of whom, in particular, may derive from it much useful information and valuable hints.—At Pisa, Dr. Savii, assistant to the professor of natural history in the university of Pisa, has published the first volume of a botanical work, entitled "Flora Pisana," comprehending the twelve first classes of the sexual system of Linnæus; which is noticed with respect in the foreign journals.—At Parma, an anonymous author has published "Elements of Agriculture," in two volumes; which are represented to constitute a valuable and useful work.—At Florence, the first volume of a well-executed architectural publication has appeared, entitled "The Florentine Observer's Remarks on the Edifices of his own Country, &c." At Parma, count Antonio Bartolini has published "A Dissertation on the Typography of Friuli, in the fifteenth Century;" which is a very splendid production, and contains

the gloomy and pernicious melancholy which they have a tendency to produce; and recommends, on the contrary, frequent cheerful and pleasing contemplations of our present and future life, as what are better adapted to excite us to vigorous exertions in virtue, and to fit us for the exalted end for which Christianity designs us.—At Gottingen, professors Ammon and Stäudlin have commenced the publication of a new "Theological Magazine;" and at Giessen, professor J. Ch. Ern. Schmidt has published, in two volumes, "A general Review of Theological Literature," which is intended to be continued annually.—At Leipsic, Dr. J. G. Rosenmüller has published a volume of sensible and useful "Sermons on the dogmatical and moral Doctrines of rational and acute Christianity;" and at the same place, as well as at Sultzbach, Dr. M. Reinard, first chaplain to the court of Dresden, has published a volume of highly eloquent and impressive "Sermons, preached in the Court Chapel during the Year 1789."—At Leipsic, likewise, M. K. Ch. von Gehren has published a volume of judicious and useful "Sermons on the Knowledge of Man;" and at Hamburg, M. Michael Wolters has published three animated and interesting discourses, under the title of "Recollections of Luther's Reformation."

Among the articles in German literature belonging to the department of Philosophy and Ethics, we find the third and fourth volumes of "Elements of the History of Philosophy, by J. Gottlieb Buhle," published at Gottingen. In these volumes the learned and ingenious author has completed his history of the Grecian philosophy, and has presented us with that of the Romans; of the Jews in the time of Jesus Christ; of cabalistical philosophy; and of the Alexandrino-eclectic philosophy. In another volume, he proposes to finish his plan; which will reflect honour on his industry and discrimination, and supply the student with valuable observations on the different systems, and on the character of their founders and principal supporters, as well as with judicious parallels of ancient and modern philosophy.—At Zullichau, and Freystadt, professor Fülleborn has published the 8th, 9th and 10th numbers of his "Contributions towards the History of Philosophy." This work is distinguished by elaborate researches, and acute critical remarks, and will prove of considerable use in illustrating the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers.—At Halle, professor J. S. Beck has published an useful and perspicuous "Introduction to the Study of Science in general;" by which is to be understood metaphysical science, or the theory or intellectual faculties of man, their laws, and nature.—At Altenburg, professor B. Ch. Er. Schmid has published "Outlines of Met physics," which are intended to convey a general and clear idea of the whole extent of the Kantean system. It is spoken of with much respect, as containing an able and perspicuous elucidation of that author's principles, divested of many of the obscurities in which his peculiar phraseology had involved them.—At Leipsic, M. N. Treschow has published "Lectures on the Kantean philosophy," with the design of refuting its principles. The author possesses extensive learning, and a sound judgment, and is a formidable opponent to the doctrines of the new philosophy.—So, likewise, the celebrated M. J. G. Herder, who has published, at the same

same place, "Understanding and Experience; a Metacritic on the Critic of pure Reason." This is a very acute, and, at the same time, lively performance, which controverts, with much force of reasoning, and felicity of illustration, the ground-work of the whole Kantean system.—The preceding attack on the fashionable philosophy soon produced "An Examination of Herder's Metacritic, by Professor J. G. C. Kieswelter," published at Berlin; and a treatise "On Herder's Metacritic, and its Introduction to the Public, by Hermes Psycopompos, by a Friend to Truth," published at Jena. These publications are written with much ingenuity, and correct some misconstructions which M. Herder had given of particular expressions of professor Kant; but they do not successfully repel the force of his spirited attack on the opinions and reasonings of that philosopher.—At Leipsic, M. Ch. H. Heydenreick has published "The Philosophy of the Passions of Mankind, a Treatise both Speculative and Practical, for the Happy and Unhappy," in three vols. This work is a motley production, consisting, in addition to the remarks and observations of the author, of large extracts from different English, French, and German writers. Many of the sentiments which are inculcated in it are just, and much of the advice which it offers is useful and important. But these sentiments and advice, in their present form, do not come recommended by any charms of novelty, or of pleasing composition.—At the same place, M. Von Seibt has published "The Doctrine of Prudence practically treated, in Academical Lectures," in two volumes, which offer useful advice to young men entering on the career of the world, enlivened with interesting anecdotes and appropriate quotation from ancient and modern writers.—At Jena, Dr. F. V. Reinhard has published a curious and useful work "On Micrology in Ethics." Under this title the author includes the spirit of attributing a false importance to things which are indifferent to morality, and of bestowing upon them more attention than they deserve. His acute and just remarks are classed under the heads of hermeneutical, casuistical, moral, and ascetic micrology.—To the articles above enumerated, we add the titles of the following: "Proof of the Existence of God, deduced from theoretic Reason," by M. G. Mallzeit, published at Wien; "Philosophical Ideas and Tracts, relative to the Critical Philosophy, by a Lover of Wisdom," published at Leipsic; "Remarks on philosophising Reason, and of a pure Heart, on Subjects which are highly important to Mankind, collected from the Works of ancient and modern Thinkers, with regard to the Principles of Critical Philosophy," published at Frankfort; "The Philosophy of Life, or Maxims of Wisdom and Virtue, &c. by M. G. S. Paul," published at the same place; "The Principal Truths of natural Religion and Morality, according to the Principles of pure Reason, &c. by M. L. E. Snell," published at Leipsic; "Results of Reason, philosophising on the Nature of Morality, &c. by M. George Deves," in two volumes, published at the same place; and "A Treatise on the Existence of Principles of a pure disinterested benevolence in Man, being an Answer to a Prize Question proposed by the Teylerian Society, by Adrian Van Hemmert, Professor, &c." translated from the Dutch, &c. with a short Account of

of the Vicissitudes which the Kantean Philosophy has experienced in Holland, by J. W. Dethmar," published at Dortmund.

Under the head of Jurisprudence, Government, and Political Œconomy, we meet with "A practical Commentary on the Pandects, after the Compendium of Herr, G. R. R. Hellfeld," vols. I.—VII. published at Leipsic. This work, of which one-half only has yet made its appearance, is reported to contain a complete compilation of whatever has been already written on the different titles in the Pandects, without any new observations.—The "Illustrations of Civil Law, after the Direction of Hellfeld's Compendium, by Dr. John Bern. Chr. Eichmann," vol. I. published at Berlin, is the commencement of a complete commentary on Hellfeld's work, and is stated to possess a considerable share of merit.—The "Revision of the Principles and elementary Notions of the positive Criminal Law; by Dr. Paul J. Anselm Feuerbach," in 2 volumes, published at Erfurt, is said to be distinguished by extensive knowledge, judicious discrimination, acuteness of remark, and philosophy of spirit.—At Leipsic, M. J. Gruner has published an able and benevolent "Essay on Punishments, especially those of Death and Imprisonment; together with an Account of the criminal Laws and Prisons of Pennsylvania, translated from the English."—At Helmstadt, Dr. Paul Jacob Bruns has published a curious work, which will prove acceptable to historians and antiquaries, as well as to men of the legal profession. It is entitled "Contributions to the German Laws of the Middle Ages, from the MSS. and ancient Impressions in the Academical Library at Helmstadt."—At Frankfort, an anonymous author has published "Democracy and Monarchy, a free Translation from the Greek of Dio Cassius, together with a Fragment on the Form of Government of Uranos." The part of Dio Cassius, which is well rendered in the version before us, and accompanied with learned and sensible observations, is the celebrated consultation of Augustus with Agrippa and Mæcenas, on the choice of a proper form of government for the Roman state. In the Fragment, which is a work of imagination, we are presented with a compendium of the popular arguments in favour of monarchy.—At Leipsic, M. A. Thaer has published an "Introduction to the Knowledge of English Agriculture, and its late theoretic and practical Improvements, tending to promote the Improvement of German Agriculture; for the Use of thinking Farmers and Œconomists." The above work displays an intimate knowledge of the agriculture of this country, and, on that account, must prove highly interesting to enlightened and unprejudiced German cultivators.—The "Complete Manual of Husbandry, by J. L. G. Leopold," published at Frankfort, will also be found to contain much useful information on that important subject; as will, likewise, "The Pocket Book for Gentlemen of landed Estates, Farmers, &c. particularly such as reside in Silesia, by M. G. Brieger," published at Berlin; and the "Complete and general agricultural Catechism," vol. I. by the same author, and published at the same place.—Dr. J. Ch. Gotthard's "Complete Instructions in the Art of Rearing and treating Poultry, an Account of their various Uses, and of the Manner of curing their Diseases," published at Frankfort and Leipsic, is

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an enlarged edition of a work of no small merit and utility, which has become very popular in Germany.—We add the titles of the following works; an "Essay on the Means of preventing the dangerous Consequences of the Scarcity of Money, particularly with regard to those Countries which have suffered by War, by M. H. Molitor," published at Darmstadt; "On the Injury which must necessarily arise to every State from the arbitrary Reduction of Farms, &c. by M. C. Meerwein," published at Leipsic; "The Patriotic Magazine for Germany, dedicated to God, the Princes, and the Country, by M. Sam. Chr. Wagner," published at Berlin; "Pictures drawn from the Prussian History, for the Promotion of genuine Loyalty and patriotic Zeal," published at the same place; "How can the Spirit of the Age be turned to the best Advantage? a Philosophico-historical Treatise, by J. L. Ewald," published at Bremen; "The Art of distilling Brandy, of a superior Quality, in the most advantageous and cheapest Manner, &c." in two volumes, published at Frankfort; and "The Practical Merchant, or Instructions in all Branches of Commerce, especially in the Italian Method of Book-keeping, by M. F. H. W. Jhrinz, published at Hamburg. To which we might add a long list of œconomical magazines and almanacks, commercial manuals, and political essays.

In our catalogue of German articles in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c. the first place is due to the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres at Berlin, from the Accession of Frederic-William II. for 1792 and 1793, with the History during that Period." The history of the academy contains an account of its meetings, eulogies on deceased members, and other preliminary pieces. The memoirs, which are too numerous to be distinctly noticed by us, may be divided into the classes of speculative philosophy, belles-lettres, and experimental philosophy. Some of these are learned and elaborate, and others acute and ingenious, and will prove useful in extending the boundaries of science and literary criticism. The principal contributors are MM. Merian, Ancillon, De Moulines, l'abbé Denina, Mainzie, Erman, Bode, Templehoff, Buse, Bernouilli, Lhuilier, Achard, Magry, and Robert.—At Frankfort, Leipsic, and other places, MM. J. Ph. Hoburt and J. Ideler, have published "New Trigonometrical Tables for the Decimal Division of the Quadrant, &c." This work is highly honourable to the scientific industry and accuracy of the authors; and if, as some of the most eminent mathematicians of the present day predict, the decimal system shall one long prove triumphant in Europe, will be followed by the rewards due to the independence of spirit which led them to engage in such an undertaking.—At Leipsic, M. F. Th. Schubert has published a treatise on "Theoretical Astronomy," in three volumes, which is spoken of in warm terms by the German journalists, as an able attempt to expound the principles of that science in the order and connection in which they were invented, and to render them, in a short time, perspicuous and intelligible to mathematical students.—At Gotha, and at other places, M. C. G. Jahn has published a very useful and lively "Manual of Astronomy, for the Use of Beginners and Amateurs, being the Astronomical Catechism

techism of M. Soeburg, revised and augmented by Professor Bugge, and translated from the Danish Original, altered and rendered more useful by additional Annotations."—At Berlin, M. Bode has published his "Astronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1801," and also that "for the Year 1802." Among the numerous astronomical essays and observations which accompany these publications, are several of considerable value and importance, which claim for their authors some of the ablest astronomers of the present day. In that number will be found the names of Herschel, Schröeder, Lambert, Bode, Klügel, &c.—At Weimar, professor J. H. Voight has published "A Compendium of Popular Astronomy, according to the present State of that Science," for the use of students; of which it is a sufficient recommendation to state, that it was undertaken and carried on under the auspices of M. von Zach.—At Gotha, M. C. F. Goldbach has published "A new Astronomical Atlas," executed in a very masterly style, and including all the most recent discoveries. This work M. von Zach has long introduced to the mathematical world, by writing the preface.—At Berlin, M. Bode has published an addition of "Fontenelle's Dialogues on the Plurality of Worlds," with annotations and eleven plates, which will prove an acceptable present to the lovers of astronomy.—At Leipsic, M. C. F. Hindenberg continues, with increasing success and reputation, his "Magazine for pure and mixed Mathematics;" and at the same place Dr. J. Khohlaas has published two useful volumes of "Mixed Mathematics for Youth, who have already made some progress towards Statics, Hydrostatics, Aërometry, Hydraulics, Optics, &c. with a Reference to Anatomy, Physiology, Surgery, and Midwifery," illustrated with plates.—At Jena, professor Göttling has published "A Manual of Theoretic and Practical Chemistry," in two volumes, for which the author's well-known reputation, as a periodical detailer of the discoveries and improvements in Chemistry, and as a public lecturer in that science, will secure a favourable reception.—At Göttingen, M. J. F. Gmelin has published, in three volumes, a complete and elaborate "History of Chemistry, from the Revival of Literature to the End of the Eighteenth Century," which forms the eighth part of the History of the Arts and Sciences, published under the direction of professor Eeighhorn.—At Brunswick, M. Alex. von Humboldt has published an account of a number of ingenious and well conducted "Experiments on the Chemical Decomposition of the Atmosphere, and on some other Objects in Natural Philosophy," which will furnish the reader with some original and valuable facts and useful hints.—At Frankfort, Dr. F. A. Reuss has published a valuable "New Mineralogical Dictionary, or Catalogue of all the Words in the German, Latin, French, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, and Hungarian Language, relative to Mining and Mineralogy, with an Explanation of their real Meaning, according to the new Nomenclature of Werner."—At Jena, professor J. Gott. Schneider has published the commencement of a very important and valuable work, entitled "Historiæ Amphibiorum naturalis et literariæ Fasciculus Primus, continens Ranas, Calamitas, Bufones, Salamandras, et Hydros, in Genera et Species descriptos, Notisque suis distinctos."

lnctos."—At Gotha, M. Bechein has published a translation of Pennant's Quadrupeds," in two olumes, with considerable additions to the original work; and at Göttingen, professor Blumenbach as published the fifth number of s "Drawings of Subjects in Naural History," intended to illusate his useful and very popular ompendium of natural history.—n reciting the titles of the following works, we have mentioned the laces of publication whenever we ere able to ascertain them: "Demonstratio Theorematis Parallelam," by an anonymous author; Manual necessary for the Possessors f Almanacs, or a complete Explaation of the Almanac, &c. for leaders of all Classes, illustrated vith Plates;" "A Mineralogical ocket Book for Beginners and Amateurs, by J. G. Lentz," in two olumes, published at Leipsic; Chemical Tracts, by J. F. Westrumb," vol. III.; "Fauna Boica, rc. or the Natural History of the ame Animals of Bavaria, by J. . von Paula Schrank;" "New ssays, by the Society of Natural listory at Berlin," vols. I. and II. ublished at that place; "The new otanical Philosophy, by Professor I. F. Link," published at Göttinen.—At Göttingen, M. Persoon publishing a valuable collection f essays, which the celebrity of eir author will render a desirable cquisition to the scientific world. he part already published is entled "Dissertationes Academicæ Ipsaliæ, habitæ sub Præsidio E. P. hunberg, Volumen Primum, cum ab. V. Æneis"—At Hildesheim as appeared "The Flora of Hilesheim, or Descriptions and Reresentations of such Plants as grow ild within the Principality of Hilesheim, by P. C. Wagener and F. R. Gruber; 1st Decad; illustrated with ten illuminated Plates;" "A concise Description of the most dangerous poisonous Plants, for the Instruction of Children, with thirty Plates, by G. H. A. Dunker;" "Journal of Pharmacy, for Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chemists, by D. J. B. Tromsdorff," vol. V.; "Manual of the Knowledge and Cure of internal Diseases of the Human Body, &c. by Dr. J. C. Stark;" "Repository of Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery, by a Society of Literary Men, N° I." published under the superintendance of Dr. Arnemann; and "Medical Tracts of Bohemian Literati, collected, &c. by J. D. John."

Our list of publications in Germany and the Austrian dominions, under the head of History, Geography, Biography, and Travels, commences with the second volume of M. Kovachich's "Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum minores, hactenus inediti, &c. ad Comitem Jo. Illyèzházi," published at Ofen. This curious and interesting collection of state-papers, historical documents, and antiquities, has been followed by "Supplementa ad Vestigia Comitiorum apud Hungaros, ab Exordio Regni eorum in Pannonia, usque ad hodiernum Diem celebratorum," vol. I. by the same author, and published at the same place.—The history and antiquities of that part of the Austrian dominions have also employed the able pens of Dr. Stephen Katona, in his "Historia Critica Rerum Hungariæ Stirpis Austriacæ, et Fide Domesticorum et externorum Scriptorum Diplomatumque concinnata," in two volumes, embracing the period from the year 1526—1550, published at Klausenberg; and of P. Honorati Novotny, one of the regular clergy, in his "Sciagraphia;

graphia, seu Compendaria Hungariæ veteris et recentioris Notitia Historico-politica, in quâ Status Regni physicus, historicus, politicus, ecclesiasticus, &c. expenitur, ac Eruditorum Judicio substernitur," in two volumes, published at Vienna. Our limits will not permit us to enlarge on the contents of the above learned and laborious publications.—In this place, likewise, though rather out of its proper class in the regular order of our catalogue, we take the opportunity of announcing the following work, on account of its connection with the antiquities of Hungary: "Affinitas Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Linguis Finnicæ Originis grammaticè demonstrata: necnon Vocabularia Dialectarum Tartaricarum et Sclavicarum cum Hungrica comparata. Auctore Sam. Gvarmathi, Med. Doct. &c." published at Göttingen. — At Freyberg, Dr. J. G. Hubler has published two volumes of a judicious and well-digested "Manual of Universal History, comprehending the Nations of ancient Times from the Beginning of Governments to the Close of the Roman Republic." The volumes before us bring down the author's plan to the reign of Alexander the Great.—At Göttingen, the celebrated professor Eichhorn has published the first volume of a concise abstract of universal history, entitled "Ancient History," comprehending the state of the world from the earliest period to the invasion of the northern nations. Of this work we have not seen any account sufficient to enable us to form a judgement of its character and merits; but we augur favourably of its excellence from the well-known learning and talents of its author.——At the same place, professor A. H. L. Heeren has published "A Compendium of the History of ancient States, particularly with respect to their Conditions, Commerce, and Colonies, for the Use of public Lectures;" which the foreign journals pronounce to be a judicious and useful work, abounding in just criticisms, and excellent observations and disquisitions. They pass, likewise, a favourable judgement on "A Sketch of the History of the principal Nations of Antiquity," by professor Luder, published at Brunswick. This work is principally employed in illustrating the political œconomy of the ancients.—At Leipsic, M. C. Venturini has also published "A Compendium of ancient History, from the Creation of the World to the great Migration of Nations, &c." which is more highly praised for its intention than its execution.—At Gotha, professor J. G. Galletti has published the third part of his valuable and pleasing "Epitome of Universal History," equally adapted for instruction and amusement. This volume brings down the history of the world to the reign of Augustus.——At Munich, M. L. Westenrieder has published a concise and well-executed "Sketch of the History of Germany," as an elementary work for young persons in the Batavian dominions.—— At Altdorf, professor C. Mannert, under the quaint title of "French Liberty, Nobility, Slavery, Examination of a Part of the ancient German Constitution," has published an energetic and acute history of the monarchy of the Franks, from the times of Merovæus to those of Charlemagne, in order to deduce from it a view of the loss of the ancient Franconian liberty, and the origin of nobility and bondage.—At Berlin, professor G.

Collection of Monuments, &c. in the Kingdom of France," with the nature of which we acquainted our readers in our Register for the year 1792.—The same author has also published "An Introduction to the Study of sculptured Stones," and "A Description of the Statues of the Tuilleries;" which are distinguished for erudition and curious research, and offer to the reader much useful information as well as entertainment.—The "Essay on the legal Weights and Measures of the Mussulmans, translated from the Arabic of Makrizi, by A. I. Silvestre de Sacy," will contribute to throw light on a subject which Asiatic writers themselves acknowledge to be involved in considerable obscurity.—The same author's "Treatise on the Coins of the Mussulmans," translated from the Arabic by M. S. de Sacy, is also a curious work, which will be highly prized by oriental antiquaries.—Of the importance and value of the following work, printed in the year 1791, but prevented from publication by the circumstances of the times, its title will sufficiently apprise our readers: "Diplomas, Charters, Letters, and other Documents, relative to the Affairs of France, extracted from the Archives and Libraries of the Kingdom and foreign Countries, by the Labours of many learned Men, &c. illustrated with Notes by L. G. O. Feudrix de Bréquigny, and P. J. G. La Port du Thiel," in three volumes, folio.—In antiquities, likewise, the French press has produced "Historical, literary, and critical Researches into the Origin of Printing, by P. Lambinet;" "The Antiquities of the Bordelais, or Historic Table for Bourdeaux, and the Department of the Gironde, by P. Bernardau;" Nos. II, and III, of the "Museum of French Monuments, or a chronological Collection of Carvings, Statues, &c. which may serve to illustrate the History of France, &c. by A. Lecroix;" Nos. II, and III, of "The ancient Gallery, or a Collection of the principal Works of the Ancients in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, &c. illustrated with numerous Engravings;" and "Fragments and Ornaments of Architecture, drawn at Rome after ancient Models, by Moreau, furnishing a Supplement to the Work of Desgodetz."—"The History of Peter III. Emperor of Russia, printed from a Manuscript found among the papers of M. Montmorin, formerly Minister of the Department of Foreign Affairs, &c." in three volumes, abounds in information relative partly to Peter III. but principally to Catharine II. and the events, intrigues, &c. of her reign; which renders it a valuable addition to the memoirs already before the public, of the Russian court, and its late sovereigns.—Of the "Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius VI." and Sonnini's "Travels through Upper and Lower Egypt, &c." we have already taken notice, when announcing the translations of them which have appeared in this country.—Of "An Account of the Voyage in Search of La Pérouse, undertaken by Order of the Constituent Assembly, during the years 1791 and 1792, and during the first and second Years of the French Republic, by Citizen Labillardiere, &c." in two volumes, we have met with very few particulars. But as different translations of it are advertised, we shall have the opportunity, in our next volume, of noticing it among the native and naturalised productions of the English press.—The historical,

the Great.—At Leipsic, M. A. G. Meissner has published the first volume of "Historico-picturesque Descriptions of Bohemian Castles, with fourteen coloured Plates," which will be found interesting and entertaining from the representations which it gives of the history and traditions of the middle age.—At Vienna, professor Eckhel has published the eighth and last volume of his very valuable "Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, &c." containing an account of the remaining imperial medals, and those which are fictitious, &c.—At Nuremberg, professor Bruns has published "An Attempt towards a systematic Description of the remotest Parts of the Globe; Africa, Asia, America, and South India," in six volumes. This is a very elaborate and meritorious production, carefully digested from the best and latest authorities, and abounding in useful and entertaining information.—At Leipsic, professor Pallas has published the first volume of "Remarks made in a Journey into the Southern Viceroyalties of the Russian Empire, in the years 1793 and 1794;" from which much interesting information may be collected respecting the geography, natural history, late improvements, inhabitants, &c. of the southern Russian empire. We hope soon to see this work in an English dress.—At Wien, M. J. M. von Lichtenstern has published "A General Survey of the Dutchy of Styria, with regard to its Geography, History, Literature, &c." which will furnish the reader with a variety of desirable particulars respecting that Austrian province.—At Berlin, Dr. Hager has published "Views of Palermo," taken during the author's residence in that city; and replete with proofs of his diligence in inquiry, of his learning and ingenuity. But we cannot say that they will supply with any new information those who are conversant in the publications of English travellers through Sicily.—We can only find room for the titles of the following works: "Gallery of remarkable Ladies, as well of ancient as of modern times," in two volumes, published at Leipsic; "Fragments on Italy, extracted from the Journals of a young German," in two volumes, published at the same place; "Momentaneous Guide for Readers of Newspapers, or Manual of the present Helvetic Topography," published at Frankfort; "An Historico-geographical Description of Berlin, from its Origin to the present Time; together with some Observations on the Literature, Manners, and Customs of its Inhabitants," published at Berlin; "New Views of Dresden, for the use of Travellers, by a Traveller," published at Leipsic; "A History and Description of Leipsic and its Environs, by Professor J. G. Leonhardi," published at Berlin; "A Journey from Amsterdam, by Madrid and Cadiz, to Genoa, in the Years 1797 and 1798, by C. A. Fischer," published at the same place; and "Travels to the Giant's Mountains, and the surrounding countries of Bohemia and Silesia, in 1796," published at Gotha.

Among the German publications of the year belonging to the department of Classical, Critical, and Miscellaneous literature, we have to announce the tenth volume of M. J. G. Hutten's valuable edition "Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt om. cum Annotationibus var. adjectaque Lectionis Diversitate," published at Tubingen.—At Leipsic, M. B. Weiske, well known by his translation of the Memorabilia

emorabilia of Xenophon, accom-
nied with a learned commentary,
d other philological works, has
blished, as part of a complete
lition of his remains, "Xeno-
ontis Scripta," vols. I.—IV.
mprising the Cyropædia and
nabasis of that author; with pre-
tory discourses, distinguished by
enuine erudition and sound criti-
sm.—At the same place, M. G. F.
reuser has published some learned
d judicious remarks on that hi-
orian, in a work entitled "De
enophontè Historiæ disserit, si-
ulque Historiæ scribendæ Ratio-
em, quam inde ab Herodoto et
hucydide secuti sunt, illustrare
udet G. F. C. Pars I."—At Jena,
I. F. Schmieder has published,
ith great care and accuracy, and
ith a due attention to the labours
preceding philologists, the fol-
wing works of Arrian: "Arriani
icomediensis Expeditionis Alex-
dri Libri Septem, recensiti et Notis
ustrati;" and "Αρριανου Ινδικη,
rriani Indica, cum Βοπαν. Vul-
nii Interpretatione Latina, per-
ultis Locis emendatione; recen-
ta et illustrata."—At the same
ace, the same editor has published
Theophrasti Characteres, &c." with
e additions given by the late pro-
ssor Siebenkees, and new critical
marks and illustrations, in which
s learning and sagacity are equally
pparent.—At Deux Ponts, pro-
ssor Mitscherlitch of Göttingen
s published, under the title of
Scriptores Erotici Græci, Partes
et II." with the aid of the an-
ent editions, and readings from
Turin codex, a more correct edi-
on than has before appeared of
e Theogenes and Charicles of
eliodorus.—At Leipsic, professor
odfr. Hermann has published
Aristophanis Nubes, cum Scho-
a," in which, besides the labours
of all former editors of repute, and his own sagacity, he has availed himself of the manuscript notes of the late celebrated professor Ernesti.—At the same place, the learned and acute scholiast M. F. Jacobs has published "Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiæ Græcæ, secundum Ordinem Analectorum Brunkii," vol. II.—At Jena, professor C. D. Ingen has published, with much learned labour, and critical judgment, "Σκολια; hoc est, Carmina convivialia Græcorum, Metris suis restituta, et Animadversionibus illustrata, præmissa Disquisitione de hoc Genere Carminis."—At Leignitz, Dr. J. Chr. Fr. Wetzel has published "Q. Horatii Opera, ad Exemplar Bentleii recudenda, Argumentis præmissis, Notis criticis adjecta, &c." in two volumes. This is certainly a very valuable and much-improved edition of the Roman poet; but it would not have been less acceptable to genuine scholars, if the author had spoken more modestly and justly of the merits of our learned countryman.—At Gotha, M. F. Ast has published "Observationes in Propertii Carmina, et in Elegiam ad Liviam Augustam;" which display the same intimate acquaintance with the ancient classics, as well as great ingenuity and critical skill. Prefixed to them is a learned and elegant epistle of the celebrated professor Jacobs, to the author.—At Leipsic, M. C. G. Schutz has published a faithful and elegant translation of "The Clouds, a Comedy of Aristophanes;" and M. S. J. Fracht, a carpenter at Schongau, a correct and pleasing version, in German rhymes, "Aug. Lib. Phædri Fabulæ Æsopi."—At the same place have been published the following translations from ancient authors, of which the German re-

views make less favourable mention: "The Evagoras of Isocrates, translated and expounded for the Use of Schools, by M. Heinig;" "Cicero's Lælius, &c. translated by R. A. Hedwig;" and "Cicero, or Cato the Elder, on Old Age, translated by J. G. A. K."—At Marburg, M. G. M. Hartmann has published "Elements of the Hebrew Language, together with Tables, and a Crestomathia," which contain such real improvements, particularly with respect to the regularity of punctuation in the verbs, as fully justifies the author in adding them to the existing number of Hebrew grammars.—At Jena has appeared a judicious abridgement of a work which has been very favourably received in the German universities, and entitled "A Short Hebrew Grammar, extracted from the larger Work of J. S. Vator, Professor at Jena."—At the same place, M. F. C. Alter has published a volume of learned and ingenious "Philologico-critical Miscellanies," relating chiefly to Sclavonian literature.—At Tubingen, M. Gothe has commenced the publication of an interesting periodical work, entitled, "The Propylæa," of which the first volume has been completed. The object of this work is to present observations on nature and art, and such discussions as may be thought not unworthy of engaging notice in the vestibule of the temple of science and taste. The Laöcoon, Etruscan monuments, Raphael and his works, Diderot's Essay on Painting, and the art of engraving on wood, as practised by Bewick and Anderson, are the principal subjects which occupy the volume before us.—At Leipsic, professor J. Godfrey Grosshmann has published ten neatly engraved plates, with a few pages of text, illustrative of "Remains of Egyptian Architecture;" which offer a curious contrast to the beauty and propriety discoverable in the Grecian models.—At Dresden have appeared "Accounts of the imitative Arts in Germany for the Year 1799, with Plates and Drawings;" containing designs and descriptions of works of merits, whether in mechanics or the fine arts, original essays, and extracts from books relative to those subjects, biographical accounts of native artists, remarks on their principal works, &c.—At Magdeburg, professor A. Breysic, appointed by the king of Prussia to deliver public lectures in the provincial school of arts in that city, has published the first part, or number, of "Sketches, Ideal plans, and Drawings, relative to the imitative Arts," which, if we may judge from the specimens here given, will prove an instructive and entertaining journal for young artists and amateurs.—At Jena, professor J. S. Vator has published "A Retrospect of what has lately been done in Germany for the Philosophy of Language," consisting, chiefly, of extracts and criticisms, which form a valuable contribution for the promotion of the subject mentioned in the title.—With the titles of the following works we shall close our catalogue of German publications for the year 1799. "Scattered Papers of a miscellaneous Nature, left by the deceased Physician and Counsellor the Chevalier Zimmermann, &c." published at Leipsic; an imitation of Barthelemy's celebrated work, entitled, "A Continuation of the History of Ancient Greece, from the Period in which it ends in the Travels of Anacharsis, by M. Fessler," published at Berlin; "A New Method of Instruction for early Childhood,

Spain, we have seen a long list of the titles of different publications which have issued from the presses of that country during the present year; of which we shall enumerate some of the principal, as what will enable our readers to form some idea of the progress which the Spaniards are making towards intellectual improvement. "Rules and Observations to facilitate the Understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and especially of the Apocalypse of St. John, by Dr. Manuel Rosell;" "Defence of the Christian Religion, dedicated to his Majesty, by Dr. J. J. Heydech," in four volumes; "The Spirit of the Apologists for the Christian Religion," in two volumes; "The Universal Legislative Code of Spain and India, or General Digest of the Civil and Canon Law, &c." in 28 volumes; "Supplements, and a general Repertory of the universal Practice of the superior and inferior Courts of Justice in Spain and India; by P. D. Boada de la Castas," in two volumes; "The History, Natural, Civil, and Geographical, of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Orooco, and the adjacent Provinces, by F. J. Gumila," in two volumes; "The Historical Memoirs on the Legislation and Government of the Trade of the Spaniards to their Colonies in the West Indies, by Don Rafael Antunez;" "A Chronological Summary of the History of Spain, by D. Joseph Ortiz," vol. V.; "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Spain, by the Rev. Father Paul, of St. Nicholas;" "The History of the Political Œconomy of Arragon, by Don Ignatio de Asso;" "Political and Œconomical Memoirs on the Produce, Trade, Manufactories, and Mines, of Spain, by Don E. Larruga," vols. 37, 38, 39, and 40; "The Universal Geographical Dictionary, by D. Fr. Pere y Casado," in three volumes; "Political and Œconomical Thoughts, designed to promote in Spain, Agriculture, as well as other Branches of Industry, by D. M. J. P. Quintero;" "History of Spanish Agriculture, its Origin, Progress, actual State, &c. by D. F. L. de Laporta;" "A Discourse on the true Civil and Natural Liberty of Man, translated from the Italian, by D. Ventura Salzas;" "A Treatise on finding the Longitude at Sea by Lunar Observations, by D. Francisco Lopez Rayo, Ensign of the Navy;" "A Dictionary of the Fine Arts, for the Instruction of Amateurs, and the Use of the Professors of the Arts, by D. Diego Rejon de Silva;" "The Spanish Atlas, being a General Description of Spain, divided into Kingdoms and Provinces, Geographical, Chronological, and Historical," completed in 14 volumes; "Illustrious Women of Spain, by P. F. Alfonso Alvarez," vol. I; the first volume completed of D. D. Ruiz and Pavon's "Novorum Generum Plantarum Peruvianarum et Chilensium Descrip. et Icon. &c." illustrated with 106 plates, and the second volume complete, illustrated with 116 plates; "An Universal Collection of Travels, by D. P. Estata, Presbyter;" and "The Instructive Miscellany, or Annals of Literature, Science, and the Arts." To the abovementioned articles we might add, were it consistent with our limits, the titles of several works in mathematics, anatomy, poetry, and miscellaneous literature.

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PRINTED BY COX, SON, AND BAYLIS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.